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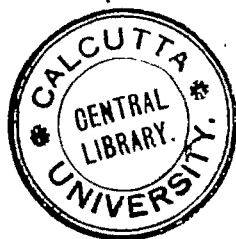
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NEMARA AND FAW

By A. F. L. BEESTON

The many thousands of inscriptions conventionally classified under the headings of Dedanite, Lihyanite, Safaitic, and Thamudic, all share the characteristic of a definite article in the form *h-* or *hn-*. Pre-Islamic texts displaying the distinctively Arabic article *al* are a mere handful; among them, easily the most important is the funerary text of Umru' al-Qays at Nemara (*RES* 483). This very minuscule corpus has recently been enlarged by two inscriptions from Qaryat al-Faw (anciently Qaryat Dhāt Kāhil; near modern Sulayyil, on the trade route linking Nagrah with the eastern Arabian coast), publicized by Dr. Abdul Rahman al-Ansary in spring 1977 at the first International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia at Riyadh. These texts are particularly welcome in that they are written in fine monumental South Arabian script, and thus do not pose the acute problems of reading occasioned by the exceedingly ambiguous scripts of Nemara and the other northern texts. One of the new texts is important historically, being the tombstone of the Kindite king Mu'awiyat b. Rabi'at; but it is the other which is more significant linguistically, and which I wish to discuss here. It reads:

- 1 'gl/bn/hf'm/bn/l'h/rrbl/bn/h
- 2 f'm/qbr/wlhw/wlwdhw/wm
- 3 r'th/woldhw/wold/wldhm
- 4 wns'yhm/hryr/dw'l/g'lon/f
- 5 'dh/bkhl/wlh/w'tr
- 6 's²rq/mn/'zzm/wwnym/w
- 7 s²rym/wmrthnm/'bdm
- 8 bn/wks¹m/'dky/tmṭ
- 9 r/s¹my/dm/wl'r
- 10 ḍ/s²'r

The rendering I propose (differing in some particulars from that of al-Ansary) is:

'Igl bin Haf'am constructed for his brother Rabibil bin Haf'am the tomb: both for himself and for his child and his wife, and his children and their children's children and womenfolk, free members of the folk Ghalwān. And he has placed it under the protection of Kāhil and Lāh and 'Aththar al-Shāriq from anyone strong or weak, and anyone who would attempt to sell or put (it) in pledge, for all time without any derogation, so long as the sky produces rain or the earth herbage'.

2. *qbr* without the article seems reminiscent of sporadic Arabic usages such as *šamsun* for *al-šams*.¹

¹ It would be risky, on the basis of this text alone, to attempt any firm conclusion on the function of the noun-termination *-m*, and what relationship (if any) it has with South Arabian 'mimation'. One possible working hypothesis might be that the definite article has a strongly demonstrative force (implying renderings 'this heaven' and 'this earth' in l. 9); that *-m* has strong indefinite force, 'any ... whatever'; and that absence of both corresponds to both unemphatic 'the' and unemphatic 'a'. This suggests that the *-m* is not morphologically or functionally equivalent to the Arabic *tanwīn*, since the latter is not in itself a mark of indefiniteness (witness its occurrence in proper names and in cases like *šamsun*); it would rather seem to correspond to Arabic *mā 'l-ibhāmīyyah* (as in *raḡulun-mā*), implying 'any ... whatever'; *'bdm* need not be taken to invalidate this explanation, since it is equivalent in sense to 'for any stretch of time whatever'.

2-3. Al-Ansary avoids the appearance of tautology in the repeated *wldhw* by rendering the first occurrence *wld* (presumably singular) and the second by *'ahfād*. That is to say, Rabībīl is credited with only one son, and the *wldhw* in l. 3 are that son's children, the grandchildren of Rabībīl.

5-6. The first deity is the patron deity of the town, after whom it was named. The second is the male counterpart of the well-known Lāt; the orthography of the rest of the text suggests that it is to be read without the article.² The third is an arabicization of the great South Arabian deity *'ttr s²rqn*.

7. Tombs were family property, and could in principle be sold (as Ephron sold the cave of Makpelat to Abraham); and anything which is legally saleable is also capable of being offered as a pledge. The first word of the line could be envisaged either as *šārī* or as *širā* 'sale', and the second correspondingly as *murtahin* or *murtahan* (= *irtihān*).

8. Al-Ansary takes *bn* as the South Arabian preposition equivalent to Arabic *min*; but since the latter occurs only two lines before in its normal Arabic form, this seems improbable. Moreover, the placing of the phrase after *'bd* suggests that its syntactic status is not parallel with that of the preceding *min*. What seems required here is something meaning 'without'; hence probably read it as the equivalent of the classical *bayn* in its primary sense of 'separation, parting'; this linguistic feature, of classical *-ay-* being represented by zero marking in the orthography (i.e. a pronunciation *ā* or perhaps *ē*), is very characteristic of Lihyanite, where we commonly encounter for instance *tm* = classical *taym*, *zā* = classical *zayd*, etc. In the classical lexica *wakasa* = *naqasa*, so that our phrase is the equivalent of *bi-dūni nuqṣān*.

8-10. The terminal phrases are rendered by al-Ansary, 'until the sky rains blood and the earth (produces) flame'; the zeugma will surprise nobody accustomed to Arabic poetry. But in the rest of the text *s¹* renders Arabic *s*, and *s²* Arabic *š*. The last word is therefore not *sa'ir* 'flame', but *ša'ār* 'herbage'; consequently *dm* must be interpreted not as *dam* 'blood', but as *daym* 'steady rain' (see above on this orthography), and the conjunction has to be taken in the sense of 'so long as' (*mā dāma*). Ambivalency of this kind is found in Arabic *rayṭa-mā* and in English dialectal 'while', both of which can imply either 'up to the point when' or 'during the period when'.

General orthographic features to be noted are:

1. Long *ā* remains wholly unmarked in the script, even in word-final position, i.e. the *alif maqṣūrah*, as is shown by *bn* = *banā* in the first line.
2. The *alif mamdūdah* (*-ā*) is consistently represented by *y*; and this seems to be the case even in the middle of a word, if we can take *hryr* as representing classical *harā'ir*.
3. So far as this text goes, the article appears as *l-*, except when it precedes a sibilant, in which case the *l* is assimilated but *'*-retained.
4. Medial *-ī-* remains without notation, certainly in *'zz* and probably in *rbbl*. The situation with regard to final *-ī* is unclear, for *'dky* could be interpreted as *-ay* or *-ī*, and *wny* is a special case being from a root *tertiæ infirmæ*. There is no certain occurrence of *ū* in the text, since *dw* in l. 4 could, and perhaps should, be interpreted as *dawī*.

In spite of the fact that the Nemara text has been cited many times by historians, they invariably quote it in Dussaud's reading and interpretation.

² When the *l* of the article is assimilated, its *alif* seems to be normally retained.

Yet there are features of that interpretation which are at best highly speculative, and occasionally absolutely unacceptable. The great problem involved is the extreme difficulty of the script, which has a large number of ambiguities. There is no differentiation between *d*, *s*, ' and (respectively) *ḏ*, *š*, *ḡ*; and we can legitimately infer that *t*, *h*, *ḏ*, *z* were similarly undifferentiated from *t*, *h*, *s*, *t*. On top of this, there is no differentiation whatever between *d/ḏ* and *r* (just as would be the case in Syriac were it not for the diacritic points); medial *k* is distinguishable from these letters only by its being ligatured to the following letter where the former are not³; *b* and *n* in initial or medial position are indistinguishable, as are *l* and *n* in final position.

In studying the text, it is vital to start from a diplomatic transcription which avoids, as far as possible, arbitrary selection between possible readings of ambiguous letters. In the following transcription, the *mu'gam* letters *ḏ* etc. are not distinctively rendered; capital *D* represents the ambiguous letter *ḏ/d/r*; initial or medial *B* can be read as *b* or *n*, and final *L* as *l* or *n*. Of course, in a number of cases the correct reading is pretty clear, but where this is not so, the alternative possibilities should be given prominence.

- 1 *ty.Bfs.mD'lqys.BD.'mDw.mlk.'l'Db.klh.Dw.'sD.'l.tg*
- 2 *wmlk.'l'sDyL.wBzDw.wmlwkhm.whDb.mhgw.'kDy.wg'*
- 3 *Bzgy.fy.hxx.BgDL.mDyBt.smr.wmlk.m'Dw.wByL.BByh*
- 4 *'ls'wb.woklh lfDs.wlDwm.wlm.yBl'.mlk.mBl'h*
- 5 *'kDy.hlk.sBt.223.ywm.7.BkshwL.Bls'D.Dw.wx Dh*

1. There is no difficulty in interpreting the earlier part of this line as *ty.nfs.mr'lqys.br.'mrw.mlk.'l'rb.klh.dw* 'This is the funerary monument of Umrū al-Qays son of 'Amr, king of all the Arabs, who . . .'. After this Dussaud read *'sr.'lg*, interpreted as *'asara l-tāg* 'ceignit le diadème'. This has always seemed to me utterly improbable. It assumes that 'bound' has to be taken as implying 'bound on himself'; but Arabic verbs virtually always use a derived stem for reflexives of this type, and the verb *'asara* is itself an unnatural one with 'diadem' as object. If an Arab wished to say that he 'assumed' the diadem himself, the natural expression would be *'i'tasama 'l-tāga*, while if he had it conferred on him by someone else it would be something like *'uqida lahu 'l-tāgu*. Furthermore, this interpretation disregards the fact that the *l* is not ligatured to the *t*, so that it is unlikely to be the article. Since, as has been noted above, in this stage of Arabic the *alif maqṣūrah* receives no notation in script, the most likely reading is *'asrā 'ilā tāg* 'sent a military expedition (*sariyyah*) to Thāj'. We now know (as Dussaud in his time could not know) that Thāj was one of the most important, perhaps the most important, ancient site in Eastern Arabia.

2. The reading *wmlk.'l'sdyn.wnzw.wmlwkhm* 'and ruled over the two Asd and Nizār and their kings' can be taken as certain; the terminal *w* of the second name is a common (though never yet satisfactorily explained) feature of Nabataean proper names. But Dussaud's supposition that the former name is that of the Najdite tribe Asad is most improbable, since we have no hint of these being divided into two sections. It is much more likely to be the two sections of the people now known as Azd: but both the Arab lexicographers and South Arabian epigraphic evidence inform us that in pre-Islamic times the spelling was with *s* and not *z*. Their western section was, as Sabaeen texts

³ Letters not ligatured to the following one are the same as in standard Arabic practice: *'*, *ḏ/d/r*, *z*, *w*.

show, already in the third century roughly in their present position in the Sarāt immediately north of Yemen; where the eastern section was at this time is unknown, for there is a likelihood that their move into Oman was only shortly before Islam. We are, therefore, not obliged to suppose that Umru' al-Qays's campaigns, extensive though they were, took him as far as present-day Oman.

The following three words are interpreted by Dussaud as 'dispersa (*harraba*) Mhg jusqu'à ce jour', then a full stop, and a fresh sentence beginning with *wa* 'and'. It has usually been supposed that the problematic proper name stands for the famous tribe Madhhig, though it is uncertain whether the actual text is an engraver's error or a genuine alternative form of the name.⁴ It may be remarked that the verb could just as well be read as *haddaba* 'disciplined, brought under control'. More important is the word '*kDy*': the translation 'jusqu'à ce jour' derives undoubtedly from the occurrence of the same word in l. 5, where it would make good sense. Here, however, it does not make very good sense—especially if one reads *harraba*; and attempts at explaining the word morphologically are desperately unconvincing. But with the help of the Faw text, it seems likely that it is a metathesis of the conjunction meaning ambivalently 'while' or 'until', with the latter sense here. Consequently, the final word of the line is not *wa-gā'a*, but *waga'a* synonymous (see the lexica) with *ḍaraba* 'he smote'.

3. Dussaud *bzgy.fy.hbg.ngrn.mdynt.šmr.wmlk.m'dw* 'apporta (*gā'a bi-*) le succès au siège de Nedjran, ville de Chammar, qui soumit la tribu de Ma'add'. There are several objections to this. The translation 'siege' is based on an alleged Arabic root *hbg* meaning 'surround', but I can find no trace of this meaning in any reliable Arabic lexicon; moreover, Dussaud himself had doubts about it, since he is quoted (see *RES* 483) to the effect that 'a fresh examination of the stone led him to read *hrb*, the upright of the *b* in the inscription being often inclined to the left'. It is characteristic of the way this text has been handled, that historians continue to refer to 'the siege of Nagrān' as an established fact, without paying any attention to Dussaud's second thoughts. Attractive, however, as the reading *hrb* is, my own examination of the stone (and of an excellent photograph very kindly provided by the Conservateur en chef du Département des antiquités orientales in the Louvre) would rule it out: the last letter could indeed be a *b*, but the penultimate letter cannot be a *r*, since it is ligatured, and shows no sign of the 'cusp' at the top of the letter which *D* has. A tentative solution is to read the penultimate letter as *l*, albeit somewhat shorter than is normal, which would suggest a reading *hulug* 'irrigation channels': Nagrān being the centre of a highly developed agricultural area in ancient times, as references in Sabaeen texts make clear.

I have never believed that *mdynt.šmr* could mean 'ville de Chammar' in apposition to Nagrān. In the ancient Near East, such an expression always implied either a town founded by the person named (e.g. 'city of David') or one which was the headquarters of the person (Madinat al-Nabī), whereas Nagrān was neither founded by the South Arabian ruler Shammar (Yuhar'ish) nor his headquarters or capital. Furthermore, in Syriac, from which the

⁴ In Sabaeen texts of the third century, Madhhig figure prominently among the Bedouin allies and auxiliaries of the Sabaeans; hence Umru' al-Qays's attack on Sabaeen territory at Nagrān was necessarily preceded by action designed to neutralize Madhhig. This seems to be the point of the consequential conjunction '*kDy*' 'so that'. The Nagrān operation was consequential on the reduction of Madhhig, and not an independent operation like the others which are linked by *wa*.

Arabic word derives, the term does not mean any large urban centre (as it has come to mean in later Arabic); it means either 'realm, dominions', or 'capital city'. In our context, it obviously means 'the realm of Shammar', not in apposition to Nagrān but as direct object of the verb *wagā'a*.

zgy can be plausibly equated with *zagā zagā'an*, glossed as *tabaššara wa-stagāma*; but its main interest is in seeming to validate for this text the orthographic rule that we have seen in the Faw text, that *alif mamdūdah* is rendered by *-y*.

3-4. Dussaud, *wbyn.bnyh.*'lš'wb.wyklhn.frs.wlrm 'repartit entre ses fils les tribus et organisa celles-ci comme corps de cavalerie pour les Romains'. This is utterly impossible: *baryana* with two accusatives in the sense proposed sounds very unnatural; *ša'b* is masculine and could be referred to in the plural by *-hā* but not by the feminine plural pronoun; and how could anyone possibly believe that *fārisū* could be an accusative (!) external masculine plural without (!) a following genitive? It should also be mentioned that in early Arabic *šū'ūb* always means 'sedentary communities' and not 'nomad tribes' (thus al-Jāhiz distinguishes between the '*ašā'ir al-'arab* and the '*šū'ūb al-'aḡam*), whereas cavalry squadrons were normally recruited from the Bedouin, not from sedentary groups.

The most satisfactory reading of the initial verb seems to me to be *nāyala* 'he handed over the sedentary communities to his sons', i.e. while retaining for himself the kingship of the 'Arabs' or nomads. His authority for doing this is, I suggest, explained in the following sentence, beginning with a *wāw al-hāl*. There is no doubt in my mind that Clermont-Ganneau was right (*Recueil d'arch. or.*, VI, 305) in understanding *frs* as 'Persia'; the crux, however, lies in the word-division. It is certainly true that the letter following *wklh* appears to be ligatured to the *h*; but it is not true that it is necessarily separated (as Dussaud supposed) from the following letter *f*. The bottom part of the *f* is effaced, so that one can neither see its ligature (which it must have had) to the following letter, nor a ligature from the preceding letter; however, the placing of the preceding letter is such that it could quite easily have been so joined; so that all that is needed to justify Clermont-Ganneau's reading *wklh.lfrs.wlrm* is to assume that the engraver has inadvertently crammed together the first two words. Hence, 'he had been given delegated authority over them on behalf of Persia and of Rome'.

At this point I must trespass, hesitantly, on the field of history in which I cannot claim expertise. According to al-Ṭabarī (de Goeje, I, 845-6), Umru' al-Qays b. 'Amr was recognized by the Sasanians as their 'governor' ('*āmīl*) over the Muḍar and Rabi'ah, and al-Ṭabarī seems⁵ also to say that his governorship lasted 30 years. If, as is normally believed, the Nemara text is dated according to the era of Bostra, the date of the king's death was A.D. 328; and the beginning of his governorship would be A.D. 298, and thus almost immediately after the peace treaty of 297 (which lasted uninterrupted for 40 years) between Rome and Persia, in which the Sasanian king Narses was forced to cede large portions of territory to Rome, particularly the great strategic frontier

⁵ There is a slight element of uncertainty, because al-Ṭabarī's words, 'his governorship lasted thirty years', might be taken by a reader unacquainted with Sasanian chronology as referring to Umru' al-Qays's son who succeeded him in the governorship. But we are also told that this son continued as governor down to the beginning of the reign of Shāpūr III in A.D. 383, 55 years after his father's death; if his own governorship lasted only 30 years, he must have been first appointed 25 years after his father's death. This does not seem to be what al-Ṭabarī envisaged, since he writes *halaka mru'u lqaysi ... fa-sa'mala sāburu 'alā 'amalihī bnahu* using *fa* of 'immediate successiveness' and not *ḡumma* 'later'.

fortresses in northern Mesopotamia. With their northern frontier thus dangerously exposed, the Sasanians may well have been anxious to gain additional security further south by bestowing the title of 'governor' on a highly influential Bedouin chieftain, with authority over both nomads and some settled groups (Rabī'ah include some sedentaries, in contrast to the wholly nomad Muḍar). Certainly Umru' al-Qays must have been in friendly relations with the Romans as well, since Nemara itself is within the Roman limes; and it was presumably the fact of the peace treaty which enabled him to enter into parallel relationships with both sides.

The end of l. 4 is quite clear: it must be read as *lam yabluḡ malikun mablaḡahu* 'no king has/had matched his achievement'.

5. '*kDy.hlk* 'up to the time when he died' has of course to be taken closely with the preceding sentence.

The final words after the date are extremely puzzling. I have no confidence in Dussaud's 'Que le bonheur soit sur sa postérité' (*bi-lsa'di dū waladahu*), and would have preferred to take the first of these words as 'in prosperity' dependent on 'died'; but I have no plausible explanation of the last two words.⁶

The coherent rendering for the whole text that I would propose is thus:

'This is the monument of Umru' al-Qays b. 'Amr, king of all the Arabs; who sent his troops to Thāj, and ruled both sections of al-Azd, and Nizār, and their kings; and chastized Madhhig, so that he successfully smote, in the irrigated land of Nagrān, the realm of Shammar; and ruled Ma'add; and handed over to his sons the settled communities, when he had been given authority over the latter on behalf of Persia and of Rome. And no king had matched his achievements up to the time when he died, in prosperity, in the year 223, the 7th day of Kislul . . . (?) . . .'

The orthography here matches very closely that of the Faw text. The most noticeable difference is in the treatment of the article: the *l* is not assimilated to a following lingual, and the ' is retained except in the case where it is preceded by the closely-bound particle *bi-* in the last line. What this difference implies is a question that cannot be answered unless and until further evidence turns up. In addition, medial *-i-* (*mdymt*) and *-ū-* (*mlwk*) are written with *y/w*.

⁶ I would have liked to read *Dw.wgDh* = *dū wagrūhu* 'this is his tomb' (*wgr* is regularly associated with *qbr* in the East Arabian pre-Islamic texts), but the *g* seems dubious. I am not convinced by Clermont-Ganneau's idea (reading *wldh*) that 'le sens serait que le défunt est mort le jour anniversaire de sa naissance, ou après la carrière que lui assignait l'astre le sa naissance (?)'.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON GREEK AND LATIN DATA RELATING TO SOUTH ARABIA

By A. F. L. BEESTON

It is well known that, according to Pliny,¹ the originating terminal for caravans conveying frankincense from South Arabia to the Mediterranean was at Shabwa; and there has been much talk of an 'incense road' followed by those caravans. It is, however, very unlikely that there was any single 'road' invariably followed. More probably, there was a multiplicity of routes, any one of which might be chosen according to prevailing circumstances. One such route runs directly from Shabwa to the eastern end of the Wādī Jawf, across a gravel corridor bisecting the Ṣayhad sand-desert, surveyed by Philby² in 1936. The possibility of this route has been disregarded mainly because of a widely prevalent but tendentious translation of Pliny's remark, 'evehi non potest nisi per Gebbanitas',³ as '[the frankincense] cannot be exported [from Shabwa] except through the land of the Gebbanites', where the text says nothing about a 'land' but merely 'by the Gebbanites'.⁴ Other possible routes are one skirting the southern edge of the sand-desert and passing through Tumna', and one reaching the upper Wādī Bayḥān by way of Niṣāb and the Wādī Markha. West of Bayḥān, the passes of Nagd Marqad and Mablāqa clearly represent alternative routes.

There are still further alternatives beyond here, but at all events Naḡrān must have been a nodal point, for here two routes parted: goods destined for the Mediterranean went due north to Dedan (al-'Ulā'), while those intended for Mesopotamia would have crossed the peninsula by way of Qaryat Dhāt Kāhil (now Qaryat al-Faw, near Sulayyil) to the eastern coastland in the Hofuf region, where the important town of Gerrha⁵ was situated. This slightly roundabout route for the Mesopotamian trade was necessitated by the vast expanse of the 'Empty Quarter' which prevents any direct route northwards from Shabwa; so that both Mediterranean and Mesopotamian bound caravans had to proceed by the same routes between Shabwa and Naḡrān.

Now Strabo⁶ tells us that Minaeans and Gerrhaeans took aromatics to Palestine and Petra. Minaeans of course must have used the west-coast route via Dedan, while the obvious route for Gerrhaeans to those destinations is by way of the Wādī Sirḥān and modern Sakāka. But it is not credible that frankincense produced in South Arabia should have reached Palestine by way of Gerrha, by so roundabout a route crossing the peninsula twice. The 'aromatics' which the Gerrhaeans brought to Palestine must have been mainly Indian products, such as sandalwood, reaching the Gulf coast by sea.

Strabo also says,⁷ 'Cattabania produces frankincense, Chatramotitis

¹ *Naturalis historia*, XII.63.

² *Sheba's daughters*, London, 1939, ch. xii.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ See more fully my 'Pliny's Gebbanitae', *Proceedings of the fifth Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 1971, London, 1972, 4-8.

⁵ It has so far proved impossible to pin-point this site. But consideration might at least be given to the claims of Thāḡ, which recent archaeological work has shown to have been one of the most important centres on the eastern Arabian seaboard. As for the discrepancy in the name, this could be discounted by supposing that 'Gerrha' simply represents Arabic *qaryah* 'town', used by the locals in preference to the distinctive name, in the same way that Constantinople became known as Istanbul, 'in Town'.

⁶ XVI.4.18.

⁷ XVI.4.4.

(Ḥāḍramawt) myrrh.⁸ These and other aromatics they trade with merchants. The latter come to them from Aelana ('Aqaba) as far as Minaea in 70 days Gabaioi reach Chatramotitis in 40 days'. Thus the consensus of the manuscripts; the editors unanimously emend 'Gabaioi' to 'Gerrhaeoi' on the strength of a marginal note in one manuscript, but the emendation is certainly wholly unjustified. Strabo is describing the west-coast trade route for frankincense and myrrh, and mention of the east-coast Gerrhaeans is altogether out of place,⁹ unless he had intended parenthetically to point out that Gerrhaeans could reach the source of these products more quickly than Aelanite traders. This might have made some sense if the terminal points quoted for the two journeys had been the same, but they are not: the Aelanites' 70 days took them only as far as 'Minaea' while the other people's 40 days took them all the way to Ḥāḍramawt, so that this comparison between the two figures would be meaningless. Furthermore, the figures are geographically absurd if Gerrha is envisaged: Gerrha and Aelana are approximately equidistant from Naḡrān, and the trip from Naḡrān to Ḥāḍramawt is necessarily further than one only so far as 'Minaea', with the result that Gerrhaeans must have taken a longer time than Aelanites, not a shorter one, to traverse the route.

If one reads this passage of Strabo without starting from the preconceived notion that he is mentioning Gerrhaeans, its interpretation becomes simple and obvious. He means to say that the whole route of the west-coast trade, from Aelana to Shabwa, took a total of 110 days, and that over the northern two-thirds of the route the trade was handled by Aelanites, and the remainder by Gabaioi. A consequence which follows almost inevitably from this is that Strabo's Gabaioi are likely to be the same as Pliny's Gebbanites, mentioned above. I have elsewhere discussed these Gebbanites¹⁰ and will merely summarize here. In Pliny's time they were a people with a homeland which produced myrrh, perhaps roughly in the Niṣāb area; but at the same time they exercised a monopoly, throughout the whole of south-west Arabia, of the trade in frankincense, myrrh, and cinnamon, operating a widespread trade-network with establishments in a number of towns outside their own homeland. Somewhat earlier, down to the beginning of the first century B.C., they are epigraphically attested, in the form GB'N, as a folk ('ahl) who played the most prominent role in the South Arabian mercantile league operating under the auspices of the Minaeans.

The term 'Minaea' does not occur as a toponym elsewhere in Strabo, or in any other Greek source; all other references are to 'Minaeans' as a people. It would hence be futile to attempt to pin it down to any particular location. If it had been the name of a definite topographic area, it surely would have received some mention from the geographers. As used here, it may mean no more than the limits of the sphere of South Arabian trade. The fact that this trade had, up to a century before Strabo's time, been controlled by the Minaean league, would be sufficient justification for the use of the term in this way. From the fourth to the second century B.C., the Minaeans had maintained a trading establishment at Dedan, but this ceased to operate around 100 B.C., and the 'Minaean' sphere must have contracted considerably. A strict

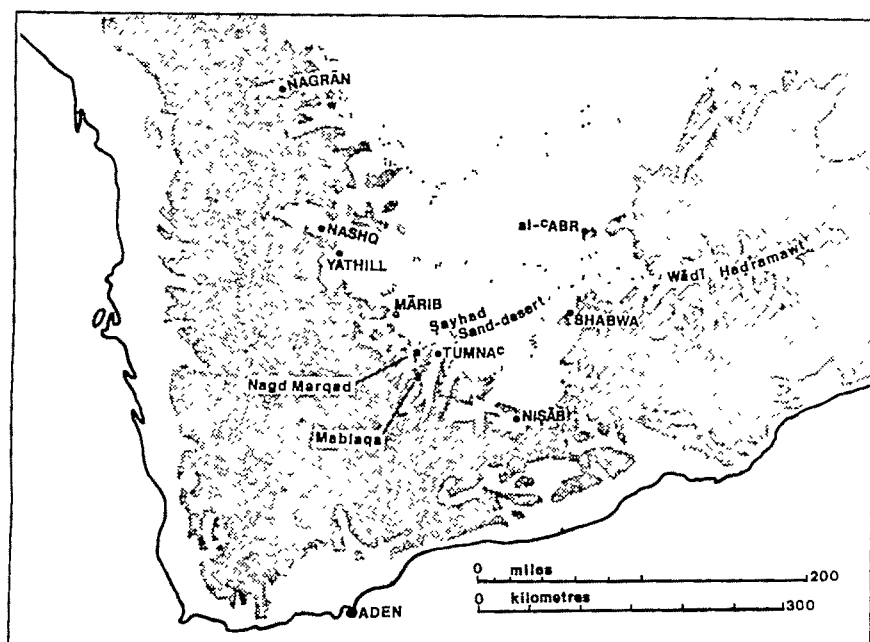
⁸ Here Strabo (or his copyists) have got the names inverted: it was, and is, Ḥāḍramawt which was the typical incense-producing country, while myrrh came from further west in areas including Qatabān.

⁹ The author of the marginal note can have paid no attention to this factor; he was merely replacing a name otherwise totally unknown in the sources by one which was very familiar.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*

interpretation of Strabo's 70:40 ratio would set the hand-over from Gabaioi to Aelanites somewhat north of Nagrān, approximately in the Abhā-Khamīs Mushā'it area. But precision of this kind would be inappropriate, since the South Arabian withdrawal down the trade route was probably gradual and the boundary fluctuating.

A transit time of 110 days between Aelana and Shabwa has to be considered alongside Pliny's statement¹¹ that the journey from Gaza to 'Tumna' was divided into about 60 to 65 (the manuscripts vary between 60, 62, and 65)¹² camel-stations (*mansiones camelorum*). The actual distance, measured with a ruler on the map, is about 2,150 km., implying that the average distance between one *mansio* and the next was 33 to 35 km. in a direct line and upwards of 40 km. on the ground. It hardly seems possible that laden camels can have done this in one day; Aelius Gallus on his retreat took 60 days for a comparable journey, but on the outward march took three times as long, and a laden camel would probably need something between the two figures. One can infer that each *mansio* was approximately two days' journey from the next: even laden camels do not need watering more than on alternate days. On this basis, the Gaza-Tumna' journey would have occupied something like 120 to 130 days, which fits quite well with 110 days from Aelana to Shabwa, since Tumna' is closer to Shabwa than Gaza is to Aelana.



¹¹ XII.32.

¹² He also gives a mileage, but this figure is wildly discrepant in the manuscripts, and the figure of 1487½ adopted by the editors is simply the variant closest to the actual distance (since one Roman mile is fractionally less than 1.5 km., 1487½ would be slightly under 2,230 km.). However, it is difficult to see how Pliny could have known the mileage with anything like this degree of precision: the great Roman roads were marked off in milestones and thus capable of providing precise figures, but who can have paced out an Arabian caravan route in this way? The nature of the figure strongly suggests that it could only have been obtained by calculation from the relative latitudes of Gaza and Tumna'; yet even so, it cannot be absolutely accurate for while no doubt the latitude of Gaza was known, it would be surprising if at this date the Mediterranean world had accurately known the latitude of Tumna'.

Within Strabo's own lifetime, the Romans in 24 B.C. sent an expedition under Aelius Gallus to South Arabia, in the hope (which the event frustrated) of capturing the incense trade at its source. The expedition was ferried across the Red Sea from Egypt, landing at Leuke Kome on the northern Hijāz coast, and then marched overland to Nagrān, where the king fled and the town surrendered 'at first assault'. Six days' march from there the expedition came to 'the river', which must be the Wādī Madhāb, at the western end of the Jawf valley; here the Romans routed a South Arabian force (described contemptuously as 'unwarlike' and 'inexperienced'),¹³ captured the nearby town of 'Aska' (Nashq), and immediately marched on to the town of 'Athroula' (Yathill) at the eastern end of the valley. Strabo's narrative¹⁴ continues, 'Having gained possession of the town without any trouble, and having set a garrison there and laid in provisions of corn and dates, he progressed to the town Marsiaba, belonging to the nation (*ethnos*) of the Rhammanites (or Rhambanites), who were subject to Ilasaros; for six days he invested it, but then desisted owing to lack of water. He was only two days' journey from the incense-producing country, as was learned from captives'. The enterprise was then abandoned, and the remnants of the Roman army retraced their steps, taking only 60 days to cover a journey which on the outward trip had lasted six months. In this account 'Marsiaba' is a scribal corruption for 'Mariba', since it is the latter form which figures in the equally contemporary Monumentum Ancyranum.

But it is extremely unlikely that this Mariba is the well-known Mārib (below the great dam) of the Sabaeans. Homonymy is frequent in ancient South Arabian geography: there were two places named Ḥarīb (one in Khawlān and one west of Bayhān), three towns named Shibām, etc. Strabo was perfectly well aware, having quoted Eratosthenes on the subject, that Mārib was the name of the 'metropolis' of the Sabaeans; when he takes pains to say that the place reached by the Romans belonged to the Rhammanites, he must intend to convey that it is not the same as the Sabaean metropolis. Problems involved in locating the expedition's furthest point anywhere in the region of Sabaean Mārib have not gone unnoticed. It has often been remarked that the most liberal possible interpretation of the expression 'incense-producing country' will not bring it so close to there as two days' march; it has hence been conjectured either that the figure is wrong, or that Aelius was deceived by his informants (though it is difficult to imagine with what motive a captive might have understated the distance). The lack of water is also surprising if he got to the intensively cultivated area around Sabaean Mārib, where there were numerous wells, as the inscriptions testify. Yet another point, which has hitherto not been considered, is the remark that he laid in supplies of corn and dates at Yathill. Invading armies normally live off the land, and if he had been intending to march southwards from Yathill towards Sabaean Mārib, he would have advanced into one of the most fertile and well-provided districts of all South Arabia. This provisioning only makes

¹³ The adjectives are striking, for the South Arabian kingdoms were far from unwarlike, but on the contrary notably bellicose, and none more so than the Sabaeans. This suggests that the force which the Romans encountered was not one of the professional armies (*khamis*) of the South Arabian states, but a collection of local farmers apprehensive of having their fields pillaged by the passing troops. At the same time, one has to admit the possibility that even a *khamis* might well have appeared 'inexperienced' to the Romans, as having little or no knowledge of tactical array and battle order (see my *Warfare in ancient South Arabia*, London, 1976, 16).

¹⁴ xvi.4.24.

sense if he planned to march into the uncultivated and almost uninhabited country east of Yathill and north of the Ṣayhad sands.

This is in fact the most direct route from Yathill to the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and one which was regularly used in succeeding centuries by Sabaeen armies bent on attacking Ḥaḍramawt; conversely, a Ḥaḍramite army, based on an as yet unidentified locality ḤNN, made its first probing attack into Sabaeen territory at Yathill, which suggests that it too must have marched by this route north of the Ṣayhad sands.¹⁵ On this route from Yathill to the head of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt there is only one place of significance, namely the wells of al-ʿAbr (ʿBRN in the inscriptions). These were important for the watering of a passing army,¹⁶ but situated in the midst of a large waterless tract. Provided, therefore that the wells themselves were defended, an investing force would soon run short of water. Finally, from there to what might be called the Ḥaḍramite frontier is something like 100 km., which could without too much exaggeration be represented as two days' journey for a fast riding-camel; whereas from Sabaeen Mārib to the nearest part of Ḥaḍramawt (via Tumna') is more than twice that distance. On all these counts, there is a high probability that 'Mariba of the Rhammanites' was an earlier name for al-ʿAbr.

Other details given by Strabo square with this. On the return journey, Aelius took nine days to get as far as 'Anagrana [sic in the MSS] where the battle took place'. Here there is certainly some confusion, since the only pitched battle that the Romans had had to fight was at 'the river' near Nashq, six days (outward bound) from Nagrān which had capitulated without serious resistance. 'The battle' cannot reasonably be understood as anything but the one outside Nashq, in spite of the confusion over the name. Now the distances from Yathill are: to Nashq 25 km.; to Sabaeen Mārib 80 km.; to al-ʿAbr 260 km. An army in full retreat, which managed to cover the entire homeward trip in 60 days (an average day's march of somewhat over 30 km.), cannot possibly have taken nine days to traverse the 105 (80 + 25) km. from Sabaeen Mārib to Nashq,¹⁷ whereas the 285 (260 + 25) km. from al-ʿAbr to Nashq fits excellently, giving an average day's march of just under 32 km.

The *Res gestae divi Augusti*, preserved in the Monumentum Ancyranum and contemporary with Strabo, is not much help in this connexion. The Latin text reads (col. 26), 'the army marched into Arabia, as far as the borders (*usque in fines*) of the Sabaeans, to the town Mariba'; the Greek version is even briefer, 'in Arabia as far as the town Mariba'. This neither asserts that Mariba was the Sabaeen metropolis, nor that the Romans penetrated into the Sabaeen heartland. A line of march such as suggested above, Nashq—Yathill—al-ʿAbr, would only have taken them peripherally through the outskirts of Sabaeen territory.

Pliny, writing half a century after Strabo, has an allusion to the Roman expedition which seems irreconcilable with both Strabo and the Monumentum Ancyranum. In bk. vi of his 'Natural history' he has a long passage listing the towns of Arabia; this includes (para. 159) a reference to 'the folk called Calingii, whose town Mariba signifies "lords of all"', and a little later

¹⁵ See the inscriptions Sharafaddin 32 and Jamme 665, for Sabaeen movements, and Jamme 643 for the Ḥaḍramite one (all translated in Beeston, op. cit., 51, 52, 45).

¹⁶ Sharafaddin 32, l. 16. In this text, 'BRN is explicitly called a 'town'.

¹⁷ It is true that the distance from Sabaeen Mārib to Nagrān would be about right. But it seems to me incredible that a survivor of the campaign could have correctly remembered the names of the various towns, while at the same time misplacing the location of the one and only battle that had taken place, namely 'at the river' near 'Asca'.

(para. 160) 'Gallus destroyed some towns which have not been named by previous writers, Negrana, Nestum, Nesca, Masugum, Caminacum, Labecia, and the above-mentioned Mariba six miles in circuit, also Caripeta the furthest point he reached'. There is certainly some authenticity here, evidenced by the mention of Caminacum, undoubtedly the epigraphic KMNE a little to the east of Nashq; and of 'Nestum' which, in immediate contiguity with Nasca (Nashq) can be plausibly identified with epigraphic NS²N, the sister-town of Nashq and frequently mentioned along with Nashq in the epigraphic texts. On the other hand, neither of the contemporary accounts (Strabo and the *Res gestae*) claims any destruction of towns, and the assertion that a town of 'Caripeta' was the furthest reached contradicts the contemporary sources. In this matter, Strabo must surely be reckoned a better authority, since he was closely in touch with Aelius Gallus and had actually taken part in the latter's expedition to Upper Egypt in the previous year, 25 B.C. Pliny's statements may be based on the recollections of some aged veteran of the campaign, in which the realities had become magnified in imagination over the years.

Some points, however, deserve stressing. First, it was evidently not Pliny's aim to give an exhaustive account of the expedition, but merely to use such account as he had available for the purpose of making additions to his list of Arabian towns. Secondly, nothing in what he says suggests that his Mariba was the Sabaeen metropolis; on the contrary, it was a town of the 'Calingii'. Nor can his six-mile 'circuit' of the town be taken to imply special importance, but rather the reverse, since it is a relatively small figure contrasted with other 'circuit' figures quoted in the list, namely 14 and 25 miles. These figures are incredible if taken to mean the circuit of walls enclosing the built-up area of the town, and are only acceptable if taken as signifying the circuit of the built-up area plus the adjacent cultivated land adjoining the town. In this sense six miles suggests a settlement of only moderate importance, and would be inadequate to describe Sabaeen Mārib.

Seen from the Sabaeen angle, the whole affair must have appeared not as a major threat to themselves, but as a minor 'frontier incident': a foreign army, on its way to attempt the subjugation of Saba's old enemy Ḥaḍramawt, had a brush with locals in the western Jawf, occupied Yathill peacefully, and then passed on in the direction of Ḥaḍramawt; Yathill itself was not a place where the Sabaeans could have felt themselves very secure, since a couple or so of centuries later, the population of Yathill exhibited a markedly ambivalent attitude in face of a Ḥaḍramite attack on Saba.¹⁸ There remains the problem of Ilasaros. While the possibility cannot be excluded that the Rhammanites may have been in some way under the suzerainty of Saba, there is nothing in Strabo's words to suggest that Ilasaros was a king of Saba, rather than some local chieftain of the Rhammanites.¹⁹

¹⁸ Jamme 643, ll. 20-21.

¹⁹ A person of this name is mentioned in *RES* 4085 without royal title and without the customary royal cognomen, though his father does have a royal cognomen. In this text he figures as overlord of a 'tribe' called the 'RYM, whose chieftain (*kbr*) sponsored irrigation works in palm groves at a place called RMN. *RES* 4938 also mentions RMN as an area of agricultural exploitation. But the original provenance of both texts is unknown; whether they have any relevance at all to Strabo's Ilasaros and Rhammanites is uncertain. But whatever be the case, it does not remove the insuperable difficulty, as I see it, of supposing that Strabo, being well aware that Mārib by the great dam belonged to the Sabaeans, should have here said that it belonged to the Rhammanites. One feature of *RES* 4085 is that the author is called chieftain of the whole 'tribe' 'RYM, an unusual expression which suggests that the group may have included more than one geographically sundered section. Is it too hazardous to surmise that one section may have migrated to al-'Abr?

ABŪ LAHAB AND SŪRA CXI

By URI RUBIN

The studies of Sūra CXI¹ have not yet arrived at satisfactory results, hence the meaning of this sūra is still obscure. The present study tries to present a better basis for its understanding.²

1. The date and background of the sūra

Sūra CXI deals with Abū Lahab, whom all the Muslim sources identify as Muḥammad's paternal uncle, 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib of the clan of Hāshim.

The clue to the date and background of this sūra is to be found in a tradition recorded by al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823).³ This tradition is about al-'Uzzā, the greatest deity of Quraysh, whose sanctuary was at Nakhla, near Mecca. Quraysh also worshipped al-Lāt whose sanctuary was at al-Ṭā'if. A third deity, Manāt, whose sanctuary was at Qudayd, was worshipped mainly by the people of Yathrib (al-Madīna). All three were known as 'daughters of Allāh' (*banāt Allāh*).⁴

The tradition of al-Wāqidi relates that the custodian (*sādin*) of the sanctuary of al-'Uzzā was Aflaḥ b. al-Naḍr al-Shaybānī of the tribe of Sulaym.⁵ Before his death, Aflaḥ told Abū Lahab that he was afraid lest al-'Uzzā should be neglected once he was dead. Upon hearing this, Abū Lahab said: 'Do not grieve; I shall attend to her after you go'. After that, Abū Lahab used to say: 'If al-'Uzzā triumphs, I have already earned a "hand" which she has (to my credit) with her, for attending upon her,'⁶ and if Muḥammad triumphs over al-'Uzzā—which I do not believe will happen—then be it my nephew (who has a "hand" to my credit with him)'. Thereupon, Allāh revealed Sūra CXI.

This tradition had been noticed by Barth,⁸ but he seems to have overlooked its great significance. Al-Wāqidi chose to record this tradition within

¹ J. Barth, 'Abū Lahab', *EI*, first ed.; A. Fischer, *Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-übersetzungen und Sura CXI*, Leipzig, 1937; D. Kunstlinger, 'Eschatologisches in Sura 111', *OLZ*, xii, 7, 1938, 407-10; T. Lohmann, 'Abū Lahab (Sura CXI)', *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geisteswelt Geschichte*, xviii, 1966, 326-48; R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart, 1971, 529. J. Wansbrough in his *Quranic studies* (Oxford, 1977) does not refer to our sūra. This is quite disappointing, because a scholar who denies any historical connexion between the Qur'ān and the 'Arabian prophet' ought to say something about the identity of Abū Lahab and his wife.

² References to the commentaries quoted in the following pages: al-Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Būlāq, 1323/1905, xxx, 217-21; al-Tabarī, *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, n.d., xxx, 266-71; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq al-tanzīl*, Cairo, 1968, iv, 295-7; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*, Cairo, 1955, 317; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, repr., Tehran, n.d., xxxii, 166-73; Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Bahr al-muhīt*, Cairo, 1328/1910, viii, 524-7; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, Beirut, 1966, vii, 399-402; al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-ma'ānī*, repr., Beirut, n.d., xxx, 259-65.

³ See al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. J. M. B. Jones, London, 1966, iii, 874. See also al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 81-2.

⁴ Details about those deities are to be found in J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, repr. 1961, 24 ff.

⁵ The Banū Shaybān of Sulaym were the confederates of the clan of Hāshim. See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, four vols., repr., Beirut, 1971, i, 86.

⁶ The meaning of 'hand' will be explained below.

⁷ *in taḥzar al-'uzzā, kuntu qad itakhadhtu yadan 'indahā bi-qiyyāmi 'alayhā*.

⁸ Barth, loc. cit. Fischer did not refer to it at all.

a chapter dealing with the destruction of the sanctuary of al-'Uzzā in the year 8/629, shortly after the conquest of Mecca. This led Barth to conclude that according to al-Wāqidi, Abū Lahab was still alive after the conquest of Mecca.⁹ Thereby he rejected this tradition as a false one, because Abū Lahab had actually died long before, immediately after the battle of Badr. The truth is, however, that this tradition belongs to the time when both Abū Lahab and Aflah b. al-Nadr were still alive, that is, before the Hijra of Muḥammad to al-Madīna.¹⁰ Al-Wāqidi placed this tradition within a later chapter dealing with the actual destruction of al-'Uzzā, after the conquest of Mecca, because the conversation between the *sādin* of al-'Uzzā and Abū Lahab referred to the same subject, i.e. the forthcoming end of al-'Uzzā.

A second version of the same story is recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī.¹¹ Ibn al-Kalbī located the story in its proper chronological place, that is, immediately after the abrogation of Muḥammad's temporal recognition of the 'daughters of Allāh'. This event was known as the affair of the 'Satanic verses'. In these verses, Muḥammad had recognized the divinity of al-Lāt, Manāt, and al-'Uzzā, and especially their authority to intercede with Allāh for their believers. Some time later, these verses were abrogated, being ascribed to Satan's influence upon the prophet. They were replaced by new verses denying the existence of these three deities (Qur'ān LIII, 19-23).¹²

Ibn al-Kalbī relates that Muḥammad's denial of al-'Uzzā was a great blow to Quraysh (*fa-shadda dhālika 'alā Quraysh*); thereafter he recounts the story about Abū Lahab. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, however, the person to whom Abū Lahab talked was Abū Ḥayḥa Sa'id b. al-'Ās, and not Aflah b. al-Nadr. At the time of the declaration of the 'Satanic verses', this Abū Ḥayḥa was a very old man.¹³ Ibn al-Kalbī's version contains some remarkable details. According to this version, Abū Lahab assured Abū Ḥayḥa that the veneration of al-'Uzzā would not cease after his death. Thereupon Abū Ḥayḥa said: 'Now I know that I have a successor (*khatīfa*)'. And he admired Abū Lahab's eagerness for her worship.

The conclusion to be drawn from Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Wāqidi is that Sūra cxi was revealed in Mecca after Muḥammad no longer recognized al-'Uzzā, when Abū Lahab, on his part, took it upon himself to defend and support this goddess against Muḥammad's new monotheistic course. In this connexion it may be noted that according to Ibn Ishāq,¹⁴ our sūra was revealed after Abū Lahab had abandoned Muḥammad and the rest of the Hāshimites in the ravine (*shī'b*) of Abū Ṭālib, where they had been put under a boycott by Quraysh. Abū Lahab had joined Quraysh in expressing his wish to support al-'Uzzā. These events took place in the seventh year of Muḥammad's prophecy, i.e. only a

⁹ See also Lohmann, art. cit., 330.

¹⁰ That Aflah b. al-Nadr was Abū Lahab's contemporary, and not the last *sādin* of al-'Uzzā who was killed by Khālid after the conquest of Mecca, was already pointed out by Wellhausen, op. cit., 38. The last *sādin* was named Dubayya b. Ḥaramī, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-asnām*, ed. Ahmad Zakī Bāshā, Cairo, 1914, 25 ff.

¹¹ *Asnām*, 23; cf. also Wellhausen, op. cit., 36.

¹² On the 'Satanic verses', see al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xvii, 131 ff. (on Qur'ān xxii, 52); *idem*, *Tārīkh*, Cairo, 1939, II, 76-7 (from Ibn Ishāq and other sources); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, repr., Beirut, 1974, III, 90-1; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, repr., Beirut, 1973, I, 279 ff.; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Al Abi Ṭālib*, Najaf, 1375/1956, I, 46; al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāq, 1300/1883, VIII, 332-4; al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *al-Shifā' bi-ta'rif huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo, 1960, II, 106 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1960, I, 205-6; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-athar*, repr., Beirut, n.d., I, 120-1; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1963, 102 ff.; Paret, op. cit., 461.

¹³ See Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 205. On his last illness see *ibid.*, IV, 95-6.

¹⁴ Ibn Hishām, op. cit., I, 376.

short time after the abrogation of the 'Satanic verses'.¹⁵ Abū Lahab was probably anxious to secure his economic position which was threatened by the boycott of his clan. By leaving the ravine of Abū Ṭālib, he could maintain his connexions with Quraysh and their sanctuaries.

That the revelation of Sūra cxi was caused directly by Abū Lahab's departure from Hāshim, may also be concluded from the Qur'ānic codex of Ubayy b. Ka'b.¹⁶ This codex reportedly contained an additional verse, located between verses 1 and 2 of our sūra :

hālafa 'l-bayta 'l-waḍī'a 'alā 'l-bayti 'l-raḥī'i
fa-shughīla bi-nafsihi, thumma shughīla

'He became allied to the inferior house against the exalted house, and he was occupied only with himself, and indeed he was'.

By the 'exalted house' the clan of Hāshim is probably meant, which Abū Lahab abandoned, allying himself with a certain unspecified clan, which is considered inferior to Hāshim. Some early verses ascribed to Hassān b. Thābit shed more light on the matter.¹⁷ These verses condemn Abū Lahab for forsaking Muḥammad and stress at the same time that Abū Lahab was not a true son of Hāshim, being, in fact, the son of a person from the tribe of Liḥyān (to whom his mother had been married before marrying 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib). The clan of Hāshim is described as being high with noble traits, while Abū Lahab is described as being low with his shame.¹⁸ Both these verses and Ubayy's verse allude to the fact that Muḥammad was deeply injured when Abū Lahab abandoned him.¹⁹ This may lead to the conclusion that before leaving Muḥammad, Abū Lahab had bestowed his protection upon the prophet and extended to him much aid and support. Muḥammad's attack upon the 'daughters of Allāh' and the boycott of Hāshim forced upon Abū Lahab a completely different attitude towards the prophet. Muḥammad's dismay was fully expressed in Sūra cxi which was then revealed.

2. Verse 1: *tabbat yadā Abī Lahabin wa-tabba*

The most intriguing phrase in verse 1 is *yadā Abī Lahabin* 'the two hands of Abū Lahab'. According to the above-mentioned tradition of al-Wāqidi, Abū Lahab had supported al-'Uzzā and thus gained a 'hand' which was with her to his credit. The Arabic clause expressing it runs as follows: *kruntu qad ittakhadhtu yadan 'indahā. Yad* here means *ni'ma*, that is to say: 'favour' or 'benefaction'. The meaning of the whole clause is: 'I did her a favour (*yad*) and she is obliged to reward me for it'. The expression *ittakhadha 'indahum yadan* is explained by Lane²⁰ as follows: 'He did to them a benefit,

¹⁵ According to al-Wāqidi, the proclamation of these verses occurred in the fifth year, i.e. two years before the boycott of Hāshim (Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 206, 209). Therefore the abrogation must have happened shortly before the boycott. Al-Ṭabarī, on his part, mentions the affair of the 'Satanic verses' only after the beginning of the boycott. See *Tārīkh*, II, 74, 75 ff. See also al-Zurqānī, op. cit., I, 278 ff.

¹⁶ A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān*, Leiden, 1937, 180. Quoted from Jeffery by Fischer, p. 10, without any comment.

¹⁷ See Hassān b. Thābit, *Dhūdn*, ed. W. 'Arafāt, London, 1971, I, p. 390, no. 214.

¹⁸ *wa-lākinna Liḥyānan abāka wariklahū/ wa-ma'wā 'l-khanā minhum fa-da' 'anka hāshimā/ samat hāshimūn lil-makrumātī wa-lil-'ulā/ wa-ghūdirta fī ka'bīn minā 'l-lu'mī jāthimā.*

¹⁹ That Abū Lahab's conduct during the period of the boycott of Hāshim had a serious effect on Muḥammad is indicated also in some early verses ascribed to Abū Ṭālib (Ibn Hishām, op. cit., II, 11). In these verses Abū Ṭālib urges Abū Lahab not to abandon his nephew, stressing the importance of his protection. Abū Ṭālib swears by the 'house of Allāh' (the Ka'ba) that the Hāshimites will protect the prophet till the end. The background of these verses can easily be established, as the *shi'b* is mentioned in the last verse.

²⁰ *An Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v. *a.kh.dh*.

or favour, as though he earned one for himself in prospect, making it to be incumbent on them as a debt to him'. It follows that *yad* in this context denotes simultaneously the benefaction and its prospective reward. Al-Wāqidi's tradition leads to the conclusion that the Qur'ān has labelled Abū Lahab's attendance upon al-'Uzzā as *yad*, that is to say, an honourable act of help and support, for which he deserved a due recompense from this goddess.

The Qur'ān, however, mentions the 'two hands' of Abū Lahab. This is due to the fact that not only a single act of support is meant, but rather all Abū Lahab's good deeds, including those which were performed for Muhammad's sake. For there is some evidence that at a certain stage, Abū Lahab bestowed protection upon Muhammad.²¹ Still, although the Qur'ān refers to all Abū Lahab's good deeds, it has nevertheless preferred the dual form, *yadā*, to the plural, *aydī*. *Yadā*, it seems, was much more natural, since the concrete meaning of *yad* (a hand) had not been wholly neglected. Hence, it was impossible to mention more than two 'hands' of a single person.

Abū Lahab had indeed several 'hands' to his credit in Mecca. As a generous wealthy man,²² this was quite to be expected of him. Ibn Ishāq has preserved for us some early verses in which Abū Lahab appears as a most generous and helpful person.²³ The verses are ascribed to Ḥudhayfa b. Ghānim, whom Abū Lahab redeemed after he had been seized for a debt of 4,000 dirhams. We shall adduce but one verse.²⁴ In this verse Abū Lahab is called Ibn Lubnā, after his mother Lubnā bint Hajar of Khuzā'a:²⁵

*wa-lā tansa mā asdā bnu Lubnā fa-innahū
qada sdā*²⁶ *yadan maḥqūqatan minka bi 'l-shukrī*

'And do not forget what Ibn Lubnā has granted, for he has granted a "hand" that deserves your thankfulness'.

The original meaning of the phrase *yadā Abī Lahabin* was preserved not only in the above-mentioned tradition of al-Wāqidi, but also in some rare exegetical traditions included in the direct commentaries on our sūra. The commentary of al-Ālūsī (p. 261) contains the following passage:

*wa-fī 'l-ta'wīlāt al-yadu bi-ma'nā 'l-ni'ma. wa-kāna yuḥsinu ilā 'l-nabī (ṣ)
wa-ilā quraysh wa-yaqūlu: in kāna 'l-amru li-Muḥammadin fa-lī 'indahū
yadun, wa-in kāna li-qurayshin fa-ka-dhālika*

'There are some interpretations saying that *yad* denotes benefaction. (Abū

²¹ Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 211. It is related that Abū Lahab protected Muhammad only after Abū Tālib had died, i.e. much later than the revelation of Sūra cxi. It is more likely, however, that Muhammad had enjoyed the protection of Abū Lahab before the revelation of this sūra which marked the end of the friendly relations with his uncle. The present form of the account apparently reflects a Shi'i tendency to promote the impression that as long as Abū Tālib ('Alī's father) was alive, he was Muhammad's only protector. At any rate, both Abū Tālib and Abū Lahab are said to have earned something in return for their kind attitude towards Muhammad. Abū Tālib, who died as an unbeliever, was said to be only in the shallow fire of hell (*ḡahdāh*). Abū Lahab was said to have water to ease his torture in hell as a reward for setting free his slave Thuwayba, who was Muhammad's wet-nurse. See al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unṣ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd, Cairo, 1971, III, 67; al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, IX, 124-5. On Abū Lahab and Thuwayba see also al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1968, VII, 12; Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 108; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. Muhammad 'Uthmān, Cairo, 1969, I, 120; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā bi-ahwāl al-Mustafā*, ed. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1966, I, 107; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣṣāba fī ma'rifa al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1970, VII, 549; al-Zurqānī, op. cit., I, 138.

²² See e.g. Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 93: *wa-kāna jawādān*.

²³ Ibn Hishām, op. cit., I, 184 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 115; Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.

²⁶ For: *qad asdā*.

Lahab) used to perform good deeds for the benefit of the prophet and Quraysh. He used to say: "if the victory is with Muḥammad, I have a 'hand' to my credit with him, and if the victory is with Quraysh, the same applies to them".²⁷

Finally, it may be remarked that *yad* denoting benefaction, occurs in a further Qur'anic passage as well. Qur'an IX, 29 says: *qātīlū 'lādhiḥina lā yu'minūna bi-llāhi... minā 'lādhiḥina ūtū 'l-kitāba ḥattā yu'tū 'l-jizyata 'an yadīn*. The true meaning of the phrase *al-jizyata 'an yadīn* has been pointed out by M. M. Bravmann.²⁸ Bravmann, contrary to Kister's opinion,²⁹ renders this verse as follows: 'combat those non-believers who are possessors of a book (i.e. Christians and Jews) until they give the reward due for a benefaction (since their lives are spared)'. There is, however, some difference between the two verses. The phrase *yadā Abī Lahabīn* refers mainly to the supporter himself, i.e. Abū Lahab, whereas the expression '*an yadīn*' refers to those who were granted the benefaction, who must make a reward for it. Besides, in Qur'an IX, 29 *yad* means a benefaction consisting in sparing somebody's life, whereas in our sūra, *yad* means benefaction in the sense of material support. In both cases the benefaction must be duly rewarded or recompensed.

Our sūra is directly connected with Sūra LIII which abrogates Muḥammad's former recognition of al-'Uzzā's existence. Verse 1 conveys the idea that the 'hand' which Abū Lahab believed he had to his credit with al-'Uzzā, has become worthless; he can no longer count on al-'Uzzā's reward for serving and supporting her, as she became a false goddess due to the abrogation of the 'Satanic verses'. At the same time, the Qur'an, as a retaliation against Abū Lahab who abandoned Muḥammad for his own interests, proclaims the end of his credit with Muḥammad, the latter being no longer obliged to reward Abū Lahab for his former protection. The word which signifies the new condition of Abū Lahab's 'hands' is *tabbat*. Qatāda (d. 118/736),³⁰ as quoted by al-Ṭabarī, interprets it as *ḥasirat*, i.e. 'failed to produce profits or reward; became worthless'. The explanation of *tabbat* as *ḥasirat* accords with the Qur'an itself, in which the infinitive *tabīb* is replaced by *takhsīr* (Qur'an XI, 101: *wa-mā zādūhum ḡayra tabībīn*; XI, 63: *fa-mā tazādūnānī ḡayra takhsīrīn*). According to a further interpretation recorded on the authority of Yamān b. Ri'āb,³¹ *tabbat* means: 'have become devoid of any benefit (*ṣafirat min kullī ḡayrīn*)'.³² Similarly, one of al-Ṭabarī's interpretations says that verse 1 means: 'his hands have not gained any benefit at all, and he himself incurred loss as well, i.e. he has been lost in all respects (*wa-mā'nāhu annahu lam taktasīb yadāhu ḡayran qatṭu, wa-ḥasira ma'a dhālika huwa nafsuhu, ay tabba 'alā kullī ḡalīn*)'.

The final thing to be explained concerning verse 1 is the meaning of the name 'Abū Lahab', i.e. 'the father of flame'. According to Lohmann,³³ 'Abū Lahab' stands for the person who was first to kindle the fire, that is to say, the first person of Quraysh to break off friendly relations with Muḥammad.

²⁷ Abū Muslim (probably al-Kashshī, d. 292/904, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 162), as quoted by al-Rāzī, says that *yadā abī lahabin* means his fortune (*ya'nī mālahu*) which is also denoted by the expression *dhāt al-yad*. This interpretation is close to the interpretation of *yad* as *nī'ma*, in the sense of material support.

²⁸ See M. M. Bravmann, *The spiritual background of early Islam*, Leiden, 1972, 199 ff.

²⁹ See M. J. Kister, "'An yadīn'" (Qur'an, IX, 29), *Arabica*, XI, 3, 1964, 272-8.

³⁰ Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 31 ff.

³¹ On whom see al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, Cairo, n.d., IV, 460.

³² See al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, and Abū Ḥayyān.

³³ Lohmann, art. cit., 334.

This explanation cannot be accepted for the simple reason that there is nothing to suggest that 'fire' symbolizes the conflict with the prophet, since this conflict, in its early stages, was by no means warlike. On the other hand, Lohmann is quite correct in assuming that 'Abū Lahab' has become the name (*kunya*) of Muḥammad's uncle only as a result of this sūra, not being known before. In general, a man's *kunya* is mentioned in his honour.³⁴ Abū Lahab's case, however, is different. Al-'Asqalānī³⁵ explains: 'the *kunya* in itself does not indicate glorification, since in some cases, the personal name may be more honourable than the *kunya* (... *inna 'l-takniya lā tadullu bi-mujarradihā 'alā 'l-ta'zīm bal qad yakūnu 'l-ismu ashrafa mina 'l-takniya*'). This, indeed, seems to be true: the Qur'ān, in order to degrade Abū Lahab, has refrained from addressing him by his personal name, 'Abd al-'Uzzā, which signified his honour as servant of al-'Uzzā. The Qur'ān has chosen to name him 'the father of flame', thus suggesting that instead of being rewarded by al-'Uzzā at the Last Judgement for his service, he, being deprived of the intercession of that false goddess, will burn in the flames of hell. Thus the surname 'Abū Lahab' fits in with the general context of verse 1.

In conclusion, verse 1 may be rendered as follows: 'Abū Lahab's credit for his grand deeds has been lost, and he (himself) has been lost'.

3. Other interpretations of verse 1

The greater part of the Muslim commentaries on verse 1 contains new interpretations deviating from its true meaning. This deviation seems to be due to a deliberate modification of the meaning of this verse. The reason for this seems to be connected with verse 3 of our sūra: *sa-yaslā nāran dhāta lahabin* 'He shall be burned in a fire of flame'. Originally, this verse describes Abū Lahab's failure to gain his prospective reward for serving al-'Uzzā, on the one hand, and for protecting Muḥammad, on the other. Being deprived of his reward, the fire of hell has become his only prospect.³⁶ After Muḥammad's death, however, Muslim theologians gradually developed a new perception of verse 3, and consequently of the whole sūra. Their postulate was that Abū Lahab, being mentioned in a special Qur'ānic chapter, relating also his fate in hell, must have sinned greatly against Muḥammad and Islam, for which hell was to be his punishment.

This view had much bearing on verse 1. Firstly, the meaning of the 'hands' of Abū Lahab was changed from grand deeds of favour and support to hostile actions carried out by those hands against no other than Muḥammad himself. Thus the 'hands' regained their concrete meaning, while *tabbat* came to signify the failure of those hostile deeds. In this way Abū Lahab grew akin to the rest of the Qurashis who had allegedly persecuted the prophet in Mecca.

The first step towards this new understanding of verse 1 seems to be reflected in a tradition traced back to Ibn 'Abbās. This tradition is recorded by al-Rāzī: 'Ibn 'Abbās said: he (i.e. Abū Lahab) used to send away people who had come to see (the prophet), saying that (Muḥammad) was a sorcerer (*sāḥir*). Those people used to turn back, not suspecting the truth of his words, since he was the head of the clan, and used to treat Muḥammad like a father. However,

³⁴ Goldhizer, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle a.S., I, 1889, 267 (English tr., *Muslim studies*, I, London, 1967, 242).

³⁵ *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 387.

³⁶ This verse seems to be the main reason for the Mu'tazila's rejection of our sūra, because it excludes from the outset any possibility of repentance on the part of Abū Lahab. See e.g. al-Rāzī on this verse. This point has not yet been explained by Western scholars who dealt with the Mu'tazili attitude towards our sūra. See I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 207; Fischer op. cit., 16 ff.; Barth, art. cit., 329.

when Sūra CXI was revealed, Abū Lahab became angry and showed his enmity, causing people to grow suspicious and to disbelieve in what he had said about the prophet. Thus his efforts (against the prophet) failed, and his aim was missed. And perhaps the "hand" has been mentioned because he used to strike with it on the shoulder of the person who had come to see the prophet, saying: "turn back, for Muḥammad is possessed (*majnūn*)". Usually, when a man sends another man away, he puts his hand on the latter's shoulder, pushing him away'. Al-Rāzī records a further interpretation on the authority of 'Atā': '*tabbat* means: "has been defeated (*ghulibat*)"; (Abū Lahab) believed that his hand would (triumph) over (Muḥammad), and he would expel him from Mecca, humiliating and defeating him (but his own hand has been defeated)'.

Verse 3 of our sūra has a pure eschatological significance. This stimulated more new interpretations attaching a similar meaning to verse 1 as well. Thereby, verse 1 was treated as though dealing not only with the failure of Abū Lahab's worldly sins against the prophet, but also with his prospective punishment in hell. Al-Ṭabarī interprets: 'his deeds have proved unsuccessful, and he himself has failed, being condemned to hell' (*khasira 'amaluhu wa-khasira huwa bi 'l-wuqū'i fi 'l-nār*).³⁷

Verse 1 was eventually interpreted as if referring solely to the world to come, *tabbat* being no longer interpreted as denoting a present worldly disadvantage, but rather as an invocation (*du'ā'*) for the same, due to come upon Abū Lahab in hell. This interpretation is reflected in the reading (*qirā'a*) of 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd: *tabbat yadā abī lahabin wa-qad tabba*; 'may the hands of Abū Lahab be lost, and indeed he has been lost'. This *qirā'a* is based on a structure of invocation common in old Arabic; it contains two verbs, the latter being preceded by *wa-qad*, denoting the inevitability of the invocation expressed by the first. Al-Ṭabarī adduces two examples of this structure:

☞ *ahlakaka 'lāhu wa-qad ahlakaka; ja'alaka šāḥin wa-qad ja'alaka*.³⁸

In acquiring the meaning of invocation, the phrase *tabbat yadāhu* was assimilated later on to genuine Arabic phrases of invocation connected with 'hands', such as *shallat yadāhu* and *taribat yadāhu*. Unlike the Qur'ānic expression *tabbat yadāhu*, these phrases are to be found in many verses of old Arab poetry.³⁹ In the following *rajaz* verse, the Qur'ānic phrase *tabbat yadāhu* has already been adapted to its new usage of invocation. According to *Lisān al-'Arab* (s.v. *tbb*), this verse refers to somebody who has bought *fasw*, i.e. a commodity from which no great utility is derived.

akhsir bihā min šafqatin lam tustaqal
tabbat yadā šāfiqihā mādihā fa'al

'What a great loss (was caused by) this deal that was not abrogated,

May the hands of him who made this deal be lost, what has he done!' ⁴⁰

³⁷ See also al-Suhaylī, op. cit., II, 109.

³⁸ Regarding *tabbat* as an invocation, Fischer considered this *qirā'a* to be the original one. Paret (op. cit., 529), however, has shown that the *lectio difficilior* is not *wa-qad tabba* (Ibn Mas'ūd) but rather *wa-tabba*, thus affirming that Ibn Mas'ūd's reading is secondary. The *qirā'a* of Ibn Mas'ūd was indeed known as an 'easy' one, containing many explanatory additions to the original text. See al-Suhaylī, loc. cit. See also I. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 8 ff.

³⁹ See references in Fischer, op. cit., p. 20, n. 1.

⁴⁰ Fischer, loc. cit., adduces this verse as an illustration that *tabbat yadā abī lahabin* is an invocation. This verse, however, seems to be a later reflection of a somewhat similar *rajaz* verse included in the original story about the person who bought *fasw*. This man, so the story goes, was named Baydara; he bought the *fasw* of the tribe of *lyād*. The original *rajaz* verse referring to him does not yet have *tabbat yadāhu* but still: *shallat yadāhu*. See e.g. Ibn Durayd, *Jamharat al-lughā*, Hyderabad, 1344/1925, I, 23.

The view that verse 1 invokes evil upon Abū Lahab is put forward by many traditions, some of which are widely current in the various commentaries on our sūra. This view represents, in fact, the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the Muslim scholars with regard to the meaning of verse 1. The main idea of the traditions presenting this view is that the phrase *tabbat yadā abī lahabin* forms an antiphony to the invocation *tabban lahu* uttered by Abū Lahab himself before the revelation of the sūra. One of the earliest of these traditions is that of Ibn Ishāq.⁴¹ According to Ibn Ishāq, Abū Lahab used to say: 'Muḥammad promises me things that I do not see, which he says will come after my death. What has he actually put in my hands (except promises)?'. Then he would blow on his hands and say: 'May you be lost (*tabban lakumā*). I see in you nothing of what Muḥammad says'. Therefore Allāh revealed the sūra.

According to more developed traditions, Abū Lahab directed the imprecation not to his own self, but rather to the Islamic religion. A tradition to this effect is recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Ibn Zayd (d. 182/798).⁴² Abū Lahab allegedly uttered the words *tabban li-hādihā min dīnin tabban*, when Muḥammad refused to grant him an exceptional position among the Muslims, as a reward for his embracing Islam.

The most current traditions, however, are those relating that Abū Lahab's curse was directed to Muḥammad himself. These traditions say that when Muḥammad was ordered to start warning his nearest relations of the Last Judgement (Qur'an xxvi, 214: *wa-andhir 'ashīratika 'l-aqrabīna* . . .), he summoned them all in order to convey his mission. Upon hearing his words, Abū Lahab said: 'Is this what you summoned us for? May you be lost (*tabban laka*)'. Thereupon Sūra cxi was revealed. This story implies that Sūra cxi was revealed at the very beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity. Al-Ṭabarī records no less than five versions of this story, four of which are from al-A'mash (d. 148/765),⁴³ with an *isnād* traced back to Ibn 'Abbās.

This story was admitted into the canonical *ḥadīth*,⁴⁴ as well as into books of *asbāb al-nuzūl*.⁴⁵ Its secondary nature is attested most clearly by the fact that in the earlier versions of the story about the beginning of Muḥammad's mission among his fellow tribesmen, there is not a single word concerning Sūra cxi.⁴⁶

In later versions of the above traditions, Abū Lahab's hostile acts against the prophet assume a more aggressive nature. According to al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍawī, Abū Lahab not only abused the prophet, but also picked up a stone with the intention of throwing it at him, thus provoking the Qur'anic damning of his hands.⁴⁷ Explaining why the Qur'an has mentioned the hands of Abū Lahab, al-Ṭabarsī and al-Rāzī quote a tradition on the authority of the *ṣaḥābī* Ṭāriq al-Muḥaribī,⁴⁸ according to which Abū Lahab used to follow the

⁴¹ Ibn Hishām, op. cit., I, 376.

⁴² Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 38.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁴ See al-Bukhārī, op. cit., VI, 140, 221-2; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (in *ʿAridat al-aḥwādī*, by Ibn al-ʿArabī), XII, 259. See also Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 74-5, 200.

⁴⁵ e.g. al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo, 1968, 261-2.

⁴⁶ See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, 62-3 (from Ibn Ishāq). Cf. also Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 187.

⁴⁷ A similar story is told about the wife of Abū Lahab who, after the revelation of the sūra, intended to throw a big stone at Muḥammad. Allāh, however, concealed the prophet from her. See Ibn Hishām, op. cit., I, 381-2. Cf. al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 567; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā 'l-ṣaḥīḥayn*, Riyād, 1388/1968, II, 361; al-Bayhaqī, op. cit., I, 443-4; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., I, 325; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'is al-kubrā*, ed. Ḥarās, Cairo, 1967, I, 318-19; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, op. cit., I, 102-3; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 61; al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-Nabī*, MS BM Or. 3014, fols. 40a, 127a.

⁴⁸ On whom see *Iṣāba*, III, 511.

prophet and throw stones at him, when the latter preached Islam to Arab tribesmen in the market of Dhū 'l-Majāz.⁴⁹ This tradition was already recorded by al-Tirmidhī.⁵⁰ An earlier version of the same story, however, does not mention any such act on the part of Abū Lahab, nor is there any allusion to the connexion of this event with our sūra.⁵¹ A further tradition, recorded by al-Rāzī, relates that Abū Lahab had torn off the 'hands' (i.e. the front legs) of a kid (*jady*) that believed in Muḥammad, and this brought about the cursing of his own hands in the Qur'ān. This legendary tradition applies the most aggressive touch to Abū Lahab's negative image.⁵²

The view that verse 1 invokes evil upon Abū Lahab eventually caused a considerable change in the meaning of *tabbat* and *wa-tabba*. Al-Zamakhsharī explains these verbs not in the meaning of *khasira*, but rather in the sense of *halaka*, i.e. 'to perish'. Al-Bayḍāwī explains that *tabāb* means *khusrān* (i.e. failure or loss) that brings about *halāk* (i.e. perdition).

The shift from *khasira* to *halaka* accords with the general tendency illustrated above, to conform verse 1 to the eschatological spirit of verse 3. This tendency is most evident in one of Bayḍāwī's interpretations, to the effect that the perdition of Abū Lahab's two hands stands for his own total perdition in this world as well as in the world to come (*dunyāhu wa-ukhrāhu*). This interpretation is closely connected with another interpretation offered by al-Zamakhsharī.

wa 'l-murād: halāk jumlatihi ka-qawlihi ta'ālā: bi-mā qaddamat yadāka
'The meaning (of the perdition of Abū Lahab's hands) is the perdition of his whole person; this is like the verse (Qur'ān xxii, 10): "for what your two hands have done" '.

This interpretation takes the 'two hands' to be a synecdoche, i.e. denoting the whole person to whom they belong. It may be noted, however, that the

⁴⁹ A Shi'i tradition relates that al-'Abbās participated with Abū Lahab in these deeds. Abū Ṭālib defended the prophet against them both. See Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 51.

⁵⁰ Quoted from al-Tirmidhī in *Iṣāba*, loc. cit.

⁵¹ See Ibn Hishām, op. cit., II, 64-5; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, op. cit., I, 101; Ibn Kathīr, op. cit., III, 41; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 51. Cf. also Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 216. In the course of time, Abū Lahab's name was included in the list of those Qurashīs who plotted to kill the prophet before the Hijra. See Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I, 228. In Ibn Hishām, II, 125, his name is still absent from that list. Similarly, later sources (Ibn Shahrāshūb, I, 66-7, cf. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 113) include his name in the list of the *mustakzi'ūn*, from which his name is still absent in the earlier sources (e.g. Ibn Hishām, II, 50-1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 48-9. See also al-Bayhaqī, op. cit., II, 85-6; al-Suyūṭī, op. cit., I, 385; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., I, 329-30; al-Khargūshī, op. cit., MS Tübingen M.a. VI, 12, folios 44b-45a). It is also worthy of note that in later sources Abū Lahab is said to have performed deeds which were ascribed originally to Abū Jahl (of Makhzūm), probably due to the likeness of the names. In the earlier sources it is related that Abū Jahl plotted to kill Muḥammad with a stone, while the latter was absorbed in prayer (Ibn Hishām, op. cit., I, 319-20; see also al-Bayhaqī, op. cit., I, 438-40; al-Suyūṭī, op. cit., I, 315-16, 320-1; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., I, 327; al-Khargūshī, op. cit. (BM), fol. 114b; Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 7, and also the commentaries on Sūra CXVI). In later sources the same story is transferred from Abū Jahl to Abū Lahab. See Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 68-9.

⁵² Finally Abū Lahab has become the archetype of Muḥammad's enemies, whom all the Muslims are urged to curse. Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, III, 41) informs us that Sūra CXI was recited on the *minbars* being included in the exhortations and the Friday sermons. And see further Fischer, op. cit., *passim*, Lohmann, art. cit., 339, 331-2. It is interesting to observe, however, that certain circles (probably of the Shi'a) produced several traditions to the effect that Muḥammad had forbidden the Muslims to curse the members of his own family. This had been done after Abū Lahab's daughter had complained to the prophet of being insulted by the Muslims for being the offspring of the 'fire-wood of hell' (*ibnat ḥatab al-nār*). According to some traditions the prophet announced on that occasion that his intercession (*shafā'a*) would save all his blood relations at the Last Judgement. See al-'Asqalānī, *Iṣāba*, VII, 634 ff.; al-Khargūshī, op. cit. (Tübingen), 18b, (BM) 50b-51a; al-Zurqānī, op. cit., I, 185-6; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Shawā'iq al-mubṭiqa*, Cairo, 1965, 172.

comparison with Qur'ān xxii, 10, is unjustified, since *yadāka* there and elsewhere in the Qur'ān, has its own independent meaning, being used in a figurative sense, in connexion with the performance of deeds (*qaddamat*).⁵³

4. Verse 2: *mā aghnā 'anhu māluhu wa-mā kasaba*

The crucial phrase in verse 2 is *wa-mā kasaba*. Barth translated: '... und was er erworben hat'. Fischer (p. 25) and Lohmann (p. 326) followed suit. The truth is, however, that the verb *kasaba* in the Qur'ān does not usually denote 'to gain' or 'to earn', but rather 'to act' or 'to perform deeds of some importance'. Although this metaphorical usage of the verb *kasaba* has been pointed out by Western scholars,⁵⁴ it has not yet been noticed that *kasaba* has the same meaning in our sūra as well. The phrase *wa-mā kasaba* refers to Abū Lahab's grand deeds, namely his service to al-'Uzzā and his protection of Muḥammad. These were the works that did credit to him and provided him with the 'hands' mentioned in the previous verse.

This true meaning of *wa-mā kasaba* was preserved for us in one tradition only. This tradition is recorded on the authority of Qatāda, the same Qatāda whose interpretation of verse 1 also preserved some of its original meaning (see above). The tradition of Qatāda is recorded by al-Zamakhsharī. It says: '(*mā kasaba* means) his deeds which he believed were of some benefit to him. It is like (Allāh) said (Qur'ān xxv, 23): "and we turned to the deeds they had performed..." (*'amaluhi 'llāhi ḥanna annahu minhu 'alā shay'in ka-qawlihi: wa-qadimnā ilā mā 'amilū min 'amalin*). The 'amal of Qur'ān xxv, 23, which, according to Qatāda, resembles the 'amal of Abū Lahab, consists indeed in grand works which are proclaimed worthless by the Qur'ān because of the disbelief of those who carried them out.⁵⁵

In close association with the grand works of Abū Lahab, the Qur'ān also mentions his wealth (*māluhu*). In this context *māluhu* must be taken as referring to the fortune Abū Lahab spent to perform his grand works of aid and support. *Māl* consisted mainly of camels and sheep, and Abū Lahab indeed used to bestow camels upon the needy, among them the above-mentioned Hudhayfa b. Ghānim.⁵⁶ Abū Lahab's *māl* was probably spent also for the sake of al-'Uzzā. That *māl* was indeed used for such religious purposes, is indicated by a passage in al-Azraqī's *Akhbār Makka*.⁵⁷ Khālīd b. al-Walīd, it is related, once told Muḥammad that his father used to offer up his best wealth (*bi-khayri mālihi*) to al-'Uzzā.

The main idea of verse 2 is that neither the wealth Abū Lahab had spent, nor the grand works he had performed could prevent the ultimate loss of the 'hands' he hoped to preserve to his credit with both al-'Uzzā and Muḥammad.

⁵³ Fischer also believes that *yadā* is a synecdoche, hence, *yadā Abī Lahab* denotes: *Abū Lahab*. But this explanation is obviously wrong, as it does not explain why the Qur'ān speaks both of the hands of Abū Lahab (*tabbat*) and of Abū Lahab himself (*wa-tabba*). This repetition can be intelligible only if a clear distinction between the 'hands' of Abū Lahab and the person himself is assumed.

⁵⁴ Paret, op. cit., 22; Bravmann, op. cit., 107 ff.

⁵⁵ cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xix, 3. Commenting on Qur'ān xxv, 23, al-Zamakhsharī says that the works of the unbelievers were such as doing good to the kindred, helping the suffering, entertaining guests, redeeming prisoners, and other such noble and good deeds (*wa-a'māluhum 'llāhi 'amilūhā fī kufrihim min ḡlati rahimin wa-ighāthati malḥūsin wa-ḡirā dayfin wa-mannin 'alā asī'in wa-ghayri dhālika min makārimihim wa-maḥāsinihim*). And see further Qur'ān xiv, 18, where the 'amal of the unbelievers is mentioned in connexion with their *kasb*: *mathalu 'lladhina kafarū bi-rabbihim a'māluhum ka-ramādin ishtādāt bihi 'i-rḥu fī yawmin 'aṣfin lā yaqdirūna mimnā kasabū 'alā shay'in*.

⁵⁶ Ibn Hishām, op. cit., i, 185, l. 12. As an owner of a large number of camels, Abū Lahab was able to practise *ḡimār*; see *Aghāni*, Būlāq, repr. Beirut, 1970, iii, 100, iv, 19.

⁵⁷ i, 81.

This idea is conveyed by the phrase *mā aghnā 'anhu*. Al-Bayḍāwī explains: *nafyun li-ighnā'i 'l-mālī 'anhu hīna nazala bihi 'l-tabābu* 'Negation of the benefit of his wealth when the loss (of his hands) was inflicted upon him'.

It is important to remark that with much the same words the Qur'ān denies elsewhere the benefit of the grand works of the ancient people of Thamūd who had erected monuments of stone for their protection, which, however, were soon destroyed. Qur'ān xv, 84 reads: *fa-mā aghnā 'anhum mā kānū yaksibūna*. And see also xxxix, 50; xl, 82.

Finally, verse 2 may be thus translated: 'the fortune (that he had spent) and the grand works that he had performed did not help him (to preserve his hands).'

5. Other interpretations of verse 2

The same reasons as caused the above-mentioned changes in the meaning of verse 1 have produced like changes in the meaning of verse 2. Like *yadā Abī Lahab*, the phrase *wa-mā kasaba* was soon presented as denoting Abū Lahab's hostile actions against the prophet. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk (d. 105/723),⁵⁸ as quoted by al-Zamakhsharī, says that the phrase *wa-mā kasaba* means Abū Lahab's 'evil deeds i.e. his conspiracy against the messenger of Allāh (*wa-'amahu 'l-khabīthu ya'nī kaydaḥu fī 'adāwati rasūl allāh*)'. The interpretation of al-Ḍaḥḥāk perceives the phrase *wa-mā kasaba* in the meaning of '*amal al-khabīth*', which expression, like *kasb al-khabīth*, was quite common in pre-Islamic poetry.⁵⁹

This interpretation soon adjusted itself to the eschatological meaning which became dominant in all the further interpretations of verse 2. *Wa-mā kasaba*, in the meaning of *kasb al-khabīth*, was associated with Abū Lahab's children, on grounds of some Qur'ānic passages containing the idea that at the Last Judgement neither wealth (*māl*) nor children (*awlād*) would save the unbelievers from hell (e.g. iii, 10, 116; lviii, 17). No less than five traditions putting forth this meaning of *wa-mā kasaba* are recorded by al-Ṭabarī. The most detailed one is recorded on the authority of Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770).⁶⁰ This tradition relates that Abū Lahab's two sons once quarrelled with each other while at Ibn 'Abbās's home. On trying to stop them, Ibn 'Abbās was pushed by them on to his bed. Then he ordered that Abū Lahab's evil *kasb* be sent out of his house (*akhrijū 'annī 'l-kasba 'l-khabītha*). In short, this tradition ascribes to Ibn 'Abbās the interpretation that the phrase *wa-mā kasaba* stands for Abū Lahab's children.⁶¹

The same interpretation of *wa-mā kasaba* is widely current in later commentaries. Al-Ṭabarsī furnishes us with the following explanation: 'it means his sons because the sons of a man are part of his earnings (*kasb*). They were mentioned because Abū Lahab had said: "if what Muḥammad says about hell is true, I shall redeem myself (from hell) by means of my wealth and my sons"'. Al-Zamakhsharī adds a *ḥadīth* ascribing to the prophet the following statement: 'the best food that man eats is that which comes from his earnings (*kasb*); his children are part of his earnings'.⁶²

⁵⁸ Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 29.

⁵⁹ Bravmann, op. cit., 110 ff.

⁶⁰ Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 290.

⁶¹ See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxv, 86, where *mā kasabū* is explained as *māl wa-wuld*. In other cases, however, al-Ṭabarī did not refrain from explaining *kasaba* in the sense of '*amila*'. See e.g. xiv, 34; xxiv, 9, 57.

⁶² See also al-Nabhānī, *al-Faṭḥ al-kabīr*, Cairo, n.d., i, 292 (from al-Bukhārī's *Tārīkh*, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, and Ibn Māja). Cf. al-Sulamī, *Uyūb al-nafs*, ed. E. Kohlberg, Jerusalem, 1976, 101.

With the accommodation of verse 2 to the eschatological meaning, the expression *mā-aghna* 'anhu was no longer conceived as past tense but rather as referring to Abū Lahab's future punishment in hell. Al-Ṭabarī interprets: 'neither his wealth nor his *kaṣb* helped him against Allāh's punishment (*ay mā nafa'ahu wa-lā dafa'a 'anhu 'adhāba 'llāhi māluhu wa-mā kaṣabahu*'. Al-Ṭabarī regards *mā aghnā* as an interrogation denoting the question: 'what was the benefit of his wealth and to what extent did it protect him from Allāh's anger?'. It is interesting to observe, however, that elsewhere in the Qur'ān, al-Ṭabarī usually interprets *mā aghnā* as an ordinary past tense, denoting *lam yughni*.⁶³ In our sūra the eschatological point of view caused him to deviate from his usual manner of interpretation.⁶⁴

6. The miraculous aspects of the sūra

The sons of Abū Lahab played a special role in Muḥammad's life. According to Ibn Qutayba,⁶⁵ Muḥammad's daughter Ruqayya had been married to Abū Lahab's son 'Uṭba, but by order of his father he broke off the marriage. Muḥammad's daughter Umm Kulthūm had been married to Abū Lahab's son 'Uṭayba, and he also was ordered by his father to do the same. According to Ibn Sa'd, this conduct on the part of Abū Lahab was caused by the revelation of our sūra.⁶⁶

One of Abū Lahab's sons paid a heavy price for thus insulting the prophet. A legendary tradition relates that Muḥammad invoked Allāh to make Abū Lahab's son be killed by a predatory animal. Before long, this son was mauled by a lion.⁶⁷ Earlier versions of this story relate, however, that Abū Lahab's son suffered this fate because he had announced his rejection of Sūra LIII.⁶⁸ The connexion with Sūra LIII is not surprising, as this is the very sūra which abrogates the 'Satanic verses'. It is a further indication that Abū Lahab and his family took much interest in securing the worship of al-'Uzzā.

The legendary story of the end of Abū Lahab's son finally found its way into the commentaries on Sūra cxi. Al-Bayḍāwī labels this sūra as *ikhbār 'an al-ghayb*, thus associating it with a long series of miraculous stories about Muḥammad's outstanding powers to forecast the future, which are to be found in almost every book dealing with Muḥammad's prophet signs (*dalā'il al-nubuwa*).⁶⁹ Al-Bayḍāwī explains that the sūra foretells the end of Abū

⁶³ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VIII, 142 (on Qur'ān VII, 48); XXIX, 40 (on LXIX, 28); XIV, 34 (on XV, 84); XXIV, 9 (on XXXIX, 50); XXVI, 18 (on XLVI, 26); XII, 68 (on XI, 101).

⁶⁴ In two more cases al-Ṭabarī has interpreted *mā kaṣaba* as an interrogation and not as past tense, due to interrogative pronouns found in the Qur'ānic text. See *ibid.*, XXIV, 57 (on Qur'ān XI, 82), XIX, 71 (on XXVI, 207).

⁶⁵ *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Beirut, 1970, 62.

⁶⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VIII, 36, 37. According to another source (*Aghānī*, XV, 2) it was the wife of Abū Lahab who ordered the breaking off of the marriage.

⁶⁷ Al-Suhaylī, *op. cit.*, III, 68; al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, II, 96-7. See also al-Khargūshī, *op. cit.* (Tübingen), fol. 87b, (BM) fol. 124b. Another source says that Abū Lahab's son was killed by the lion because of his being one of the *mustahzi'ūn* (p. 21, n. 51, above); see al-Ṭabarī, *al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla fī ihbāt nubuwwat al-Nabī Muḥammad*, ed. 'Adil Nuwayhid, Beirut, 1973, 67. A distinction must be made between the son that was killed by a lion and the other two sons of Abū Lahab who survived their father and embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. The Muslim traditionists are a little puzzled as to what the exact name of each of the sons was, as their names were quite similar: 'Uṭba, 'Uṭayba, and Mu'attab. See al-Suhaylī, *loc. cit.* Sometimes the sources mention a son named Lahab, obviously a secondary derivation from the father's nickname. See *al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, *loc. cit.*; al-Naysābūrī, *Mustadrak*, II, 539; al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, II, 96.

⁶⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 24; see also al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, I, 367-9; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *op. cit.*, I, 71. Cf. *Aghānī*, XIII, 153.

⁶⁹ See e.g. *al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, 76 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, II, 372 ff., III, 3 ff.; Ibn al-Jawzi, *op. cit.*, 305 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, VI, 182 ff.

Lahab's son, to whom the expression *wa-mā kasaba* refers. In the same context, Bayḍāwī also relates the story of the end of Abū Lahab himself, who died shortly after Badr,⁷⁰ as though the sūra predicts his own death as well. Thus the sūra obtained its miraculous nature, and in some cases, as in the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim,⁷¹ a version of the story about the son of Abū Lahab⁷² is given predominance over other traditions.

The miraculous features of our sūra as viewed by Muslim scholars are illustrated to the full in a passage in Ibn Kathīr's commentary: 'The learned men say that there is an evident miracle in our sūra and a clear proof of the prophecy, because since the revelation of the verses in which the misfortune and disbelief of Abū Lahab and his wife were foretold, they have not been led to embrace Islam, neither secretly nor openly. Thus it was the strongest of all the dazzling hidden proofs of the visible prophecy'.

7. Verse 4: *wa-'mra'atuhu ḥammālata 'l-ḥaṭābi*

Verse 4 runs as follows: 'And his wife (shall also burn); She is a fire-wood carrier'.⁷³

This verse deals with the wife of Abū Lahab who, being the sister of Abū Sufyān, belonged to the highest rank of Meccan society. The original significance of the appellation *ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* given to her in the Qur'ān was again preserved for us by Qatāda. His interpretation as quoted by al-Rāzī, reads: 'She (i.e. the wife of Abū Lahab) used to condemn the prophet for being poor, therefore she was condemned for being a wood gatherer (*qawlu qatādā: innahā kānat tu'ayyiru rasūla 'llāhi bi 'l-faqrī fa-'uyyirat bi-annahā kānat taḥṭibū*)'. A more complete version of the same interpretation is recorded by al-Ṭabarī, without, however, mentioning its source: 'Some say: "she used to condemn the prophet for being poor, herself being in the habit of gathering wood, therefore she was condemned for being a wood gatherer" (*wa-qāla ba'du-hum: wa-kānat tu'ayyiru rasūla 'llāhi bi-l-faqrī wa-kānat taḥṭibū fa-'uyyirat bi-annahā kānat taḥṭibū*)'.⁷⁴

Qatāda's interpretation implies that the wife of Abū Lahab used to perform such works as were connected with the gathering of fire-wood, which occupation gave the Qur'ān an opportunity for dishonouring her. It must be remembered that wood gathering was regarded as one of the most despicable works, carried out by women of the lowest rank.⁷⁵ The question arises, how did it come about that a woman of the rank of Abū Lahab's wife did such work. The explanation (al-Ālūsī, 263) that she was too miserly to employ servants to do the work for her, seems to be over-simplified.

The real solution is to be found in Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums*. On pp. 40-1 Wellhausen quotes a passage from Isaak of Antioch (fifth century A.D.) about the ways in which the Arabs used to worship al-'Uzzā. Isaak identifies al-'Uzzā with *Kawkabta*, i.e. Venus who was also named 'the queen of heaven'. Isaak compares the Arab worship of al-'Uzzā with the Jewish

⁷⁰ Concerning his death, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, 159-60 (from Ibn Ishāq); Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., IV, 73-4; al-Suhaylī, op. cit., III, 66 ff.; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, op. cit., I, 287 ff.; *Aghānī*, IV, 32-3.

⁷¹ *Mustadrak*, II, 539.

⁷² See the same version also in al-Bayhaqī, op. cit., II, 96; Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., I, 348.

⁷³ This translation is based on the reading *ḥammālata 'l-ḥaṭābi*, which signifies *dhām*, and not on *ḥammālata 'l-ḥaṭābi*. For further details see the commentaries.

⁷⁴ Fischer, op. cit., 34, quoted Qatāda's interpretation from al-Rāzī, without noticing its complete version in al-Ṭabarī. Therefore he seems to have misunderstood its significance. See below, p. 27, n. 77.

⁷⁵ Fischer, op. cit., 35 ff.; Lohmann, art. cit., 344.

worship of the 'queen of heaven' as described in Jeremiah vii, 18. The passage in Jeremiah seems to be most instructive: 'The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough to make cakes to the queen of heaven . . .'. Wellhausen finds evidence that the Arab customs of the worship of al-'Uzzā indeed resembled Jeremiah's description. This may well lead us to believe that the appellation *ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* refers to the active part Abū Lahab's wife took in the worship of al-'Uzzā. Unlike Jeremiah, the Qur'ān assigns the task of gathering the fire-wood not to Abū Lahab's children, but rather to his wife, thus exposing the despicable nature of the works this aristocratic woman used to carry out in honour of al-'Uzzā, together with her whole family.

At this stage a more coherent understanding of the significance of the surname 'Abū Lahab' is possible. Perhaps it does not so much refer to the fire of hell in which he is doomed to burn, as to the fire he used to kindle when worshipping al-'Uzzā. This observation produces a significant correlation between his surname 'Abū Lahab' and his personal name, 'Abd al-'Uzzā.

8. Other interpretations of verse 4

The secondary interpretations of verse 4 are based on patterns similar to those of the secondary interpretations of the previous verses of our sūra. The appellation *ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* gained a new meaning, more appropriate to the wife of a person who was believed to have been Muḥammad's enemy. The original meaning of this appellation, denoting religious action for the sake of al-'Uzzā, was totally neglected.

The following tradition seems to mark the first step towards the new understanding of *ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab*, presenting it as referring to hostile actions Abū Lahab's wife allegedly carried out against the prophet. This tradition, recorded by al-Ṭabarī, is also traced back to Qatāda: *kānat tanqulu 'l-ahādītha min ba'di 'l-nāsi ilā ba'din* 'She used to pass on rumours from one person to another'. *Ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* is understood here in its metaphorical sense, i.e. 'the rumours carrier', or rather 'the slanderer'. The same interpretation, in much more explicit words (*kānat tamshī bi 'l-namīma*) is recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Mujāhid (d. 104/722) and 'Ikrima (d. 105/723).

Far more elaborate are the traditions which no longer conceive of *ḥaṭab* as fire-wood—neither concretely nor metaphorically—but rather as a bundle of thorns (*ḥuzmat shawḥ*), which the woman allegedly used to throw in Muḥammad's way, thus wounding his feet. This interpretation of *ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* was preferred by al-Ṭabarī, who has recorded several traditions of this kind, tracing them back to Ibn 'Abbās, al-Dahhāk, Ibn Zayd, and others.⁷⁶

Al-Zamakhsharī explains that the action of throwing the bundle of thorns was described by the Qur'ān as the gathering of fire-wood in order to expose its inferior nature (. . . *wa-taṣwiran lahā bi-sūratī ba'di 'l-ḥaṭābātī min al-marwāhīnī*). In other words, al-Zamakhsharī holds that *ḥaṭab* really denotes fire-wood but only in a figurative sense, symbolizing the bundle of thorns. Al-Bayḍawī

⁷⁶ See also Ibn Hishām, op. cit., i, 380. A similar action, namely the throwing of offal in front of Muḥammad's door, is ascribed to Abū Lahab and 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayyit. See Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., i, 201. It may be further remarked that in some later traditions Abū Lahab's wife is even presented as taking an active part in the plots of Quraysh to kill the prophet. The person who allegedly defended the prophet against this woman was no other than Abū Lahab himself. See al-Katibānī, *Taḥrīr al-burhān*, on our sūra (reference from M. J. Kister). This tradition seems to express the anti-Umayyad feelings of the Shī'a.

explains likewise (*taṣwīran lahā bi-sūratī 'l-ḥaṭṭābatī 'llatī taḥmilu 'l-ḥuzmata wa-tarbiḥuhā fī jādihā taḥqīran li-sha'nihā*).⁷⁷

Like the former verses of our sūra, verse 4 was finally interpreted in the eschatological sense. The wood gathering was presented as the woman's punishment in hell for her worldly sins against Muḥammad. Interpretations to this effect are given by al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī. They interpret *ḥaṭab* as signifying the trees and thorns of hell, i.e. the *Zaqqūm* and *Darī'* (Qur'an XLIV, 43; LXXXVIII, 6).

9. Verse 5: *fī jādihā ḥablun min masadīn*

Verse 5 may be thus translated: 'On her neck there is a cord made of fibres'.

The word *jād* usually denotes a woman's neck from the aesthetic viewpoint, i.e. the place on which ornaments and the like are hanging.⁷⁸ Therefore, Qatāda's interpretation of this verse seems, once again, to be faithful to its original meaning. His interpretation is recorded by al-Ṭabarī. It says that *ḥablun min masadīn* stands for *qilāda min wad'in*—'a necklace made of sea-shells'.⁷⁹ According to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) as quoted by Abū Ḥayyān, the necklace was made of *kharz*, which is the same as *wad'*.

Abū Ḥayyān also quotes the explanation of Ibn 'Atīyya⁸⁰ to the effect that the necklace was described by the Qur'an as a cord of fibres in order to reproach the woman and to stress how detestable it was to use it (*wa-innamā 'abbara 'an qilādātihā bi-ḥablin min masadīn 'alā jihatī 'l-tafā'ulī lahā wa-dhikrī tabarrujihā fī hādihā 'l-sa'yī 'l-khabīthi*).

The reason for the Qur'an's disapproval of the woman's necklace becomes clear in the light of Wellhausen's survey of old Arab practices of magic and witchcraft.⁸¹ Wellhausen⁸² mentions that magic powers were attributed to all kinds of ornaments and especially to sea-shells, viz. *kharz*, *wad'*, or *jaz'*. Hence it is clear that the Qur'an disapproves of the woman's necklace because of its magical intentions. It was probably regarded by its owner as securing the protection of al-'Uzzā against evil powers. The usage of such a necklace was reproached by the Qur'an as a part of its general rejection of witchcraft,⁸³ which was considered in Islam the core of Paganism.⁸⁴ The Qur'an brings this magical necklace down to the rank of an ordinary simple cord (*ḥabl*) made of rough fibres (*min masadīn*).

The correlation between verses 4 and 5 is now obvious: both verses reprove the Pagan practices carried out by the wife of Abū Lahab who participated with her husband in the veneration of al-'Uzzā. The Qur'an views these practices as common, despicable actions suitable for women of the lowest rank.

⁷⁷ Fischer, op. cit., 35, holds that *ḥammālat 'l-ḥaṭab* is a mere curse directed to that aristocratic woman in order to humiliate her by alleging her to be a wood-carrier. He (p. 34) believes he finds this meaning in the interpretations of Qatāda and al-Bayḍāwī. But neither seems to support his view, as they both assume that *ḥammālat al-ḥaṭab* stands for a real action carried out by the woman, be it gathering of fire-wood (Qatāda) or of thorns (al-Bayḍāwī). Strangely enough, Fischer (p. 32) places al-Zamakhsharī's interpretation in a separate group, notwithstanding its resemblance to al-Bayḍāwī's interpretation, which is actually an abstract of the former.

⁷⁸ Al-Suhaylī, op. cit., II, 113.

⁷⁹ Fischer has totally ignored this outstanding interpretation.

⁸⁰ D. 542/1147. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supp. I, 732.

⁸¹ *Reise*, 159 ff.

⁸² *ibid.*, 165.

⁸³ See Qur'an CXIII, 4.

⁸⁴ Wensinck, op. cit., s.v. 'magic'.

10. Other interpretations of verse 5

The tendency to confine the meaning of our sūra to the hostility of Abū Lahab and his wife towards the prophet gave rise to new interpretations of *ḥablun min masadin* as well. A tradition traced back to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) says: 'She (i.e. Abū Lahab's wife) had a luxurious necklace of pearls, and she said: "I shall disburse it for the assault on Muḥammad"' (*kānat lahā qilāda fākhira min jawhar fa-qālat: la-unfiqarnahā fī adʿwat Muḥammad*). This tradition is recorded by al-Ṭabarsī, Abū Ḥayyān, and Ibn Kathīr.

Another interpretation seems to be based simply on an erroneous understanding of the context of our verse. The cord was quite naturally associated with the fire-wood of the former verse, as though being used for tying and carrying it. Its original figurative sense was eventually neglected. Thus, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, as quoted by al-Ṭabarsī, interprets: '... this was the cord which she used for gathering the fire-wood'.⁸⁵ This interpretation is, however, impossible; as was already mentioned, the word *jīdihā* indicates clearly that *ḥablun* does not stand for a load with which the woman's neck is burdened, but rather for a certain kind of ornament hanging on her neck, having no relation to the fire-wood of the former verse. Whenever the Qurʾān speaks of carrying loads the word used is not *jīd* but rather *unuq*.⁸⁶

The most current interpretation of *ḥablun min masadin* is again the eschatological one. Although not assuming any connexion between the cord and the wood, it nevertheless considers our verse as speaking of a heavy load which the woman shall carry in hell as a punishment for her worldly sins. The *jīd* is understood in the meaning of *raqaba*, namely a neck carrying a burden, while the cord is conceived of as the load itself. The whole scene is inspired by Qurʾān LXIX, 32 which speaks of a 'chain whose length is seventy cubits (*silsila dhar'uhā sab'ūna dhira'an*)', which is used in hell for torturing sinners. Thereby *masad* is understood as denoting 'iron'. This word, originally denoting the rope of the well, gained the meaning of 'iron' because it occurs in old poetry in close association with the iron axis of the pulley of the well, around which the rope is coiled.⁸⁷

Most of the eschatological traditions of this kind, as recorded by al-Ṭabarsī, are traced back to ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/713). These traditions relate that *ḥablun min masadin* stands for 'an iron chain whose length is seventy cubits'. A tradition on the authority of Sufyān says that it stands for 'a rope on her neck, in hell, like a collar, seventy cubits long'. The original significance of *masad* being the rope of the bucket, is preserved in a further eschatological tradition recorded by al-Suhayli.⁸⁸ It says: 'she will be handled in hell like a bucket. She will be lifted to the top of hell by the rope on her neck, then downwards to its bottom again, and so on for ever and ever'. As an integral part of hell, the *ḥabl* is sometimes depicted as though made of fire (al-Ṭabarsī). Summing up, al-Ṭabarsī interprets *masad* as a cord of rough fibres, burning like fire, heavy like iron, with which her neck is burdened to increase her torture.

Thus, the eschatological spirit finally overwhelmed all the parts of our sūra.

⁸⁵ See also Fischer, op. cit., 35, 42; Lohmann, art. cit., 346; Ktinstlinger, art. cit., 408.

⁸⁶ e.g. xvii, 29; xxxiv, 33; etc.

⁸⁷ e.g. al-Suhayli, op. cit., ii, 111 ff.

⁸⁸ ii, 111.

CUSTOM AND *SHARĪ'A* IN THE BEDOUIN FAMILY ACCORDING TO LEGAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE JUDAEAN DESERT¹

By AHARON LAYISH and AVSHALOM SHMUELI

A. INTRODUCTION

This paper, by means of original Bedouin documents relating to matters of personal status, attempts to disclose interaction between custom and *sharī'a*² and to illuminate some of the mechanisms tending to complete the islamization of a tribal society in process of sedentarization. The Bedouin dealt with here are a group of tribes in the Jerusalem-Bethlehem region: al-Sawāḥira (c. 6,000 persons now) east of Jerusalem, al-'Ubaydiyya (c. 5,500) east of Bayt Saḥūr, the 13 al-Ta'āmira tribes (c. 20,000) extending over a sector east of Bayt Saḥūr in the north to Bayt Fajjār in the south, and al-Rashā'ida (c. 500) south-east of Taqū'a. Most of these tribes originate from Ḥijāz and Najd. They appeared in the region in small groups from the sixteenth century and in time developed into tribes, while absorbing local *fallāḥs*. Their main numerical increase took place in the twentieth century.

The sedentarization of these Bedouin began in the 1920's and was almost complete by the 1970's. It was furthered by proximity to religious, economic, and administrative centres (while still nomads they already visited the mosques and markets of Jerusalem on Fridays) and by the consolidation of internal security. Al-Ta'āmira tribes have established settlements of their own, notably Za'tara, Ḥarmala, and Taqū'a; some of them have settled in existing Judaeen villages and about 2,500 in the suburbs of Bethlehem. About half of the Bedouin under reference no longer live in tribal frameworks; they have moved to other places in Judaea, and in the mid-1950's, under Jordanian rule, they began to migrate to the East Bank and the oil countries. Those who left sent considerable sums of money to their families which greatly assisted sedentarization, especially as regards construction. In consequence of sedentarization, the tribal structure of al-Sawāḥira, al-'Ubaydiyya, and part of al-Ta'āmira has dissolved into the constituent *ḥamūlas* (clans); the tribe no longer functions as a political unit, and the *shaykh* has in most of the tribes been replaced by the heads of the *ḥamūlas*, the *mukhtārs*. The Bedouin nowadays earn their livelihoods outside the tribal areas, mainly as labourers in construction, industry, tourism, and as watchmen. Small stock-breeding and ground-crop farming have diminished considerably.

¹ The paper is based on legal documents obtained from Bedouin in the Jerusalem-Bethlehem region. It is part of a comprehensive study of custom and *sharī'a* among the Bedouin settled in that area, now being prepared under the auspices of the Middle East Research Unit of the Harry S. Truman Institute in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The authors thank the Institute for its assistance.

The collection of the documentary material would have been impossible without the whole-hearted co-operation of arbitrators, *mukhtārs*, and other Bedouin and of the Military Government. To all these and many others the authors express their gratitude. Thanks are also due to Mr. Avner Giladi, of the Truman Institute, for his excellent work in summarizing the documents.

The anthropologist, Dr. Frank Stuart, who studies the legal aspects of Sinai Bedouin life, has read the manuscript and made valuable observations, and the authors are greatly indebted to him. The responsibility for the contents of the paper is, of course, entirely theirs.

² For the historical background of the contest between *sharī'a* and custom see A. Layish, '*Sharī'a u-minḥag ba-mishpaha ha-Muslimit be-Yisra'el*', *Ha-Mizrah ha-Hadash*, xiii, 4, 1974, 377 ff., and the sources indicated there.

Each tribe has its arbitrators (*hakam, muhakkam, qāḍī 'ashā'irī*): the *shaykh*, the *mukhtār*, and persons not holding political office. Some arbitrators have won fame even outside their tribe and are resorted to also by members of other tribes and by *fallāhs* and townspeople, including Christians. Especially prominent are Shaykh Muhammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a, a member of the Jordanian Parliament, and Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Amiriyya 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a, the *mukhtār* of Za'tara, both of al-Ta'āmira. Arbitration generally passes by inheritance within certain families. The economic position of the arbitrator is sound (he is paid for his judicial work).³

The written document (*sakk, sanad, waraqa*)⁴ is of no importance in Arab customary law; it is not essential to the validity of a legal act or the proof of a contention; the only recognized mode of proof being by witnesses. This conception is accepted also by Islamic legal theory, but there is no positive evidence that it originates in Arab customary law. Although the Qur'ān calls for the use of written documents in certain circumstances (see, e.g., Sūras II, 282; XXIV, 33), orthodox exegesis treats this as a non-binding recommendation. But reality is stronger than theory. The written document is essential in practice, especially in private transactions, and the orthodox schools eventually recognized it. Indeed, an entire branch of law developed which deals intensively with documents (*shurūṭ* 'stipulations'). The written document was essential also to the development of what is known as 'legal devices' (*hiyal*). Another indication of the *sharī'a*'s acceptance of the written document is the *siyill*, the record of the *sharī'a* court.⁵ A radical change in the status of the written document has occurred in the modern legislation of Arab countries. That legislation recognizes the document as valid evidence; in fact, the power of the court may be limited to giving decisions based on written documents. This reform can rely on the modernists of the school of Muḥammad 'Abduh.⁶

It seems that in Bedouin society the document is very rare but its frequency increases with the progress of sedentarization. The principal factors in this connexion are closer contacts with the settled population in economic relations and land transactions; the transition from collective ownership (*mushā'a*) to individual ownership; the influence of *sharī'a* (and civil) justice; the exigencies

³ For more detail see A. Shmueli, *Hitnahalūt ha-Bedewim shel Midbar Yehudah*, Tel Aviv, 1970; *idem*, 'Shevet ha-'Ubaydiyya—ha-shinnūyim ba-mesheq uva-heverah 'im ha-hitnahalūt', in *Ha-Bedewim*, Bureau of the Adviser on Arab Affairs, Prime Minister's Office, Jerusalem, 1971, 100–75; *idem*, *Hitnahalūt nawwadim be-merhav Yerushalayim ba-me'al ha-'esrim*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1973; *idem*, 'Ha-rega' le-hitnahalūt nawwadim be-merhav Yerushalayim', *Merhavim* (Tel Aviv), I, 1974, 70–9; M. Sharon, 'Ha-Bedewim shel Har Hevron', in A. Shmueli, D. Grossman, and R. Zeevi (ed.), *Yehudah vs-Shomron; pragim be-geographia yeshuvit*, Jerusalem, 1977, 548–57; M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, II, Leipzig, 1943; Erwin Graf, *Das Rechtswesen der heutigen Beduinen*. Walldorf-Heessen, [1952].

⁴ See, e.g., Nimr 'Awda al-Mubarak 'Ashīrat al-Nabāḥin al-Ta'āmira, *sakk taḥkim* of 29 September 1963; Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'awi 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, *sanad taḥkim* of 14 November 1975; and Muhammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira, divorce of 25 September 1964 (*awraq*).

⁵ J. Schaacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, 188; *idem*, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford, 1964, 78, 193; Herbert J. Liebesny, *The law of the Near and Middle East; readings, cases, and materials*, New York, 1975, 244 ff., and the sources indicated there; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, deuxième édition, Leiden, 1960, 236 ff.; Jeanette A. Wakin (ed.), *The function of documents in Islamic law: the chapters on sales from Ṭahāwī's Kitāb al-shurūt al-kabir*, Albany, N.Y., 1972, 4 ff.; N. J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh, 1964, 125, 148; *idem*, 'Muslim custom and case-law', *Die Welt des Islams*, NS, VI, 1–2, 1959, 21.

⁶ Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Taqrir fi iṣlāḥ al-mahākīm al-shar'iyya*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo, 1900, 34; A. Layish, 'Terūmat ha-modernistīm le-hillūn ha-mishpatī hu-Muslimi', *Ha-Mizrah ha-Hadash*, XXVI, 1–2, 1976, 2, 9, 10; Coulson, *History*, 172 f.; J. N. D. Anderson, *Law reform in the Muslim world*, London, 1976, 43 ff.

of modern administration; the spread of literacy; and appeals by the authors to the arbitrators to reduce their decisions to writing in order to enrich the documentation of this research. About 3,000 legal documents have so far been collected, relating to various departments of law; personal status and succession, penal matters, contracts and ownership, land, etc. Most are twentieth-century, the remainder mostly from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Some were written by paid scribes (*kātib*) from Jerusalem or Bethlehem⁷ and some by the arbitrators themselves or their assistants. The latter are in colloquial Arabic, which sometimes makes them difficult to understand. Some of the older documents are in a poor state of preservation: the writing is blurred or completely obliterated; some documents were torn and had to be restored before it was possible to decipher them.

It is known that orthodox Islam, with its system of beliefs and institutions, plays no major role in shaping nomad Bedouin society, its philosophy and life-style. Popular religion, including the worship of saints and intercession, still predominates in it. In fact, the Wahhābī puritanical revival movement set itself the goal of completing the islamization of the Bedouin in the Arabian Peninsula as well as of the rural and urban population which was not sufficiently orthodox for its taste.⁸ One of the phenomena accompanying Bedouin sedentarization in modern times is a trend towards orthodox Islam. The latter is gradually becoming the obligatory life-style as to worship and observance, and attachment to Muslim institutions and to religious functionaries competent to administer and expound the *shar'ī'a* is increasing.⁹ The causes of this phenomenon are the imposition of *shar'ī* jurisdiction on the Bedouin by the central government, education, and modern means of communication.

The relation between custom and *shar'ī'a* extends over a whole gamut of grades according to the stages of transition from a nomadic to a sedentary society. These grades may be divided into two main categories. In one of these, custom reigns supreme, free from the control of the *shar'ī'a*; this supremacy is not absolute, though, for customary law as we know it today has for centuries been influenced by the *shar'ī'a*, especially in the fields of contracts and obligations. The other category reflects the assimilative power of the *shar'ī'a* over custom in tribal arbitration and especially in the *shar'ī'a* court.

The protagonists in the contest between custom and *shar'ī'a* are the arbitrator and the *qāḍī*. The former shapes the customary norm in voluntary private jurisdiction; he is, in fact, the creator of customary law.¹⁰ The *qāḍī* applies the *shar'ī'a* within the framework of the *taqlīd*, the legal doctrine established by the Ḥanafī school. He indeed bears the brunt of the islamization of custom, for the *shar'ī'a* court is the principal daily meeting-place of *shar'ī'a* and custom, especially as far as the litigants are Bedouin. The documents in

⁷ e.g. Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmīra, divorcee, n.d.

⁸ H. Lacoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḥī-d-Dīn Ahmad b. Taimiya*, Le Caire, 1939, 519 ff.; *idem*, *Les schisme dans l'Islam; introduction à une étude de la religion musulmane*, Paris, 1965, 323, 324; W. C. Smith, *Islam in modern history*, third printing, New York, New American Library, 1963, 48 ff.; Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, tr. into Hebrew by J. J. Rivlin, ed. M. Plessner, Jerusalem, 1951, 188 ff.

⁹ Gabriel Baer, *Population and society in the Arab East*, London, 1964, 132, and the sources indicated there; *idem*, *Studies in the history of modern Egypt*, Chicago and London, 1969, 13, 14. Cf. J. Henninger, 'La religion bedouine préislamique', in F. Gabrieli (ed.), *L'antica società beduina* (Università di Roma. Centro di Studi Semitici. Studi Semitici, 2), Roma, 1959, 125 ff., and the sources indicated there.

¹⁰ Tyan, *Histoire*, 48 ff.; *idem*, art. 'Ḥakam', *EI*, second ed., 72; Schacht, *Introduction*, 189; Joseph Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société Bédouine: recherches ethnologiques sur le rōle du droit coutumier des Bédouins*, Paris, 1971, 144 ff.

our possession cite only a few instances of the involvement of *muftīs* in this contest. The results of the confrontation of *sharī'a* and custom thus depend on the degree of orthodoxy, religious and secular education, and social philosophy of the '*ulamā*' and on their understanding of the islamization processes of a tribal society undergoing sedentarization.¹¹

B. MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SUPREMACY OF CUSTOM

1. *The contribution of custom to Islamic law*

The customary law of the present-day Bedouin, as far as it can be isolated from the influences of Islamic law, originates in pre-Islamic Arab customary law. The legal documents of Judaeen Desert Bedouin contain many legal terms and concepts which have counterparts in Islamic law, and the question naturally arises as to what extent this suggests or even proves a customary source of inspiration for that law. Schacht says that the naturalization of pre-Islamic Arab customary-legal terminology in Islamic law was only to be expected, but rightly adds that this is not axiomatic and that positive proof of the source of inspiration is required in each case.¹² A comprehensive study of pre-Islamic legal terminology has not yet been carried out, and the Bedouin documents before us, as far as they provide 'living' information on a period some 1,400 years ago, may perhaps make a modest contribution in this direction. We should, of course, emphasize again that we have to do with a Bedouin population which has absorbed *fallāh* elements and was under the intensive influence of orthodox Islam even before sedentarization owing to its proximity to Jerusalem and Bethlehem. But despite these weighty reservations, it seems to us that the documentary findings confirm the assumption of an Arab customary source of Islamic law. This conclusion may be arrived at by examining legal terms and concepts in daily use among Judaeen Desert Bedouin which, though occurring also in Islam, have an original customary connotation, materially different from an Islamic one.

The term *sunna* or 'the *sunna* of the Prophet' in an Islamic context means a practice or precedent established by the Prophet and worthy of being followed. Goldziher has proved that this term originates in the ancient pagan *sunna*, while Margoliouth discovered that its original meaning was wider: an ideal or normative practice of the community as a whole, deriving its positivity from its status as an ancestral (*salaf*) heritage. The pagan Arabs regarded the *sunna* as sacred, as the only source of law and religion. Its opposite, the *bid'a*, was considered an innovation in the negative sense. Schacht, who studied the development of the connotations of the term *sunna* in the ancient schools of law and in the legal doctrine of al-Shāfi'i, arrived at similar conclusions.¹³

Bedouin in the Judaeen Desert and elsewhere frequently use the term *sunna*, in various combinations, in what would seem to be its Islamic sense. Thus, in one case, a woman stated that she had married a man by 'a *shar'i*

¹¹ The relationship between *sharī'a* and custom as reflected in decisions of the *sharī'a* courts and the opinions of *muftīs* will be discussed by A. Layish in a separate paper.

¹² Schacht, *Introduction*, 8, 25 f., 73, 83; Anderson, *Law reform*, 8, 10 f.; J. Chelhod, 'Le Bédouin et le droit', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* (Aix-en-Provence), 11, 1972, 157.

¹³ Schacht, *Origins*, 58 ff. and the passages referred to there in the works of Goldziher and Margoliouth; *idem*, *Introduction*, 8, 17; Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, II, London, 1971, 25 ff.; A. J. Wensinek, art. '*Sunna*', *EtI*, 555; cf. R. B. Serjeant, 'Haram and hawtah, the sacred enclave in Arabia', in 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī (ed.), *Mélanges Taha Husain*, Le Caire, 1962, 47-52.

marriage in accordance with the *sunna* of *Allāh* and his Messenger'.¹⁴ However, a study of the circumstances in this and similar cases reveals that the reference is to a customary marriage in the full sense of the term: an '*aḩā*' or *hiba* marriage not meeting the requirements of a *shar'ī* marriage, such as offer and acceptance (*ījāb wa-qabūl*) and the use of set verbal forms. The *qāḩī* of Bethlehem, 'Abd al-Qāḩir 'Abd al-Muḩsin 'Ābidīn, wishing to differentiate between a *shar'ī* and a customary marriage, said that in the past the Bedouin first had their children marry 'in accordance with the *sunna* of the Messenger of *Allāh*' and then applied for a judgment declaring the marriage valid. 'Ārif al-'Ārif, discussing the Negev Bedouin, carefully distinguishes between *shar'ī* marriages, performed through a *ma'dhūn*, and customary marriages, performed 'by way of *al-qaṣala* proceedings'; in the latter, the bride is handed over *bi-sunnat Allāh wa-sunnat rasūlihi*. This phrase has also been encountered among the Sinai Bedouin.¹⁵

i. We may have to do here with *sunna* in the ancient, original sense: normative custom ascribed *bona fide* to the Prophet by his Bedouin contemporaries. Even today, Bedouin in the Judean Desert, who have abandoned the *qaṣala* marriage, believe that the marriage usual among them is a proper Islamic marriage in accordance with the custom established by the Prophet. The reading of the *Fātiḩa* might seem to provide a religious element for the customary marriage, although this gesture is of course not capable of validating it. Israeli *shar'ī* *qāḩīs* have in hundreds of cases decided that the marriage should be terminated and referred the parties to the *ma'dhūn* for the performance of a *shar'ī* marriage.¹⁶ It should be noted that the Druzes, too, use the term *sunna* in various combinations, such as 'the *sunna* accepted by the Druze community', 'tribal (*ashā'iriyya*) *sunna*', 'the *sunna* of *Allāh*', and 'the religious *sunna*'. There is of course no Islamic connotation here, although motives of *taḩiyya* 'simulation' may have played a part.¹⁷ The term occurs here in the context of the normative custom or, in the words of Schacht, 'the living tradition' of the community. It seems that, as in Islam, the legal concept has been adapted to a new religious framework.

Bedouin documents use certain legal terms in the original, customary meaning they had before they passed into Islam and gradually acquired a new, narrower connotation. Thus, the Bedouin still employ the words *ijtihād* and *ra'y* as synonyms in the sense of discretion, personal judgment. In one case, the *mumayyiz* (umpire in the event of disagreement between two arbitrators), Shaykh Muḩammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyi'a al-Ta'āmira, said after making his award: 'This is what the Lord has enjoined upon me and what is in accordance with my judgment (*ijtihādī*)'. In another case, the arbitrators, Shaykh Sulaymān Sālim al-Shaykh and Shaykh Mūsā Salāma,

¹⁴ e.g., Sulaymān Sālim Muḩammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḩ al-Ta'āmira, divorce, n.d.; interview with Shaykh Sulaymān of 6 October 1975.

¹⁵ Interview with the *qāḩī* of 6 July 1975; 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *al-Qaḩā bayn al-Baḩu*, Jerusalem, 1933, 130; Chelḩod, *Le droit*, 104. On the meaning of the term *qaṣala* see Clinton Bailey, 'Bedouin weddings in Sinai and the Negev', *Studies in Marriage Customs* (Jerusalem), iv, 1974, pp. 113, n. 21, 114.

¹⁶ Layish, '*Shari'a u-minḩag*', 380 ff., 399; we are obliged to Dr. Clinton Bailey, who is doing research on legal maxims of the Sinai Bedouin, for helping us to form an opinion as to this question.

¹⁷ e.g., Druze Division, Ministry of Religious Affairs, File DB/18 of 16 January 1960, 19 January 1960; Druze Religious Court, Haifa, *Talāq*, File 42/67; *Nafaqa*, File 42/73; Kamāl Mu'adi, '*Shu'ān al-tā'iḩa al-Durziyya*', *Majallat al-Akḩbār al-Durziyya* (Jerusalem), iii, 3-4, 1968, 5; A. Layish, '*Ma'amad ha-Islām ba-mishpakhā ha-Drūzī be-Yisra'el*', *Ha-Mizrah ha-ḩadash*, xxvi, 3-4, 1977, 152, 154 ff., 161, 199.

being in disagreement, applied to the *mumayyiz*, Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd Fakḥkhār 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, entrusting the decision to him: 'The power is your power and the judgment is your judgment, O master of the right judgment (*al-amr amrukum wa'l-ra'y ra'yukum yā ṣāhib al-ra'y al-sādīd*)'.¹⁸ These terms still had that meaning in the early stages of the development of Islamic law and only later acquired a different, more technical sense or were replaced by other terms. We know that in Islamic law *ijtihād* means the derivation of new religious-legal rules, by analogy (*qiyās*), from the Qur'ān and the *sunna* and the derivation of validation from consensus (*ijmā'*). The term *ra'y*, on the other hand, did not change its original customary-law meaning, viz. discretion unfettered by textual limitations, but was replaced by the term *qiyās*, i.e., discretion limited by precedent established by the Qur'ān and the *sunna*.¹⁹ As we shall see below, many terms of Islamic family law are current also among present-day Bedouin. They undoubtedly originate from customary law since a great part of them already occur in the Qur'ān, although their present connotations may be influenced, in varying degrees, by Islamic law.

It would appear that the Bedouin distinguish between customary law and the *sharī'a*. Thus, e.g., the arbitrator Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira declares: 'The *sharī'a* is stronger today than the *far'* or *al-'awā'id al-'ashā'iriyya*' or: in the past, divorces would be performed out of court; this was *ṭalāq far'i* or *'ashā'irī* (as distinct from *shar'i*).²⁰ In arbitral awards, we often find a combination of a *shar'i* and a customary norm, such as: 'The wife must obey the husband if a *shar'i* and *far'i* dwelling has been provided for her; the man shall provide a [dwelling] place equipped with everything required for a *shar'i* and *far'i* dwelling'. Sometimes a distinction is made between the rights of the parties under the *sharī'a*, secular law (*qānūn* or *nizām*) and tribal (*'ashā'irī*) law.²¹ Nevertheless, the impression sometimes arises that the use of the term *shar'i* in a customary context is meaningless linguistic routine. Thus, e.g., in a *khul'* divorce, the arbitrators decided that the wife must give up her *shar'i* rights and that, in addition, her *father* must return the dower. There is a contradiction here. According to the Muslim *sharī'a*, which regards the woman as a party to the marriage contract, the dower is her personal property and it is she, therefore, who must return it in the said circumstances, whereas according to custom, which, in the marriage of dominion, treats the woman as the object of transaction, the dower is the payment to the guardian for the ownership of the woman and it is therefore he who must return it.²²

It is the accepted view that the office of the *qāḍī*, i.e. the institutionalized judge, in Islam developed from customary voluntary arbitration (*taḥkīm*). In the days of the Prophet, the two institutions existed side by side, as is attested by the Qur'ān (see, e.g., Sūra iv, 65). The Judaeo Desert Bedouin still refer to arbitration and *shar'i* jurisdiction in identical terms, derived from the verbs *ḥakama* and *qada'*, without a normative or any other consistent distinction

¹⁸ Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharā'i'a al-Ta'āmira, divorce of 25 September 1964; and Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, *khul'* of 10 December 1966, respectively. Cf. Chelchod, *Le droit*, 85.

¹⁹ Schacht, *Origins*, 98 ff.; *idem*, *Introduction*, 37, 46, 53, 69 f.

²⁰ Interviews with him of 22 June 1975 and 14 November 1975.

²¹ e.g. Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, *khul'* of 10 December 1966; Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, *sanad taḥkīm* of 15 August 1970.

²² W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 1903, repr., Boston, Beacon Press, n.d., 92 ff., 112 ff.; Anderson, *Law reform*, 10–11. For more detail on *khul'* see below, § 3, pp. 37–8.

between them. This testifies to the customary connotation which pertained to the term *qāḍī* in the context of arbitration before it struck root in Islam and assumed a new meaning, distinguishing it from *hakam*.²³

2. *Arbitration preferred to shar'ī jurisdiction*

In this transition period, when the Bedouin resort to both judicial agencies, customary arbitration and the *shar'ī'a* court, in matrimonial matters, there are still clear manifestations of preference for the former. The parties sometimes turn to arbitration when proceedings in the *shar'ī'a* court have already begun. Thus, in one case the parties, on appointing the arbitrators, agreed to withdraw actions (for maintenance and obedience) filed in the *shar'ī'a* court and not to file further actions in the *shar'ī'a* court or monetary claims in the civil court unless the arbitrators failed to make an award. Shaykh Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmira believes that most matrimonial matters are still disposed of 'in tribal fashion' and that the Bedouin prefer tribal to *shar'ī* jurisdiction because of the efficiency of its proceedings and its sensitivity to justice.²⁴ It indeed seems that intimate, informal customary jurisdiction, whose norms are congenial to the Bedouin, is preferred by them to the *shar'ī'a* court, whose application of the Ḥanafī doctrine is too formal and rigid to their taste. They therefore give a chance to arbitration before taking their case to court.

The arbitrators, for their part, fear a frustration of the proceedings by the intervention of the *shar'ī'a* court on the application of one of the parties, since arbitration functions on a voluntary basis and the arbitral award does not bind the *qāḍī*. Sometimes when making their award, they demand that the parties undertake not to apply to any other judicial authority, meaning in all likelihood the *shar'ī'a* court, lest the award be brought to naught, and this undertaking is safeguarded by traditional guarantees. Thus, in one case, the arbitrators awarded dissolution of the marriage and compensation for the husband, noting that the parties had undertaken, with the guarantee (*wajh*) of sureties (*kufalā'*), not to apply to other authorities. An infringement of such an undertaking generally entails fines paid through the sureties.²⁵ In this connexion, Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira says that 'the arbitrator is stronger than the *shar'ī'a* court' because his decision is reinforced by the sanction of a fine (*gharāma*). He attests that in hundreds of cases the *shar'ī qāḍī* referred the parties to arbitration and afterwards gave the arbitral award *shar'ī* effect. In his opinion, the *qāḍī* is bound by the tribal (*'ashā'rī*) arbitral award.²⁶ Though this is not correct in theory, it is so in practice.

3. *Supremacy of custom in substantive law*

There are many manifestations of the supremacy of custom in matters of personal status of Judean Desert Bedouin. Customary marriages are very

²³ e.g. Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira, divorce of 25 September 1964; interview with Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb of 14 November 1975; Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmira, *khuḍ'* of 10 December 1966. Cf. Tyan, *Histoire*, 64, 65; Schacht, *Introduction*, 10, 11.

²⁴ Nimr 'Awda al-Mubārak 'Ashīrat al-Nabāḥīn al-Ta'āmira, *ṣakk taḥkīm* of 29 September 1962; interview with Shaykh Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmira of 15 July 1976.

²⁵ Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmira, *khuḍ'* of 10 December 1966. Cf. Tyan, '*Hakam*', 72; *idem*, *Histoire*, 53-7, 60; Chelhod, *Le droit*, 171 ff., *idem*, '*Le Bédouin*', 153 ff.

²⁶ Interview with Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira of 14 November 1975.

frequent. Informed persons attest that the marriages are performed by a tribal *shaykh*. The bride's father says to the groom: 'I give you (*a'taytruka*) my daughter . . .' and the groom replies: 'I accept'. The parties shake hands and, of course, dower is paid. The *shaykh* opens the ceremony with the *bismillāh* and closes it with the reading of the *Fātiha*. Some proclaim that the '*atā*' is 'in accordance with the *sunna* of *Allāh* and his Messenger', i.e. with Islamic normative custom.²⁷ We have already noted that these religious elements do not validate the marriage from a religious-legal point of view since they do not include certain features essential to a *shar'i* marriage. The Islamic marriage is a contractual tie not involving a religious ritual act. Customary marriages come to light also in decisions of the *shar'i* courts when the spouses apply for a judgment declaring the validity of their union. Thus, in one case, a couple from al-Sawāhira tribe stated in court that they had been married 16 years before 'in accordance with the custom of 'Arab al-Sawāhira'; the marriage was not registered.²⁸

Islamic law has adopted the customary concept of *wilāyat ijbār*, i.e. the marrying off of a girl (or boy) by the guardian (*walī*) against her (or his) will. The Hanafi school (as well as the *shī'a*) has restricted this power of the guardian to minor girls whereas the other *sunni* schools recognize it also with regard to major girls, provided they have not been married before and are still of child-bearing age.²⁹ The Bedouin documents record many instances of *wilāyat ijbār* in a customary context. They also record marriages of non-virgin and even widowed major females concluded through guardians. In one case, in which a woman had been married against her will, she escaped from her husband's house and threatened to kill herself if she was forced to return to him.³⁰ Ḥājj Mūsā Muḥammad 'Id 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira, confirms that *ijbār* marriages (he calls them *ghasban 'anhā*) are the established norm among the Bedouin. In most cases, a problem does not arise since the bride is a minor.³¹ The aforementioned phenomena attest to the survival of the customary concept of the marriage of dominion which does not recognize the woman as a party to the marriage contract.

The distinction between prompt and deferred dower is a matter of custom, not of law. Deferred dower, which is paid in the event of divorce or of the death of one of the parties, is not usual among the Bedouin. The whole of the dower is generally prompt, i.e. paid by the time of making the marriage contract or at any rate before consummation of the marriage.³² The amount of the

²⁷ Interviews with Shaykh Sulaymān Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira and Shaykh Mūsā 'Awdat Allāh al-'Ubaydiyya of 3 June 1975 and 6 October 1975. Cf. al-'Arif, op. cit., 130; Bailey, art. cit., 114, 117; A. Kennett, *Bedouin justice; law and customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, new impression, London, 1968, 100; Reuben Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, repr., Cambridge, 1962, 113. The pronouncement of the *bismillāh* and reading of the *Fātiha* are usual also among the Druzes, perhaps by way of *taghiyya*; see Amīn Muḥammad Tālī, *Aṣl al-muwahhidīn al-Durūz wa-usūlūhum*, Beirut, 1961, 132, 133.

²⁸ *Shari'a* Court of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Sharāf al-A'raj al-Sawāhira, confirmation of marriage of 4 August 1956.

²⁹ N. J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim family*, Cambridge, 1971, 11, 12; Schacht, *Introduction*, 161, 162; Levy, 110, 111. For more detail see Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya*, Cairo, n.d., 123 f.

³⁰ e.g. Mūsā 'Awdat Allāh al-'Ubaydiyya, certificate of marriage for presentation to the court, n.d.; marriage contract, Court of Bethlehem, No. 38426; Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū 'Amirīyya 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira, obedience, n.d. Cf. al-'Arif, op. cit., 127 f.

³¹ Interview with Ḥājj Mūsā Muḥammad 'Id 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira of 3 June 1976.

³² A. Layish, *Women and Islamic law in a non-Muslim state; a study based on decisions of the shari'a courts in Israel*, New York, 1975, 51; Chelchod, *Le droit*, 125; Emanuel Marx, *Bedouin of the Negev*, Manchester, 1967, 104, 105, 159; interview with Shaykh Sulaymān Ṣalīm Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira of 6 October 1975.

dower might seem to be a matter for agreement between the parties according to the personal qualifications of the bride; but there are instances of norms of the dower being fixed by the tribal leadership. Thus, in one case, the *ikhtiyāriyya*, the council of elders, of the *hamūlas* of al-Radāyida, al-Marā'ina, and al-'Asāsiwa of al-'Ubaydiyya tribe assembled and fixed the amounts of the dower as follows: 45 pounds for a virgin (including five pounds 'to be placed to her credit with her father'), 30 pounds for a widow without children, and 25 pounds for a widow with children (including three pounds 'to be placed to her credit with her father'). This is a remarkable instance of tribal cohesion as a factor limiting dower.³³

The main purpose of the exchange marriage (*tabādūl al-zawjāt, shighār*) is the mutual waiver of the payment of dower for the two wives. The conception underlying this customary practice is that each of the wives represents the dower for the other. Islam sought to eradicate this type of marriage by laying down that the dower belonged to the wife, thus emptying the practice of its principal content.³⁴ There are records of divorces of *shighār* couples among the Bedouin. In these cases, both women waived the dower, waiting-period maintenance (*nafaqat al-'idda*), and the other rights of a divorced woman. The waiver was for identical amounts and the conclusion is inescapable that the women received no dower at all—that the amounts cancelled each other out. Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Jamāl al-Rifā'i, the *wakīl* of the *qāḍī* of Bethlehem, attests that the women were married against their will, without dower, and forced by intimidation to certify that they had received dower. He surmises that the divorce rate is high among the Bedouin because of the mutual dependence of the couples in this type of marriage.³⁵

Islamic *khul'* divorces are based on the conception that the wife is a party to the marriage contract. Therefore, if she wishes the marriage to be dissolved *she* must compensate the husband for her release. The compensation usually consists in the return of the whole or part of the prompt dower she has received and in the waiver of the deferred dower, waiting-period maintenance, and other rights according to the circumstances. As against this, the customary *khul'*, which is in fact the original form of this institution, is based on the conception that in a marriage of dominion the wife is the object of a transaction, and that therefore, if the guardian wishes to release her from the marriage, *he* must return the dower he received for her.³⁶

The *khul'* reflected in the Bedouin documents is the original customary, not the Islamic one. The financial effects of the dissolution are determined in accordance with the degree of responsibility of the parties: if the husband is guilty, he loses his right to the whole or part of the dower, and if the wife is guilty, her guardian is ordered to return the whole of the dower (before consummation of the marriage) or part of it, reimburse the expenses of the wedding,

³³ 'Alī Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḥamūlat al-Radāyida al-'Ubaydiyya, dower of 24 June 1940. Cf. al-'Arif, op. cit., 130 ff.; Gideon M. Kressel, 'Bride-price reconsidered', *Current Anthropology*, xviii, 3, 1977, 450.

³⁴ For more detail see Layish, *Women*, 47, and the sources indicated there. Robertson Smith, op. cit., 112. Cf. Chelhod, 'Le Bédouin', 157-8.

³⁵ e.g. *Sharī'a* Court of Bethlehem, *Sijill Talāq* 3, p. 59, nos. 3/75, 4/76. Interview with Shaykh al-Rifā'i of 19 May 1975. Cf. al-'Arif, op. cit., 131, 132; Layish, 'Sharī'a u-minḥag', 383 ff.; Marx, op. cit., 120, 121, 150, 160; Gideon M. Kressel, *Pratiyūt le-'ūmat shivitiyūt: dinamiqah shel qehilot Bedewim be-tahalikh hit'ayrūt*, Tel Aviv, 1976, 161, 162, 223, 224; Chelhod, *Le droit*, 105, 106.

³⁶ Layish, *Women*, 159 ff.; Robertson Smith, op. cit., 112, 113.

and compensate the husband in other ways.³⁷ In one case, the arbitrators Shaykh Ibrāhīm Maḥmūd al-Fūr and Shaykh Aḥmad Salīm al-Dhuwayb and the *mumayyiz* Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū 'Āmiriyya, all of al-Ta'āmira tribes, decided that the wife's father must upon her remarriage pay 100 dinārs for her divorce; if she did not remarry within 10 months, her father must raise this amount from some other source. As security for the implementation of this award, all the property of the wife's father was pledged pending taking possession (*qabḍ*) of the dower. Shaykh Muḥammad Sālīm al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyi'a was appointed surety (*kafīl*) for the implementation of the award. In another case, Shaykh Muḥammad Sālīm al-Dhuwayb, as an arbitrator, decided that if the wife's father refused to return the dower to the husband as a *quid pro quo* for the divorce he must return his daughter to him 'and there will be no divorce until Allāh puts them out of their misery'. This case strikingly illustrates the dominion character of the marriage.³⁸

Deferment of repayment of the dower until the wife's remarriage has been observed also among Israeli Muslims. Some stipulate that the woman may not remarry until she has paid compensation to her former husband. In other words, the obligation rests on the woman like a charge; she is not free to enter into another union before the obligation has been fulfilled. But there is a clear difference here. It is the wife who undertakes to compensate the husband for the divorce out of the dower she will receive upon remarriage, while among the Judaean Desert Bedouin the wife is not a party to the negotiations or to the matter of the claim but the object of the transaction; it is her guardian who undertakes to return the dower. The customary *khul'* has been observed also among African tribes whose islamization is not yet complete. It is not a deviation from the *shar'i khul'*; on the contrary, Islam has deviated from the customary *khul'* by turning the wife from an object of sale into a party to the marriage contract and hence into the addressee of a monetary claim.³⁹

The *shar'i'a* distinguishes between irrevocable (*bā'in*) divorce, which takes effect immediately with all its legal and financial consequences, and revocable (*raj'i*) divorce, which does not terminate the marriage immediately but allows the husband to reinstate the wife during her waiting-period without a new contract or dower; if he does not do so, the divorce becomes irrevocable. After three divorces, the wife is forbidden to her husband unless she has meanwhile been married to another man. The waiting-period results from the concept of the sanctity of natural fatherhood, and the requirement of the intermediate marriage is to deter the husband from thoughtlessly harassing the wife by alternately marrying and divorcing her.⁴⁰

Shaykh Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira and Shaykh Sulaymān Sālīm Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ, both of al-Ta'āmira tribes, attest that in the period preceding Bedouin sedentarization or, as they call it, 'the

³⁷ e.g. Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū 'Āmiriyya 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyi'a al-Ta'āmira, marriage, n.d.; Sulaymān Sālīm Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmira, family dispute of 9 July 1974; Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, family dispute of 26 August 1970; Sulaymān Sālīm Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Ta'āmira, *khul'* of 10 December 1966 and family dispute of 11 May 1972; interviews with Shaykh Muḥammad Sālīm al-Dhuwayb of 14 November 1975 and Shaykh Sulaymān Sālīm Muḥammad of 6 October 1975. Cf. Layish, 'Shari'a u-minhag', 386; Kressel, *Pratiyut*, 222.

³⁸ Muḥammad Sālīm al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyi'a al-Ta'āmira, divorce agreement of 20 June 1959 and divorce of 25 September 1964. Cf. Robertson Smith, op. cit., 113.

³⁹ Layish, 'Shari'a u-minhag', 386, 387; J. N. D. Anderson, *Islamic law in Africa*, new impression, London, 1970, 320, 321; *idem*, *Law reform*, 11; Coulson, *History*, 136, and the source indicated there.

⁴⁰ For more detail see Layish, *Women*, 173.

period of the goat's hair tents (*yawm buyūt al-sha'r*), when custom held undisputed sway, men would divorce and reinstate their wives unrestrictedly ('up to 20 times'), regardless of the waiting-period, as in the pre-Islamic period (*jāhiliyya*). Divorce was completely disregarded, and divorced wives were reinstated without a new contract or dower. According to the *shari'a*, children born after reinstatement are 'children of adultery (*zinā*)', but the Bedouin paid no heed to this, and such children took a share of their father's estate like legitimate children. Nor were they alive to the requirement of an intermediate marriage after a third divorce. In fact, they made no distinction between revocable, irrevocable, and triple divorce. The conditions reflected by these testimonies undoubtedly still exist today, at the transition stage to sedentarization, though not to the same extent as they did in the remote past. They have also been observed among the Israeli Bedouin.⁴¹

Although the *sunni* Muslim system of succession is based on pre-Islamic customary law, in which only male agnates (*ʿaṣabāt*) inherit, it differs significantly from the latter under the influence of the religious-ethical norms of an urban society, designed to qualify women and cognates (*dhawū al-arḥām*) for succession, even if not on the same footing as male agnates; they are the Qur'anic heirs (*dhawū al-farāʾiḍ*). To prevent circumvention of the rules of succession, the *sunni* schools restrict the freedom of testation: not more than one-third of the estate may be disposed of by will and none of it in favour of a legal heir.⁴²

The Judaeen Desert Bedouin, consciously or unconsciously, circumvent the *shari'i* rules of succession in various ways, leaving their property to male agnates only. Some distribute their land among their sons in their lifetime. In one case, a member of al-Ta'āmira tribes did so, leaving only one plot to himself, apparently to ensure his livelihood. He explained that the distribution of his estate in his lifetime was to prevent covetousness and deceit among his sons after his death. It was agreed upon by all the sons, and the father stipulated that he who infringed it should be fined 50 *dīnārs*. In another case, a Bedouin of al-'Ubaydiyya reached agreement with his six sons as to the distribution of some land on the basis of complete equality among them 'in return for a monthly subsistence payment' of one *dīnār* from each; he who did not pay his share was to have no share in the estate. The father also stipulated that the sons must not sell 'even one *qirāṭ* of the land' they received. In a further case, a Bedouin of 'Ashīrat al-Ẓawāhira al-Ta'āmira opened the '[estate] distribution session' (*majlis al-taysīm*) with the words: '*Allāh* will debar from Paradise him who debars a legal heir from his inheritance' and immediately afterwards distributed all his property, except what he required for his subsistence, among his nine sons. This distribution, too, was made with the consent of the sons, and consent of the sons was also required if one of them wished to sell part of his share, apparently so that the property might not pass out of the family. No wife or daughter is mentioned among the heirs in any of these cases.⁴³ Only in one case was the estate distributed among daughters in

⁴¹ Interviews with Shaykh Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī and Shaykh Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad of 5 August 1975, 6 October 1975, and 3 June 1975. See Layish, '*Shari'a u-minḥag*', 382, 383, 387, 388. Cf. Chelhod, *Le droit*, 130.

⁴² Layish, *Women*, 279, and the sources indicated there; Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, 65 ff.

⁴³ Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat al-Ẓawāhira al-Ta'āmira, succession of 10 January 1955; Yūsuf 'Atīyya 'Alayān al-'Ubaydiyya, disposition of estate *inter vivos* of 4 October 1962; and Mahmūd Musallim Ibrajīyya 'Ashīrat al-Ẓawāhira al-Ta'āmira, disposition of estate *inter vivos* of A.H. 1331 [1912], respectively. Cf. Layish, *Women*, 105; Marx, *op. cit.*, 185, 186; Kennett, *op. cit.*, 99, 104, 106; Chelhod, *Le droit*, 134-6; Baer, *Population*, 39, and the sources indicated there.

the father's lifetime. A Bedouin of 'Ashirat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira distributed all his property among his four minor daughters, appointing their mother guardian over them. He declared in the presence of the *mukhtars* that no one could claim any of this estate. It seems that he had no sons and feared that unless he distributed his property among his daughters in his lifetime they would be deprived of their inheritance after his death by distant male agnates. But this is an exception which confirms the rule.⁴⁴

Another mode of depriving a woman of her inheritance is by way of a renunciation. Although it is carefully recorded that she has renounced of her own free will, it seems that the male agnates force her to do so to prevent the property passing out of the family by her marriage to a stranger. The woman complies because the protection of her kinsfolk is more important to her than property rights. Thus, in one case, a woman of al-Sawāhira signed an instrument of renunciation attesting that nothing she had inherited from her father and grandfather remained with her brother, that she had received all that was due to her. This may be a reference to monetary compensation. The woman concluded by declaring that the attestation was made of her own free will, without compulsion, 'and Allāh is the best of witnesses'.⁴⁵

Another way of circumventing the *shar'ī* rules of succession is by making a customary will, which is not subject to quantitative or personal restrictions. Thus, in one case, a Bedouin of 'Ashirat al-Masā'ida al-Ta'āmira declared in writing that certain property should after his death go to his little son by his lawful wife 'in lieu of (*badal*) marriage' if the elder [married] sons did not enable their brother to marry by providing a dowry for him out of the family property. In other words, there was a contingent bequest; if the elder sons enabled their brother to marry, the estate was to be divided among all sons in equal shares. The bequest was guaranteed by two well-known arbitrators, Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb and Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū 'Āmiriyya, both of al-Ta'āmira tribes. A bequest in favour of a young son to finance his marriage—dowry and dwelling—before the estate is equally divided among the sons is very frequent with the Druzes, who have absolute freedom of testation.⁴⁶

In one case a Bedouin, also of al-Ta'āmira tribes, willed all his property to his five daughters, four of them married (to kinsmen of the testator, so that their shares remained in the family), and to his two wives. The estate was divided among them according to the category and location of the property. One married daughter was given one and a half dunams of land or the proceeds of its sale at a price to be fixed by her. The two wives were given equal shares in certain property with the proviso that if one or both of them predeceased him, her or their share(s) should revert to him, to be reallocated by him as he might wish. Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb explains that the testator had no sons and that the purpose of his will was to prevent his daughters and wives being deprived by male agnates of other classes. It should further be noted that the estate was not divided among them in *shar'ī* shares but in units as compact and economic as possible so as to prevent disputes among them after his death. The heading of the will was 'non-*shar'ī jāhili* bequest after death'.

⁴⁴ Rizq al-Sa'id Rizq 'Ashirat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, *ḥaṣr irth* of 18 November 1954. Cf. al-'Ārif, op. cit., 128; Chelchod, *Le droit*, 136.

⁴⁵ Sharā'i Muḥammad al-A'raj al-Sawāhira, *waṣl tanāzuṣ* of 29 May 1956. Cf. Layish, *Women*, 290 f.; Anderson, *Law reform*, 11.

⁴⁶ Aḥmad Dakhl Allāh al-Makhtūb al-Mis'ād al-Ta'āmira, *waṣiyya* of 29 May 1956. Cf. A. Layish, 'Women and succession in the Druze family in Israel', *Asian and African Studies*, xi, 1, 1976, 111.

It seems that the testator or whoever drew up the will for him was aware that it was contrary in all respects to a *shar'ī* will with its well-known limitations. The term *jāhiliyya* is of course Islamic and not taken from pre-Islamic customary law. Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb explains that a *jāhili* will is fairly common and is designed to disinherit sons. Shaykh Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira says that it is usual to will one's property to legal heirs, without quantitative limitation and in shares as compact and economic as possible, when a dispute between them over the division of the estate is anticipated, and that, where there are sons, this kind of will is also made in order to disinherit daughters lest the property pass out of the family after their marriage.⁴⁷

C. MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE SHARI'A

Concurrently with the sedentarization of the Bedouin, the gap between custom and *shari'a* is narrowing. Following the decline of tribal organization, increased stress is laid on the extended family as an economic and residential unit and a framework for socialization (although its position, too, is weakening). Islam has absorbed the patrilineal, patriarchal, and patrilocal pre-Islamic Arab family; its peculiarities have found faithful expression in the Islamic law of personal status, while it has at the same time been refined by religious-legal norms.⁴⁸ The sedentarization of the Bedouin is thus reflected in a strengthened hold of the *shari'a* over them.

1. *Islamic elements in arbitral awards*

Definite religious elements, reflecting the Islamic belief in the oneness of God and the mission of His prophet, Muḥammad, abound in arbitral awards, especially in the preambles. The award usually begins with the *bismillāh* formula. Other formulas are: 'Allāh is the patron (*wakīl*) of what we say' and 'Praise be to God, the lord of the universe, and prayer and peace to our master, Muḥammad, his family and his companions (*ṣaḥb*), and his blessing for peace'.⁴⁹ Arbitral awards frequently, though sometimes inaccurately, quote verses or fragments of verses from the Qur'ān in support of the justice meted out by the arbitrators, the superiority of truth over falsehood, the fair treatment of women, etc. Thus, e.g., Sūra iv, 58: '... if ye judge ... judge justly'; Sūra vi, 152: '... and if ye give your word, do justice thereunto, even though it be [against] a kinsman'; Sūras xi, 110, xvi, 118, and xliii, 76: 'And We wronged them not, but they were wont to wrong themselves ...'; Sūra xvii, 81: '... Truth hath come and falsehood hath vanished away. Lo, falsehood is ever bound to vanish'; Sūra xli, 46: 'Whoso doeth right it is for his soul ...';

⁴⁷ 'Id Jum'a Sulaymān al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmira, *waṣīyyat irth* of 27 April 1976. Interviews with Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb of 29 December 1975 and with Shaykh Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh of 29 December 1976. Cf. Layish, 'Women and succession', 111. Cf., as against this, Layish, *Women*, 292 f.

⁴⁸ For more detail, see Layish, 'Shari'a u-minḥaq', 377-8, and the sources indicated there.

⁴⁹ e.g. Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira and Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'awi 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, family dispute of 11 May 1972; Sālim Muḥammad Ismā'il Abū 'Ulyā 'Ashīrat al-'Abayāt al-Ta'āmira, succession of 10 January 1955; Maḥmūd Musallim Ibrajīyya 'Ashīrat al-Zawāhira al-Ta'āmira, disposition of estate *inter vivos* of A.H. 1331 [1912]. The Qur'ān quotations are from the translation by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The meaning of the glorious Koran*, New York, New American Library, 1953.

and Sūra LXV, 2: '... take them [women] back in kindness or part from them in kindness ...'.⁵⁰

After making their award, the arbitrators humbly declare that 'Allāh is the best of arbitrators (*khayr al-hākimīn*)'; 'we pronounce the decision, but the decision is made solely by Allāh, the only, the victorious'; 'knowledge is Allāh's exclusive domain'; 'this [the award] is what God has decreed for me'. Sometimes they quote Qur'ānic verses as evidence of Allāh's wisdom. Thus, e.g., Sūra XIV, 38: '... Nothing in the earth or in the heaven is hidden from Allāh'. Similarly, when hearing witnesses in accordance with the customary rules of evidence, they do not omit to declare that Allāh is 'the best of witnesses (*khayr al-shāhidīn*)'. A woman waiting for their awards wishes that 'Allāh may lead them to the discovery of the truth, so that she may realize her rights as Allāh and the Prophet have commanded'.⁵¹

The inclusion of religious elements in the text of an arbitral award is an ancient tradition dating from the *jāhiliyya*, the pre-Islamic period. In those days the arbitrators, who enjoyed religious veneration, declared in the preamble to their awards that they were guided by superhuman powers. Among others the *kāhīns*, soothsayers, acted as arbitrators, and the Prophet Muḥammad, much against his will, was regarded as one of them. The religious character of the award provided the added validity and credit necessary for it to be voluntarily respected by the parties.⁵² This character has been preserved to the present time although the religion has changed; Islam has taken the place of paganism. However, in spite of the appearance of religious elements in a definitely Muslim context, a suspicion sometimes arises that custom still holds unrestricted sway and that the reference to Allāh and the quotations from the Qur'ān are mere rhetoric and routine, especially where customary substantive elements predominate in the particular document concerned. As is known, the conception of Allāh as the supreme deity, the creator of heaven and earth, existed in pre-Islamic paganism, and the Qur'ān frequently refers to Allāh in a pagan context.⁵³ However, Bedouin honestly believe that their custom reflects a Muslim norm. The religious element, despite the above reservations, unwittingly legitimizes custom and thereby plays an important part in the mechanism of islamization.

2. *Shar'ī elements in arbitral awards*

Procedure and rules of evidence in arbitration (the appointment and powers of the arbitrator, testimonies, the mode of reaching decisions, etc.) have remained essentially customary, but *shar'ī* elements are penetrating into customary substantive law. The arbitrators have adopted *shar'ī* terms in matrimonial matters or at least the *shar'ī* connotation of terms which had a

⁵⁰ Muḥammad Danūn *mukhtār* 'Ashīrat al-Danūn al-Ta'āmīra, family dispute of 9 July 1974; Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmīra, impotence, n.d.; *idem*, *khul'* of 10 December 1966.

⁵¹ Muḥammad Danūn *mukhtār* 'Ashīrat al-Danūn al-Ta'āmīra, family dispute of 9 July 1974; Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmīra, family dispute of 11 May 1972; *idem*, impotence, n.d.; Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwīra al-Ta'āmīra, family dispute of 26 August 1970; Sharārī Muḥammad al-A'raj al-Sawāhira, *wasl tanāzul* of 29 May 1956; Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb al-Sharāyī'a al-Ta'āmīra, *wasīyyat irtk* of 27 April 1975; *idem*, *khul'* of 25 September 1964.

⁵² Tyan, *Histoire*, 35, 42, 43, 59, 61; Schacht, *Introduction*, 8, 10.

⁵³ For more detail see Tor Andrae, *Muhammad—the man and his faith*, New York, 1960, 24 ff.; S. D. Goitein, *Ha-Islām shel Muḥammad: keitzad hitawetah dat hadashah be-tzel ha-Yahadut*, Jerusalem, 1956, 92, 93; F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad and the conquest of Islam*, London, 1968, 40; L. Gardet, art. 'Allāh', *EI*, second ed., 406; Henninger, art. cit., 133 ff., 139, and the sources indicated there.

different customary connotation. Thus, in one case, the arbitrators awarded 'obedience' (*ṭā'a*) and a 'legal dwelling' (*bayt shar'i*) in exactly the sense these terms have in the *shari'a* courts. It is also typical in this context that arbitral awards sometimes conclude with the formula: 'The parties have no right of appeal against this award, which is in accordance with tribal custom (*awā'id 'ashā'iriyya*) and the *shari'a*'.⁵⁴ In a case in which a woman had been married against her will and had fled from her husband, the arbitrator Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū 'Āmiriyya decided that she must obey her husband and return home, 'as laid down by the *shari'a*, and lead a married life with her husband as commanded by Islamic law'.⁵⁵ In another case, the arbitrator decided that the husband must fulfil his *shar'i* obligations towards his wife, provide a 'perfect dwelling' for her in accordance with the standard prevailing in his own and the neighbouring village, refrain from infringing her matrimonial rights, and treat her in a morally proper way; these demands conform with the spirit of the Qur'an, although this is not expressly stated. The wife, on the other hand, must obey the husband in accordance with the *shari'a* and secular law (*qānūn*) (the reference seems to be to the Jordanian Family Rights Law of 1951, which is based on the *shari'a*).⁵⁶ In one case, a Bedouin in his lifetime divided his estate among his '*shar'i*' daughters. The '*non-shar'i, jāhili* will' discussed above by which a Bedouin left all his property to his legal heirs attests that its author was aware of his deviation from the *shar'i* norm; this, too, is significant in the present context.⁵⁷

A remarkable manifestation of peaceful coexistence of the customary and the *shar'i* norm is the combination of elements of both legal doctrines. Thus, in cases of disputes between spouses, arbitrators are appointed not only on their behalf but also on behalf of their guardians. In one case, Shaykh Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'awī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira decided that the husband must provide a *bayt shar'i* at a distance of about 50 metres from the residence of his family so as to maintain contact with his father's house without disadvantaging his wife. An independent, separate dwelling is a *shar'i* norm, and proximity to the father's house is a customary norm.⁵⁸ In another case, the arbitrator decided that the wife must obey the husband, threatening that if she did not return to him and denied him his conjugal rights, and this was proved 'by investigation and *shar'i* confirmation (*ṭihbāt*)', her father would be required to pay the husband 450 dinārs. In a further case, the arbitrators began by declaring that they were deciding the case 'in accordance with tribal custom' and concluded by making an award requiring the husband, if he should neglect to provide a legal dwelling, to divorce the wife by '*ṭalāq shar'i*'.⁵⁹ It is of course possible that in all these cases the term *shar'i* has a customary connotation.

⁵⁴ Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, family dispute of 11 May 1972; *idem*, *ṣakk taḥkīm* of 11 May 1972.

⁵⁵ Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū 'Āmiriyya 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyi'a al-Ta'āmira, marriage, n.d.

⁵⁶ Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, *khul'* of 10 December 1966. Article 30 of the law, which deals with obedience, is based on Ḥanafī variants. See J. N. D. Anderson, 'Recent developments in shari'a law VIII. The Jordanian Law of Family Rights, 1951', *Muslim World*, XLII, 3, 1952, 186.

⁵⁷ Riqq al-Sa'id Riqq al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, *baqr irth* of 18 November 1954; Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb 'Ashīrat al-Sharāyi'a al-Ta'āmira, *waṣīyyat irth* of 27 April 1975. Cf. Coulson, *Succession*, 216, 217.

⁵⁸ Nimr 'Awda al-Mubārak 'Ashīrat al-Nabāhīn al-Ta'āmira, *ṣakk taḥkīm* of 29 September 1963; Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'awī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, family dispute of 26 August 1970.

⁵⁹ Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, *khul'* of 10 December 1966; *idem*, family dispute of 11 May 1972.



3. Arbitrators' recourse to *shar'i* jurisdiction

The arbitrators sometimes refer the parties to the *shar'i* court for completion of the proceeding. Thus, in one case, it was agreed between the parties that the husband should perform a renunciation (*ibrā'*) divorce before the *qāḍī* of Bethlehem. In another case, the arbitrators decided that if the wife refused to obey the husband the marriage would be dissolved and her father would have to pay the husband a specific amount of compensation; the wife would have to renounce her right to prompt and deferred dower and matrimonial and waiting-period maintenance before the *shar'i* court; on the other hand, if the husband did not fulfil his obligations towards the wife (dwelling and good treatment), he would have to divorce her without receiving compensation and to pay her the deferred dower in the *shar'i* court. Eventually, the arbitrators reached the conclusion that nothing was left to the parties 'but *ṭalāq* in the *shar'i* court'.⁶⁰

Needless to say that *ṭalāq* divorces involve no legal proceedings under Islamic law, either. The Bedouin seem to resort to the *shar'i* authority for reasons of legal security. An arbitral award is not a judgment but an opinion supported by the personal authority and prestige of the arbitrator; it is reinforced, of course, by the traditional guarantees and fines, but not capable of execution through an official agency. The arbitrator's authority derives from the consent of the parties, in the absence of which the award cannot be executed; in any case, it is binding only upon the parties, not upon a third party. In other words, an arbitral award is less authoritative than a court judgment; in fact, it may be set aside by the *qāḍī* if it is inconsistent with the doctrine of the school he adheres to.⁶¹ The *shar'i* judgment gives additional effect to the award—essential especially where financial matters have to be settled between the parties—by the religious sanction.

The combined action of the two agencies, the customary and the *shar'i*, is sometimes envisaged from the start: the parties appoint arbitrators to prepare the ground for the settlement of financial matters between them, expecting the *shar'i* court to provide *shar'i* legitimation for the proposed settlement. Thus, in one divorce case, it was noted that the arbitrators had been appointed 'in accordance with tribal custom preparatory (*tamhīdan*) to [proceedings in] the *shar'i* court'.⁶² Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb attests that there is close co-operation between the customary arbitrator and the *shar'i* *qāḍī*. It may happen, e.g., that where a husband does not comply with the arbitrator's award for maintenance the wife applies to the *qāḍī*, who sets the husband a time for compliance and, if he remains obdurate, pronounces dissolution of the marriage. The intention here seems to be reliance on non-payment of maintenance as a ground for judicial dissolution under the Jordanian Family Rights Law of 1951.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Shar'i* Court of Bethlehem, *Sijill Ṭalāq* 3, p. 176, no. 13 (*ibrā'*); Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, *ibrā'* of 20 October 1974; *idem*, *khul'* of 10 December 1966; Ibrāhīm 'Abd Allāh al-Dar'āwī 'Ashīrat al-Shawāwira al-Ta'āmira, family dispute of 26 August 1970.

⁶¹ Tyan, *Histoire*, 50, 56, 57, 60, 61; *idem*, 'Hakam', 72; Schaacht, *Introduction*, 189; Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'id Jamāl al-Rifā'i, *wakl qāḍī* of Bethlehem, thinks that an arbitral award is not binding and requires confirmation by the *qāḍī* in each case (interview of 16 October 1975).

⁶² Sulaymān Sālim Muḥammad 'Ashīrat Ṣalāh al-Ta'āmira, impotence, n.d.

⁶³ Interview with Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Dhuwayb of 14 November 1975.

D. SUMMARY

Although custom, in its natural environment, still enjoys wide autonomy in matters of personal status, there are significant indications that it is increasingly superseded by the *sharī'a* on its own home ground—arbitration. The encounter with the *sharī'a* is mainly of historical importance; in prolonged interaction between them, custom contributed many legal elements and terms to Islamic law. These were received into the latter while acquiring a new content. In modern times, the *sharī'a* has had the upper hand in the encounter. It displays considerable assimilative power, and it may be doubted whether there is any significant amount of two-way interaction. Islamic legal institutions and institutions originating in custom but having acquired an Islamic connotation are gaining more and more ground in customary jurisdiction. In this transition period of Bedouin sedentarization, a kind of peaceful coexistence is preserved between the two normative systems;⁶⁴ the dividing line is sometimes blurred, and it is not always clear whether Islamic legal elements are adopted in their proper sense. The adoption is sometimes superficial, mechanical, the original, customary substance being preserved even where Islam and the *sharī'a* are expressly referred to. But there can be no doubt that ultimately the *sharī'a* will prevail and custom will recede.

The dependence of the Bedouin on the *sharī'a* court is increasing; the arbitrator's ability to compete with the institutionalized *qāḍī* is lessening because the latter is aided by state-imposed sanctions. Contraventions of *sharī* family law are not only ethical or religious offences but also offences against a state law, viz. the Jordanian Family Rights Law of 1951, which in turn is based on the *sharī'a* as represented by the various *sunni* schools but derives its effectiveness from being a statute with a penal system behind it. Furthermore, the decisions of the *sharī'a* court are enforceable by the executive, and this is the chief source of its strength and attractiveness in the eyes of the Bedouin and the source of the weakness of customary jurisdiction in competition with it. In other words, it is not only the increased ascendancy of orthodox Islam as a philosophy but also, and mainly, the secular civic exigencies of a modern state, such as licensing and welfare, that cause Bedouin to resort to the *sharī'a* court.

⁶⁴ cf. Schacht, *Introduction*, 62, 77, 78, 84; G.-H. Bousquet, '*Ada*', *EL*, second ed., 170, 171; Anderson, *Law reform*, 188.

THE 'DOSOGRAFA' CHURCH IN THE TREATY OF KÜÇÜK KAYNARCA

By RODERIC H. DAVISON

By the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774, which marked a disastrous defeat of the Ottoman empire by Russia, the Russians were accorded the right to build a church in Istanbul, in the Galata quarter. The treaty further specified that the church was to be under the protection of the Russian minister, who could make representations concerning it to the Sublime Porte. This church, and the Russian right to protect it and to make representations about it, furnished much of the basis on which Russian governments, in later years, built a claim to a broader right to protect the Greek Orthodox Church, even the Greek Orthodox people, in the Sultan's domains. The claims were exaggerated, but since the church in Istanbul was to be 'of the Greek ritual', as article 14 of the treaty said, the connexion seemed logical.¹ The Turkish text of the treaty, however, as Cevdet Paşa reproduces it in his history, makes no mention of a church 'of the Greek ritual'. Instead, his article 14 specifies that this church is to be called the *dusografa* or *dosografa* church (دوسوغرفه کنیساسی).²

What is a *dosografa* church? The meaning of this label is not immediately obvious. The word seems to be neither Turkish nor Greek nor Russian, nor does there appear to be a Saint Dosografa for whom the church was named. Is this then an error? If so, it is shared by the modern Turkish historian who has delved most deeply into Russo-Turkish relations, the late Professor Akdes Nimet Kurat, who in his monumental work *Türkiye ve Rusya* quotes article 14 of the treaty as providing for a 'Dosografa' church.³ Furthermore, the *Mu'ahedât Mecmû'ası*, the official published collection of Ottoman treaties, confirms Cevdet. Its designation of the church is exactly the same—دوسوغرفه.⁴ None of the three works offers any annotation which would explain the nature of a 'Dosografa' church.

The problem is partly elucidated by tracing the treaty text back a step farther, to the copy of Küçük Kaynarca in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. The original of the treaty has not been found there, but an early manuscript copy, which may have been the source for Cevdet and for the *Mu'ahedât Mecmû'ası*, is in a register in the series of Enebi Defterleri which record treaties, decorations, and consular matters. Here the designation of the church to be established under article 14 is spelled differently—'Rosograf' or 'Rusograf' or 'Rusograf' (روسوغرف).⁵ The initial letter is clearly *r* and not *d* and resembles the other initial *rs* in the same paragraph and elsewhere throughout the treaty. Probably, then, the word is meant to begin with a reference to something Russian, or 'Rūs'.

¹ Text of the treaty in English in J. C. Hurewitz (ed.), *The Middle East and North Africa in world politics a documentary record*, New Haven, 1975, 92–101.

² Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet. Tertib-i cedid*, Istanbul, 1301–9, I, 289.

³ Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve Rusya: XVIII yüzyıl sonundan kurtuluş savaşına kadar Türk-Rus ilişkileri (1798–1919)*, Ankara, 1970, 29. Kurat's text is not quite the same as Cevdet's article 14; the major variant is that Kurat converts *kenise* into *kilise* each time the word occurs, but the meaning is not affected.

⁴ *Mu'ahedât Mecmû'ası*, Istanbul, 1294–8, III, 261.

⁵ Başbakanlık Arşivi, Enebi Defterleri 83/1, 144.

A sensible explanation for the 'Dosografa' church finally becomes possible when the texts of Küçük Kaynarca in Russian and Italian are also examined. In 1774, Grand Vizier Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa signed Turkish and Italian texts of the treaty, while Field-Marshal P. A. Rumyantsov signed Russian and Italian texts, as provided by article 28 of the treaty itself. These three languages, then, are the only official ones, and in case of a divergence between the Turkish and Russian texts the Italian would control. Article 14 in the Russian text specifies that the church to be built in Istanbul will be of the 'Greco-Russian faith'.⁶ The church was, then, obviously to have some 'Russian' character, corresponding to the 'Rus' of the Turkish manuscript text. The Italian version of the treaty makes matters even clearer. Here article 14 stipulates that the church is to be 'called Russo-Greek'.⁷ Thus, in the Turkish text, it is most likely that the *graf* occurs mistakenly when *grek* is meant. The Porte's copying clerk evidently misread the final *k* of 'Rusogrek' and transformed it into a *f* by using one dot instead of two.

In this manner the 'Dosografa' church of Cevdet Paşa and of the official treaty collection becomes, in all probability, a 'Rusogrek' church, in exact conformity with the Italian text of Küçük Kaynarca and in conformity also with the meaning of the Russian text, although the latter reverses the order of the compound adjective to make it Greco-Russian instead of Russo-Greek. It is hard to explain why two sound historians like Cevdet and Kurat should have accepted a so-called Dosografa church without query, and why no other Turkish historian has questioned their article 14, or that in the officially published treaty collection. It is strange, further, that there is apparently no complete published text of Küçük Kaynarca in modern Turkish; at any rate, I have found none. What published texts of article 14 are available in Turkish are, therefore, the product of sequential copying errors: the first by the clerk who made 'Rusogrek' into 'Rusograf', and the second by Cevdet or the compiler of the treaty collection or someone else who made 'Rusograf' into 'Dosografa'.

When the correction has been made, the Turkish text of article 14 may be translated as follows.

'By analogy with the other powers it is permitted that the Russian government, besides the private church, may have a church built in the district of Galata on the public road in the street of the quarter called Beyoğlu. This church is to be public, is to be called by the title of the Russo-Greek church and to be forever under the protection of the minister of the Russian government, and is to be secure and free and guarded from any sort of molestation and interference'.⁸

⁶ Literally, 'Grekorossiyakago ispovedaniya'. *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov rossiyskoy imperii*, St. Petersburg, 1830-1916, First Series, XIX, 982.

⁷ Literally, 'chiamata Russo-Greca'. G. F. de Martens (ed.), *Recueil des principaux traités ... de l'Europe*, Göttingen, 1791-1801, IV, 620.

⁸ A literal rendition from the manuscript copy in the Ecnebi Defterleri 83/1 and from *Mu'ahedât Mecmû'ası*, whose wording is identical: *Düvel-i sâ'ireye kıyasen kilise-i mahsûseden mâ'adû Galata tarafında Beg Oğlu nâm mahallensâ yolında tarik-i âmda Rûsya Devleti bir kenise eldirmek câ'iz ola işbu kenise kenise-i 'avâmm olub Rûsogrek kenisesi ta'biriyle termiye ve ile'l-ehed Rûsya Devletinin elçisi şîvânetinde olub her durlu ta'arruz ve müdâheleden emîn ve berî ve hîrâset olma*. Cevdet adds one word, without changing the meaning—he says *bir kenise bînâ eldürmek câ'iz*. The Turkish text might allow a translation that begins: 'The Russian government, besides the private church in the manner of the other powers, is permitted to have a church built ...'. But this phrasing, linking only the private embassy chapel to the analogy of the other powers, probably must be ruled out since it does not conform either to the Italian or to the Russian text.

The Italian article 14 reads, as Martens gives it: 'L'altissima Corte di Russia potrà a norma

This treaty provision was an immense success for Russia. The Empress Catherine would now be able to boast of a Greek church, in a suburb of the Ottoman capital, under Russian protection. Her empire, a recent arrival in the Near East, would be the equal of the Catholic powers, Austria and France, who traditionally had been the protectors of Latin churches in Galata and Beyoğlu.⁹ But Catherine's success was even greater. Article 14 allowed the construction of a completely new church, not just the replacement of an old one. This was a violation of Islamic law. Although the Ottoman government had permitted Greek and Latin churches built before 1453 to survive, it had permitted no new ones to be built after the conquest of Constantinople.¹⁰ The new church, furthermore, would be situated on the main street of Beyoğlu, would be open to the public generally rather than being a private embassy chapel, and would have Russia's name attached to it. Among the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul, Russia and the Tsarina Catherine would be praised to the skies. The history of the protracted negotiations for the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca shows that some of the Greeks of Istanbul were eager for just such a Russian-protected church, would contribute the land and funds for it, and had pressed A. M. Obreskov, the Russian negotiator in 1772-3, to secure the right to build it under Russia's aegis. He, of course, recognized the increased influence among Ottoman Greeks that a church under Russian protection would give to St. Petersburg.¹¹ The increase in religious influence would march parallel with the increase in territorial, commercial, and diplomatic status accorded to Russia by the treaty.

Yet the name of the church that Russia was authorized to establish has a significance that qualifies this prospective advance in Russian influence. For if the church was to be Russo-Greek, rather than simply Greek, it would furnish a much more tenuous base if Russian rulers sought to build on it a claim to protect the whole Greek Church in the Ottoman empire. The Istanbul

delle altre Potenze, a riserva della Chiesa Domestica, edificarne una nelle parte di Galata nella strada detta Bey-Uglı, la qual Chiesa sarà pubblica, chiamata Russo-Greca, e questa sempre si manterrà sotto la protezione del Ministro di questo Impero, e anderà illesa da ogni molestia, ed oltraggio'.

The Russian article 14 reads: 'Rossiyskomu Visochayshemu Dvoru, po primeru drugikh Derzhav, pozvol'yayetsya, krome domashney v dome Ministra tserkvi, vozdvignut v chasti Galata, v ulitse Bey Oglu nazyvayemoy, publichnyu Grekorossiyskago ispovedaniya tserkov, kotoraya vsегда pod protektsiyei onoy Imperii Ministrov ostat'sya imeyet, i nikakomu priteneniyu, ili oskorbleniyu podverzhena ne budet'.

⁹ Information on the Catholic churches and embassy chapels is in F. A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, second enlarged ed., ed. R. P. Arsène de Chatel, Paris, 1894, 178, 227, 231, 241-2, 277-80, 302-6, 312-14, 332-4, 375-7; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinople und der Bosphorus*, repr., Osnabrück, 1970 (original ed. 1822), II, 126-7. Perhaps the Russian desire for a church in Beyoğlu was sharpened by the fact that the Austrian-protected church and embassy chapel there had both just been more permanently rebuilt in stone after being burned in the great fire of 1767: Belin, *Latinité*, 277, 333. However, like other Catholic churches in Beyoğlu, they were not very prominent, because of simple exteriors or a situation somewhat off the main street: A. Brayer, *Neuf années à Constantinople*, Paris, 1836, I, 14. The Russian embassy was also destroyed by the fire of 1767.

¹⁰ Not all the old churches, of course, survived. A number of the pre-1453 churches had been converted into mosques. In the following three centuries Christians could not always secure fermans to repair burned churches, and sometimes the land on which destroyed churches had stood was expropriated by the Muslim authorities: Belin, *Latinité*, 303, 536; Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1862, 73. To be sure, Greek Orthodox churches had been constructed in Istanbul after the conquest—Ernest Mamboury, *Istanbul touristique*, Istanbul, 1951, 348-50, lists 24 of them built after 1453—but the presumption must be that they replaced older churches, or else were built in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the ban on new construction was occasionally relaxed.

¹¹ Ye. I. Druzhinina, *Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhyskiy mir 1774 goda (yego podgotovka i zaklyucheniye)*, Moscow, 1955, 220-4, 295-6, 348. I am grateful to a reader of the original draft for several suggestions incorporated in this paragraph, as well as for some elsewhere.

church would not, under the treaty provision, be one of the usual Greek Orthodox churches of the Ottoman empire. That it was not intended to be one of these usual churches is a likely deduction from the terminology used in the Turkish text of the treaty, and from the clerk's mistake in copying. The term commonly used for the usual Greek church in the Ottoman empire was 'Rûm'. The treaty itself, in fact, employs that word to designate the Greek religious community in the Ottoman empire.¹² Had the Istanbul church authorized in article 14 been intended to be one of these usual Greek churches, it probably would have been called a 'Rûm' church and the clerk would have had no trouble with the term. Instead, the church was called 'Rûsogrek'. The clerk recognized 'Rûs', which was commonly used in Turkish, but he failed to recognize 'Grek', which was not. In contradistinction to the indigenous or 'Rûm' church, what the treaty authorized was apparently a foreign church, as the foreign term 'Rûsogrek' implied.

It may also be significant that the Russian text of the treaty did not describe the church as *pravoslavniy*. This was, after all, the usual term for Orthodox. In 1775 the Empress Catherine herself, in a proclamation praising the treaty, referred both to the faith of the Russian church and to Greek Orthodox inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia as *pravoslavniy*.¹³ Why was the church called 'Greco-Russian' instead? The answer can only be speculative. Possibly the Russian term was influenced by the 'Russo-Greca' of the agreed Italian text. But, although the influence of the Italian expression is possible, this may not explain the origin of the term. It was Obreskov, apparently, who first used it. In the abortive peace negotiations of 1772-3 he proposed to the Turks a Russian-protected church in Beyoğlu for clergy 'confessing the Greco-Russian faith'.¹⁴ The Russian draft treaty presented to the Turks in those same negotiations contained an article identical with article 14 of the final treaty, stipulating the right of Russia to erect in the street of Beyoğlu in Galata a public church of the 'Greco-Russian' faith.¹⁵ One can only guess that Obreskov may have had three reasons for using 'Greco-Russian' instead of 'Orthodox'. First, he may have wished to impress on the Turks the close religious relationship of Greeks and Russians, so helping to expand Russia's sphere of religious influence within Ottoman domains. Second, he knew from the Greeks of Istanbul that the Porte was unlikely to approve the construction of an ordinary Greek church; a Russian church, they thought, was possible. Third, he probably wanted the distinctive appellation 'Russian' attached to the church for the diplomatic prestige it would bring. This would demonstrate that if France and Austria could protect churches of *their* particular brand of Christianity in Beyoğlu, Russia could do the same for a church of *her* brand.¹⁶

¹² Article 16, par. 9. Enebi Defterleri 83/1, 145.

¹³ Proclamation of 17 March 1775: *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov*, First Series, xx, 81. She did not specifically mention the Beyoğlu church, however. A later Russian guidebook, for example, uses *pravoslavniy* to refer to Greek Orthodox churches in Istanbul: Antonii (hieromonach), *Putevoditel' po Konstantinopol'yu: opisanie zametitel'nykh i svyatykh mest*, Odessa, 1884, 66. I am grateful to another reader of the draft for calling my attention to this point.

¹⁴ 'dlya dukhovnykh, grekorossiyskoy zakon ispoveduyushchikh': Druzhinina, *Kyuchuk-Kaynardzhyskiy mir*, 221, quoting from the document in the Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossii, Moscow. Did Obreskov use Italian in communicating with the Turks?

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 346, article 23: 'vozdvignut v chasti Galati, v ulitse Bey-Oglu nazyvayemoy, publichnuyu grekorossiyskago ispovedaniya tserkov...'

¹⁶ On the question of interpretations of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca to allow Russian protection of Greek Orthodox generally in the Ottoman empire, see Roderic H. Davison, 'Russian skill and Turkish imbecility': the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji reconsidered', *Slavic Review*, xxxv, 3, 1976, 463-83.

If both the Russian and Italian texts of Küçük Kaynarca, and as we see now the Turkish text also, specified that the church to be established in Istanbul was Russo-Greek, why then does the English text of the treaty not specify this as well? Why does it say, erroneously, a church 'of the Greek ritual', with no mention of Russo-Greek? The answer here lies in a history not of faulty copying, but of faulty translation. The English text of the treaty most widely used today is reproduced in two documentary collections edited by contemporary scholars.¹⁷ They have relied on the translation made, evidently, in the Foreign Office and published at the time of the Crimean War, when Russian pretensions to a right of protection of the Greek Orthodox in the Ottoman empire had been vigorously advanced.¹⁸ This English translation was in its turn made from a French translation of Küçük Kaynarca, which was printed for Parliament in 1854 together with the English. A note reveals that this French version had been published in St. Petersburg in 1775.¹⁹ This French version was evidently made by the government of Catherine II; for Martens, editor of the most widely used treaty collection in Europe, prints the same French version and notes that it is the authorized translation made in Russia and published in St. Petersburg in 1775.²⁰ This Russian-authorized French version, which became standard in Europe (even though Martens had earlier published his own French translation), did not designate the church to be built in Istanbul as 'Russo-Greek'. Instead, the church was said to be simply, 'du rit Grec'.²¹ Reference to the Russian character of the church was omitted. This mistranslation, current in French and then in English, obviously was a help to Russian pretensions to a right of protection of the wider Greek church in the Ottoman empire. It conformed neither to the Russian, the Italian, nor the Turkish text of the treaty. One wonders whether the mistranslation was innocent, or not.²²

Perhaps it was, if the St. Petersburg French translation was made from the Russian and not from the Italian text. For a church 'of the Greek ritual' may seem only a little removed in essential meaning from the church 'of the Greco-Russian faith' that the Russian text of article 14 provided for. But a church 'of the Greek ritual' differs rather more from the church 'called Russo-Greek' stipulated by the controlling Italian text, and equally by the Turkish text. The St. Petersburg French translation, then, by dropping any reference to the Russian character of the church, and including only reference to the Greek, was misleading. Deliberate or not, it certainly laid an advantageous base for later Russian claims.

¹⁷ Hurewitz, see p. 46, n. 1, above; M. S. Anderson, *The great powers and the Near East, 1774-1923*, London, 1970, 9-14.

¹⁸ 'Treaties (political and territorial) between Russia and Turkey, 1774-1849', in Great Britain. House of Commons, *Sessional Papers*, 1854, LXXII.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 1.

²⁰ Martens, *Recueil*, iv, pp. 606, n., 607.

²¹ Article 14, in this translation, reads: 'À l'exemple des autres Puissances on permet à la haute Cour de Russie, outre la Chapelle bâtie dans la maison du Ministre, de construire dans un quartier de Galata dans la rue nommée Bey Oglu, une église publique du rit Grec, laquelle sera toujours sous la protection des ministres de cet Empire & à l'abri de toute gêne & de toute avanée'.

²² Theodor Schiemann noted the discrepancy between 'Greco-Russian' in the Russian text and 'Greek' in the French text, but its significance escaped him: *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I*, Berlin, 1904-19, I, p. 257, n. 1. Martens's earlier 'private' translation, presumably from the Italian, was in his *Recueil*, I, 507-22. Gabriel Noradounghian (ed.), *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, 1897-1903, I, 319-34, gives a French version that is probably also translated from the Italian. For further detail on other published versions in Turkish, Russian, Italian, French, and English see Davison, *loc. cit.*, nn. 22, 36, 37.

It is antilimactic to discover that the Russo-Greek church, to all appearances, was never built. This must be the conclusion, at least, from the published record; and it seems unlikely that such a church, if actually constructed, would have escaped mention, particularly by Russian visitors to Istanbul. The fairly detailed accounts of two members of a Russian embassy sent to the Ottoman capital in 1793 fail to mention such a church.²³ A Russian officer who carried despatches to Istanbul in 1808 and stayed for some weeks records nothing in his journal about such a church.²⁴ Two later Russian guide-books for pilgrims and tourists mention no Russo-Greek or Russian-protected church.²⁵ I have noticed, further, no mention of such a church in Çevdet's history, nor yet in Mouradgèa d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, which he wrote not long after the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.²⁶ Finally, a succession of knowledgeable Western travellers to Istanbul and residents of Istanbul are equally silent about any Russo-Greek or Russian-protected church.²⁷ Had such a church been constructed, it could well have perished in the great Beyoğlu fire of 1831 that destroyed several European embassies and Catholic churches, but neither before nor after that date is it mentioned as constructed or reconstructed.

Why the church was not constructed remains a matter of guesswork, and it may be so even after Russian and Ottoman archives are further searched. Perhaps there were practical difficulties. It may be that the ideal moment for building was never found, given the recurring tensions and wars between the governments of Sultan and Tsar. Or, possibly, the Russians were content with the Sublime Porte's affirmation of their *right* to build and protect a church in

²³ Heinrich Christoph von Reimers, *Reise der Russisch-Kaiserlichen ausserordentlichen Gesandtschaft an die ottomanische Pforte im Jahr 1793*, St. Petersburg, 1803; Johann Christian von Struve, *Voyage en Crimée, suivi de la relation de l'Ambassade envoyée de Pétersbourg à Constantinople en 1793*, tr. from German by L. H. Delamarre, Paris, 1802. Struve does say that on the Tsarina's feast day, 25 November/8 December 1793, there was a great celebration in the Russian ambassador's residence in Istanbul; and 'after the celebration of divine service, which we attended with great ceremony in the Greek church, there was a very fine repast. . .'. But he does not identify the Greek church, which might be a local church or, quite possibly, the embassy chapel, since the impression Struve gives is that church and embassy were adjacent, though he does not say so explicitly.

²⁴ Aleksandr Grigorevich Krasnokutskiy, *Dnevnyya zapiski poyezdki v Konstantinopol v 1808 godu*, Moscow, 1816. He remarks on the grave of a Russian major in Istanbul, and presumably would have mentioned a Russian-protected church, especially as his account reveals him to be a believer.

²⁵ Antonii, *Putevoditel' po Konstantinopolu*, who lists present-day 'Christian' (i.e. Greek) churches pp. 99-101, including two in Galata but none in Beyoğlu (Pera); D. Korkmas and M. Skokovskaia, *Putevoditel' po Konstantinopolu*, Constantinople, 1912, which notes in part II, p. 31, that Pera has 'monasteries and big Christian churches' without specifying whether Catholic or Orthodox, and in part IV, p. 29, lists Russian establishments in Istanbul (consulate, banks, schools, archaeological museum), but no church.

²⁶ Second ed., Paris, 1788-1824, 7 vols. in 8. D'Ohsson, dragoman for the Swedish legation, knew Beyoğlu well. He mentions the Russian *right* under the treaty to build a church: VII, 463-4.

²⁷ Elizabeth Craven, *A journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, repr., New York, 1970 (first ed., Dublin, 1789); Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, who lists and describes 24 Greek churches, I, 446-66; Brayer, *Neuf années*, who mentions only Catholic churches in Pera, and Greek Catholic communicants, II, 14; Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople*, 3 vols., Paris, 1816, who has much to say on Galata and Pera and on Greek church organization; John Auldjo, *Journal of a visit to Constantinople in the spring and summer of 1833*, London, 1836, who speaks often of the Russians then at Hünkâr İskelesi and about the metropolis; Friedrich von Tietz, *St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and Napoli di Romania in 1833 and 1834*, 2 vols., London, 1836, who mentions three Catholic churches in the 'long street' of Pera, II, 126-7; Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, second ed., 2 vols., London, 1829, who is quite favourable to the Greeks at the time of Russia's attack on Turkey; Charles White, *Three years in Constantinople*, 3 vols., London, 1845, an industrious inquirer; A. I. Davydov, *Zhivopisniye ocherki Konstantinopolya*, St. Petersburg, 1855, who writes during the Crimean (Russo-Turkish) war and makes a point of describing Hünkâr İskelesi, where the Russians had encamped in 1833.

THE GOLOK DIALECT AND WRITTEN TIBETAN PAST-TENSE VERB FORMS¹

By R. K. SPRIGG

I. Introductory

Tibetan orthography looks phonetically challenging, to say the least; and one may well wonder whether such tongue-twisting combinations as the *brj-* of *brjes*, the *blt-* of *bltas*, or the *bst-* of *bstan* ever did twist a Tibetan tongue, or whether the significance of these and other such orthographic forms might not have been morphophonemic in origin, with the letters *r*, *l*, and *s* in the syllable initial of forms such as these serving to associate these past-tense forms lexically with their corresponding present-tense forms; e.g.

pres.	<i>rje</i>	<i>lta</i>	<i>ston</i>
past	<i>brjes</i>	<i>bltas</i>	<i>bstan</i> ¹
	barter	look	show

Viewed in relation to Tibetan orthography the past-tense forms of a class of verbs in the Golok dialect seem to support this hypothesis. Table 1, below, contains a number of examples of Golok verbs in their past-tense and present-tense forms to illustrate a type of phonological analysis suited to that view of the *r* syllable-initial unit in the Golok examples, and, indirectly, in the WT examples too (the symbols *b* and *ḅ* will be accounted for in section (B) below).

TABLE 1

WT		<i>skyon</i>	<i>lta</i>	<i>ston</i>	<i>ldag</i>	<i>sdod</i>
Golok	{ <i>ḅ</i> (pres.)	[rkjo(ə)n] ²	r(s)ta	r(s)ton	rdak	rdot
	{ <i>b</i> (past)	[ḅkjo(ə)n]	ḅti:	ḅtan	ḅdan ³	ḅ/bdad/r
WT		(<i>b</i>) <i>skyon</i>	<i>bltas</i>	<i>bstan</i>	<i>bldags</i>	<i>bsdad</i>
Gloss		put astride	look	show	lick	sit
<i>rdung</i>	<i>rje</i>	<i>slob</i>	<i>rtse</i>	<i>zlo</i>	<i>rnga</i>	<i>rngod</i>
<i>rdon</i>	<i>rdæ</i>	r(s)tsab (lop) ³	rtse	rdzo (rdo) ³	nga ⁴	ngo] ⁴
<i>ḅdon</i>	<i>ḅdzi:</i>	ḅtsab (ḅlab)	ḅtsi:	bzi: (ḅdi:)	ḅni:	ḅnu:]
<i>brdungs</i>	<i>brjes</i>	<i>bslats</i>	<i>rtses</i>	<i>bzlas</i>	<i>brngas</i>	<i>brngos</i>
beat	barter	teach	play	say	mow	roast

¹ Based on a paper read at the tenth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, at Georgetown University, in October 1977.

For Written Tibetan (WT) orthography and glosses I have relied on Jaschke, 1881 (reprinted 1934; for list of references see p. 80).

² I am grateful to Dodrupchen Rimpoche, of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, a refugee incarnate lama, for his help in providing me with the Golok data on which this study is based during a week's work with him in 1965 and a further three days in 1974.

³ The final nasal in [ḅdan] anticipates the nasal-initial following particle [ni]. From the Golok reading-style alternative (in brackets) it will be seen that Golok has its own reading-style of pronunciation, differing markedly from that of the rest of the Tibetan-speaking area. For the first recognition of the difference between reading-style and spoken-style pronunciation in Tibetan see T. Yu and Y. R. Chao, 1930, 198.

⁴ Imperative [rŋu:] (i) 'mow', (ii) 'roast', *rngos*.

II. Golok *r* (lexical) and *b* and *ḃ* (non-*b*) (grammatical)

The time available did not allow me to note more *r*-cluster verbs than the twelve in table 1 in both their present-tense and past-tense forms.⁵

A. The Golok *r*-cluster piece, and the *g*-, *b*-, *m*-, and *n*-cluster types of piece (WT *r*, *l*, *s*; *g*, *d*, *b*, *m*, '), and lexical classification⁶

It is possible to treat each of the 12 pairs of verb forms in table 1 as containing a *r* cluster, or *r* syllable-initial piece. This may appear to be an obvious course in the case of the present-tense forms because a rolled (or trilled) sound, voiceless or voiced ([ʀ, ʀ̄]), occurs in the syllable-initial cluster of each: [ʀk, ʀ(s)t; rd, rd̄, ʀ(s)ts, rd̄, (rd), rŋ]; but this approach requires that the syllable-initial clusters in the past-tense forms too be treated as phonetic exponents of that same *r* phonological unit in spite of the fact that a rolled (trilled) sound is notably absent from them: [ḃk, ḃt, β/bd, βd̄, ḃts, ḃts (ḃl), bz (βd), βŋ]. That is to say, the syllable-initial clusters in each pair of present-tense and past-tense forms are equal, and complementarily distributed, phonetic exponents of the phonological term *r*, a member of a system, the initial-cluster system, that includes such other (and contrasting) terms as the following.

TABLE 2

Term	Present/Past	WT	Gloss
<i>g</i>	[xsot]/[ḃsat]	<i>gsod/bsad</i>	kill
<i>b</i>	[bzo]/(lacking) ⁷	<i>bzo/bzos</i>	make
<i>m</i>	[mdre]/[ptri:]	<i>'bri/bris</i>	write
<i>n</i>	[nd̄xwup]/(lacking) ⁷	<i>'jib/bzhibs</i>	sip

a total of five terms for Golok, in comparison with the eight symbolized for WT by means of the letters *r*-, *l*-, *s*-, *g*-, *d*-, *b*-, *m*-, and ' (ra-/la-/sa-mgo; sngon-'jug lnga).⁸

⁵ It was only quite late in my Golok research programme that I realized that it was important to give priority, over a wealth of absorbing data, to the past-tense verb forms in which [ḃ] and [β/b] correspond to the *b*- of WT in word-initial position: I have not met with this feature in any other current Tibetan dialect.

⁶ My second piece of research with Dodrupchen Rimpooche, in 1974, has increased my suspicion (Sprigg, 1972, 553) that a further type of Golok cluster probably needs to be recognized, a type that might suitably, from its correspondence to the members of the WT *sa-mgo* series *sng*-, *sn̄y*-, *sn*-, and *sm*-, be termed the Golok *s* cluster; but the three days available for that piece of research proved too short for a systematic search for verbs with the mixed-voicing initial clusters [ʀŋ, ʀ̄ŋ, ʀ̄n, ʀ̄m] that would qualify as examples of this further type of cluster. If my suspicions turn out to be well-founded, the noun and adjective lexical items on p. 576 of Sprigg, 1972, will need to be corrected as follows: the Golok reflex of *s (section (a)) should be altered from 'r' to s; two of the three Golok examples there, [ʀmən] 'medicine' (*smən*) and [(mt̄sho)ʀŋon] 'Blue Lake' (*mt̄sho-sngon*), will then become examples of this sixth type of cluster, the *s*; the third example, [ʀpaŋ(ma)] 'Nyingma' (*nying-ma*), which I have alternatively transcribed as [ʀpaŋma], with voice throughout the initial cluster ([ʀp]), should probably continue to be treated as an example of the *r* cluster, and should therefore be transferred to the table of reflexes of *r in section (b) of that same page. My further piece of Golok research, in 1974, has also given me, in [ʀ(s)paŋ] 'heart' (*snying*), a mixed-voicing cluster [ʀ(s)p̄] to replace that of the suspect '[ʀpaŋ(ma)]' (cf. also Balti [sn̄y], Lhasa [p̄t̄:], together with an additional example, of [ʀ(s)n̄-], in [ʀ(s)na] 'nose' (*sna*); the Balti example [snaa] 'ear' on p. 576 should consequently be deleted in favour of [sna(msol)] 'nostril' (*sna-mshul*) to match its Golok cognate [ʀ(s)na].

⁷ For the two forms that are lacking my prediction would be *[bz̄u:], on the analogy of [ʀŋo]/[β̄ŋu:] 'roast' (table 1), and *[bz̄wup] or *[β̄z̄wup], on the analogy of [β̄zak] or [bz̄ag-] 'put' ('jog/bzhag).

⁸ See p. 54, n. 6.

Lexical classification

The phonetic exponents of *r*, then, as one term of a five-term system, include

TABLE 3

$r \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(pres.)} \\ \text{(past)} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{rk}, \text{r(s)t}, \text{rd}, \text{rdz}, \text{rts}, \text{r(s)ts} (\text{!}), \text{rdz} (\text{rd}), \text{rn}] \\ [\text{Φk}, \text{Φt}, \beta/\text{bd}, \beta\text{dz}, \text{Φts}, \text{Φts} (\text{Φl}), \text{bz} (\beta\text{d}), \beta\text{n}] \end{array} \right.$
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and all the 12 verb lexical items exemplified in table 1 are, therefore, classifiable phonologically as *r*-cluster verbs (nouns and adjectives are bound to differ from verbs in that they do not have the double phonetic exponency due to the present-tense and past-tense forms of verbs).

A corresponding statement with, in some cases, alternative phonetic exponents (present-tense and past-tense) can, of course, be made for some of the other terms of this Golok initial-cluster system such as the *g* term mentioned above; e.g.

$g \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(pres.)} \\ \text{(past)} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{xs}] \text{ (WT } g\text{sod)} \\ [\text{Φs}] \text{ (WT } b\text{sad)} \end{array} \right.$	kill	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{xt}] \text{ (WT } d\text{krog)} \\ [\text{xt}] \text{ (WT } d\text{krögs)} \end{array} \right.$	stir,
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whence $[\text{xsot}/\text{Φsat}]$ (WT *gsod/bsad*) and $[\text{xtok}/\text{xtök}]$ (WT *dkrog/dkrögs*) can be classified as *g*-cluster (verb) lexical items; but, in the corresponding WT forms there is the orthographic difference that the *g* symbol does not appear, morphophonemically, in the past-tense form; e.g. *bsad*, not **bgsad* (cf. the WT spellings of the *r*-cluster present-tense and past-tense forms in table 1, e.g. *rdung/brdungs*, and the *l*-cluster and *s*-cluster forms *lia/bltas* and *ston/bstan* too), a defect in the Tibetan orthography in the view of phonologists who favour morphophonemic interpretation of the WT verb spellings: once a *r*-cluster verb, always a *r*-cluster verb; once a *g*-cluster verb, always a *g*-cluster verb;

B. The b and b̄ (non-b) clusters, and grammatical classification

It is now necessary to return to the examples in table 1 in order to explain the symbols *b* and *b̄* (non-*b*). The initial clusters on the lower, or *b*, line, $[\text{Φk}, \beta/\text{bd}, \beta\text{dz}, \text{bz}]$, etc., all contain labiality as a feature in the form of (voiced and voiceless) bilabial plosives and fricatives, corresponding, in almost every instance, to *b* in the WT orthography, whence they may helpfully be classified as *b* initial clusters; and the same classification extends beyond *r*-cluster verbs, of course, to, for example, the initial cluster $[\text{Φs}]$ of a *g*-cluster verb such as $[\text{xsot}]/[\text{Φsat}]$ (*gsod/bsad*) 'kill' (table 2; but not, incidentally, to the *g*-cluster verb $[\text{xtok}/\text{xtök}]$ above). This past-tense form $[\text{Φsat}]$, through its initial cluster $[\text{Φs}]$, is an example of the *b̄* cluster for this (lexical) *g*-cluster verb just as $[\text{Φkjo}(\text{ə})\text{n}]$ and $[\beta\text{dön}]$ (WT (*b*)*skyon, brdungs*), through their initial clusters $[\text{Φk}]$ and $[\beta\text{d}]$, are examples of the *b* cluster for those (lexical) *r*-cluster verbs. This term *b*, then, cuts across the lexical boundaries *r*-cluster, *g*-cluster, and *n*-cluster distinguished in section (A) above, and unites $[\text{Φsat}]$ with e.g. $[\text{Φkjo}(\text{ə})\text{n}]$, $[\beta\text{dön}]$, and $[\text{ptɕi}]$ (tables 1 and 2) as examples of the phonological unit *b* of a second, and parallel, cluster system; but with the important difference that this second cluster classification applies not to lexical items but to *forms* of lexical items, and is applicable only to verb lexical items.

The phonological system in which this *b* term functions is a two-term system; and the *b* type of cluster contrasts with a type of cluster in which there is considerable variety of phonetic features depending on the lexical

cluster class of the verb in question; but at least one can say that, in r-cluster verbs, that cluster will contain a rolled sound, as in the [rk] and [rd] of [rkjo(ə)n] and [rdəŋ] (WT *sk-*, *rd-*; *skyon*, *rdung*) (table 1), or, in g-cluster verbs, the equally non-labial velar fricative [xs] of [xsot] (*gsod*), and, in n-cluster verbs, the non-labial nasality of [ndz-] in [ndzəmp] (WT *'jib/bzhib*). All such initial clusters are united as exponents of the contrasting term *b*, regardless of whether they are drawn from (lexical) r-cluster, g-cluster, or n-cluster verbs, or, indeed, m-cluster, e.g. [mdzə]/[ptzi:] 'write' (*'bri/bris*) (tables 1 and 2); but not the (lexical) b-cluster type in that system (table 2), e.g. [bzo] 'make' (*bzo/bzos*); for the *b-b* system does not apply to the lexical b-cluster verbs. Indeed the *b-b* system does not apply to m-cluster verbs either apart from those which have developed into the m-cluster type from an earlier *n-cluster type, e.g. the [mdz-] of [mdzə] 'write' (*'bri*; table 2), from *[mbdz] from *[mba] (and the [ptz-] of [ptzi:], the corresponding past-tense form (WT *bris*), from *[pzi-]; cf. Sprigg, 1968, 309-11).

The *b* and *b̄* members of this two-term cluster system, unlike the *b*, *r*, *g*, *m*, and *n* members of the five-term (lexical) cluster system stated in section (A), have a grammatical function to perform: the *b̄* term is a phonological exponent of the syntactic category 'present' (and also, though in a different grammatical system, of the category 'imperative' as opposed to—say—'declarative'; e.g. [rŋ-] and [rdz-]: [rŋu:] 'mow!' (*rŋgos*), [rŋu:] 'roast!' (*rŋgos*), and [rdzu:] 'say!' (*zlos*)). The *b* and the *b̄* terms distinguish forms of lexical items—grammatical forms—and are confined to the verb; for it is through these and other forms of the verb (with the help of the temporal sub-category of noun, e.g. [kharsan] 'yesterday' (*kha-ritsang*), [saŋŋun] 'tomorrow' (*saŋ-nyin*)), that these syntactic categories 'past', 'present', and 'future' function.

In WT it is *b̄* that regularly corresponds to this Golok grammatical *b̄* term, while other WT terms, with present and future (and imperative) functions, are variously symbolized depending on the lexical cluster class (*rd-*, *rts-*; *lt-*, *ld-*; *sk-*, *sl-*; (table 2) *gs-*, *'j-*), but excluding the *m-* and the *b-* types of cluster, to which the past-tense *b̄* cannot be applied, no doubt because of the labiality feature symbolized by *b-* and *m-*; e.g. *bzo* 'make', *mkhÿen* 'know'; and the same is true of -cluster verb lexical items in '*b̄*' and '*ph̄*', which therefore alternate with past-tense word-initial *b-* and *ph-*, not **b̄b̄* and **b̄ph̄*; e.g. '*bri/bris*' 'write', '*phur/phur*' 'fly'.

C. The liquid-versus-occlusive system, and the r-cluster phonematic system

Before reaching the phonematic stage of the analysis it is necessary to return to table 1 and the 12 examples of r-cluster verbs shown in it in order to make a further prosodic distinction, to be stated as a two-term prosodic system comprising (1) 'liquid' (or 'sonorant'), (2) 'occlusive'.⁹

Syntagmatically, the 10 examples that have occlusion (plosion and affrication) as a feature have different potentialities from the remaining two: they can be divided into voiceless clusters and voiced clusters ([rk/Φk, r(s)t/Φt, r(s)ts/Φts] versus [rd/βd, rdz/βdz, rdz/bz]), though the last of these has friction in the b-cluster member of the pair, and for this reason should perhaps be dealt with separately from the others, which have occlusion in both members; the remaining two examples differ in that they have the liquid (or sonorant)

⁹ For this distinction between occlusive clusters and 'liquid' (or sonorant) clusters see also Sprigg, 1972, 557-60 and 574-5; cf. also the division into 'Stop initials' and 'Non-stop initials' for Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) in Matisoff, 1972, 12-26.

feature nasality in the cluster, and this, in the *r* cluster, requires voice to be a feature of the whole cluster ([*rn*]/[*βn*]).¹⁰

1. *The liquid (sonorant) cluster piece: phonematic system*

There was not, unfortunately, time to complete the study of the *r* type of cluster; and my notes contain only three further examples of clusters belonging to the liquid sub-category in verb lexical items: [*rpit*] 'wither', [*rmuk*] 'bite', and [*βelak*] or [*βlag-*] 'overthrow', all three of them identifiable from the context as past-tense forms, though only the third has also a *b* (grammatical) cluster (its corresponding *b* cluster should be *[*rl*]; cf. WT *rlong*). Adding these three to the [*rn*]/[*βn*] pair of clusters exemplified in table 1 ([*rna*]/[*βni*] 'mow' *rnga/brngas*; [*rgo*]/[*βnu*] 'roast' *rngod/brngos*) would result in a four-term phonematic system for this, the liquid, prosodic type of *r* cluster; and these terms could be symbolized as: *N*, *Ń*, *M*, and *L*, with nasality as an exponent for the first three, and laterality for the fourth, together with, respectively, velarity, palatality, labiality, and alveolarity as exponents drawn from place of articulation.

However, it is noteworthy that Golok noun and adjective lexical items belonging to this liquid-piece type of *r* cluster provide examples of five phonematic units: *N*, *Ń*, *N*, *M*, and *L*; e.g.

TABLE 4

	Cluster	Unit	Example	Gloss	WT
1	<i>r</i>	<i>Ń</i>	[<i>rpit</i> (<i>tshɿ</i>)]	sweat	<i>rngul-chu</i>
2		<i>Ń</i>	[<i>rnanβa</i>] ¹⁰	old	<i>rnying-pa</i>
3		<i>N</i>	[<i>rna</i>]	ear	<i>rna-ba</i>
4		<i>M</i>	[<i>rma</i>] ¹⁰	wound	<i>rma</i>
5		<i>L</i>	[<i>rlon</i>]	breeze	<i>rlung</i>

so it is not unreasonable to expect that further research on Golok will provide something like this five-term system for verbs too. WT orthographic forms suggest that the following should be investigated in search of a fifth term *N*, with nasality and dentality as its exponents: *rnang/brnangs* 'be checked'.

¹⁰ I have already mentioned, in p. 54, n. 6, my suspicion that a sixth type of cluster, to be termed the *s* cluster, needs to be recognized for Golok, to treat, syntagmatically, four mixed-voicing rolled-and-nasal initial clusters, [*rs*], [*rp*], [*rn*], [*rm*], as distinct from the five fully voiced rolled-and-nasal/lateral clusters [*rn*], [*rp*], [*rn*], [*rm*], [*rl*], which are to be regarded as examples of the *r* type of cluster, in a cluster system to be expanded from a five-term (*r*, *g*, *b*, *m*, *n*) to a six-term through the inclusion of this further term *s*. This will mean that it is necessary to make alterations to the views stated on p. 576 of Sprigg, 1972 (cf. also p. 54, n. 6, above), and also on p. 553. The hesitation there was partly due to my having originally transcribed both mixed voicing and full voice for the initial cluster of [*r/rnanma*] 'Nyingma' (*rnying-ma*) and of [*r/rma*] 'wound' (*rma*); my more recent work with Dodrupchen Rimpoché favours the fully voiced alternative ([*rp*] and [*rm*]), and, therefore, the classification of both these lexical items as *r*-cluster as opposed to the presumed *s*-cluster initials [*rs*] and [*rm*] of [*r(s)nan*] 'heart' (*snying*) and [*rmen*] 'medicine' (*sman*). I am also now able to add further examples, of [*rp*] and [*rn*], to the *r* cluster (table 4): [*rnanβa*] 'old' (*rnying-pa*) (Balti [*snajma*]), and [*rna*] 'ear' (*rna-ba*) (Balti [*snad*]).

The alternation in the voicing features of the clusters [*r/rp*] and [*r/rm*] may have been due to mis-hearing on my part, or, possibly, to misunderstanding; for the language of research that my informant and I were using was the mother tongue, or mother dialect, of neither of us; or it may in fact have reflected a fluctuation in usage, as part of a tendency, perhaps, for the distinction between the *s* cluster and the *r* cluster to disappear in the 'liquid' type of cluster (just as it appears to have done in the *verb* examples of the 'occlusive' type of cluster in favour of the *r* term; table 1, table 5); among my *noun* lexical items I have transcribed both voicelessness ([*rf*]) and mixed voicing ([*rβf*]) for certain lexical items: [*r/rfsn*] 'cloud' (*sprin*), [*r/rfli*] 'monkey' (*spret*), [*r/rftuŋo*] 'beggar' (*sprang-po*), [*r/rfimba*] 'Saturn' (*spen-pa*) (but only mixed voicing in [*rftanke*] 'wolf' (*spyang-ki*)).

Powers of combining with b and b̄

It is also important to establish which terms of this four-term (or, possibly, five-term) system can combine with the two-term b-versus-b̄ (grammatical) cluster system. The two pairs of examples in table 1 prove that the Ñ term can combine with that system; and so does the b member of the L pair mentioned above, [βelak/βlag-] (the b̄ cluster being [rl]?). On the other hand, the past-tense form [rmuk] 'bit' *rmugs* has [rm] as its initial cluster, not *[βm], which suggests that M, with labiality as one of its exponents, does not, therefore, combine with the b term, thereby avoiding an excess of labiality in its syllable initial; and, of course, if it does not combine with the b term, neither does it combine with the contrasting term b̄. This hypothesis is supported by the WT examples in Jäschke (pp. 424-6), all six of which have the same initial cluster (*rm*) in past-tense and present-tense forms alike: (past-tense) *rmas*, *rmis*, *rmugs*, *rmes*, *rmos*, *rmongs*, not **brmas*, **brmis*, etc.

In that case one would search in vain for a [rm]/[βm] pair of clusters; but the cluster in the past-tense form [rnut] 'wither' corresponds to the *brny*- of *myid/brnyid* (Jäschke, 195); and this suggests that the phonetic transcription may be mistaken. Other examples in Jäschke also suggest that the Ñ term of this system is one of the phonematic units that the b-b̄ system could be expected to combine with: *myed/brnyed* 'get', *myog/brnyogs* 'troubled'; and the same is true for Jäschke's *rnang/brnang* 'be checked', if there should turn out to be a corresponding Golok verb lexical item in N.

2. *Occlusive cluster piece; v and v̄ clusters: phonematic system*

The forms in table 1 give examples of three types of cluster that are voiceless throughout, i.e. v̄ clusters (non-v), e.g. [rk]/[ḡk], [r(s)t]/[ḡt], and [r(s)ts]/[ḡts] (with reading-style pronunciation [l]/[ḡl] for some members of this last type), and of three types of cluster that are voiced throughout, whence v cluster; e.g. [rd]/[ḡd], [rdz]/[ḡdz], and [rdz]/[bz], with a reading-style pronunciation [rd]/[ḡd] for the last. A further v cluster, which includes velarity as a feature, is also to be found in my corpus of material: the [rg] of [rgo] 'to be necessary' (*dgos*), bringing the number of phonematic terms in the v cluster piece to four for verb lexical items: K, T, C, TS; but five phonematic units can be distinguished for noun forms in both v and v̄ sub-categories.

TABLE 5

Cluster	Unit	Example	Gloss	WT
r v	K	[rgon]	solitary place	<i>dgon</i>
	C	[(mɔ:ɪ):rdzɔŋa]	Sikkimese	'bras-ljongs-pa
	T	[rdo]	stone	<i>rdo</i>
	TS	[rdzu:]	moon	<i>zla-ba</i>
	P	[rʃi:]	serpent	<i>sbrul</i>
		[βdɪrl] (reading style)		
v	K	[rkje]	neck	<i>ske</i>
	C	[r(ə)tsak]	iron	<i>lcags</i>
	T	[rta]	horse	<i>rta</i>
	TS	[rtse:mo]	play	<i>rtse-mo</i>
		[rtsetmo] (reading style)		
	P	[rʃɪn] ¹¹	cloud	<i>sprin</i>
		[ḡtrɪn] (reading style)		

¹¹ See p. 57, n. 10.

(a) *v* clusters

It would, therefore, be reasonable also to expect something like five members in each of the two sub-categories *v* and *ṽ* for verb lexical items; and, for the Golok *v* type of cluster, WT suggests *rbad* 'set on', *sbag/bags* 'soil', *sbam/sbams* 'put together', and others in *sb-*. If there should turn out to be Golok cognates of these, with, presumably, labiality or, alternatively, labio-dentality, somewhere in the initial cluster, it is not to be expected that the *b-b* system will apply to them any more than to the *rM-* verb lexical items of section (1); but the *b-b* system should apply, of course, to initial clusters containing velarity, i.e. to Golok cognates, if any, of WT *rgal/brgal* 'step', *rgol/brgol* 'dispute', and *rgyab/brgyab* 'throw'.

(b) *ṽ* clusters

The *ṽ* (occlusive) clusters in table 1 provide examples of only three phonematic units; the remaining two that the possible initial clusters in noun forms within this cluster type (table 5) lead one also to expect in verb lexical items comprise *[*r̥t̥s*] and *[*r̥f*].

Only two WT entries in Jäschke support the possibility of finding verb examples of the former: *lceb* 'seek death' and *lcog(s)* (i) 'be agitated', (ii) 'be able', both, it should be noticed, with the orthographic initial cluster *lc*; for *rc* and *sc* do not occur in the *ra-mgo* and *sa-mgo* series (in spite of the corresponding *ra-mgo* member *ry*); neither verb is shown as having a past-tense in *b-*.

The possibility that Golok verb examples have the latter initial cluster, *[*r̥f*], gets greater support from WT: *sprub/sprubs* 'turn upside down', *spur* 'make fly', *spel* 'augment', and a number of others in *sp-*, *spy-*, and *spr-* (there is no such member as *rp-* in the *ra-mgo* series; and *lp-* is limited to the single entry *lpags* 'skin', a noun lexical item). There are, therefore, good grounds for expecting a further Golok term with a cluster containing labio-dentality, *[*r̥f*], but much less strong for such a cluster as *[*r̥t̥s*]; both types of cluster would be needed to arrive at a five-term phonematic system for *ṽ* (occlusive) *r* clusters in verb lexical items to match the attested five-term system for noun lexical items (table 5) and the anticipated five-term system for the contrasting *v* type of cluster (section (a)).

Powers of combining with b and b̄

Further, one would not expect the *b-b̄* system to apply to the *P* member of the system of phonematic units statable for the *rṽ* type of cluster, if there should be one, any more than for the expected *P* member of the *rv* type (section (a)) or the *M* member of the liquid type of cluster (section 1).

D. WT present-tense verb forms in *brg-*, *bsg-*, *bsng-*, etc.

Finally, the time available for this research was not enough for seeking Golok cognates for WT verbs that Jäschke gives as having such complex clusters as *brg-*, *bsg-*, and *bsng-* not in their past-tense forms but in the present-tense form that he regularly uses as the head word for his verb entries; e.g. *brgyan* 'adorn', *blgo* [sic]/*bsgos* 'soil', *bsngal* 'be faint', *brnya/brnyas* 'forget' (those which have a different past-tense form from the present-tense look especially difficult to account for). It is, however, worth noting that the initial clusters in Golok cognates of WT noun lexical items that also show this degree of orthographic complexity, e.g. *brgya* 'hundred', *brgyad* 'eight', are not more complex than [*bgja*] and [*βgɹiat*]. Indeed, I have yet to meet a dialect

that matches in phonetic complexity the orthographic complexity of WT in this respect: my informant for the Balti dialect, for example, was willing to accept either [βgjat] or [rgjat] for 'eight', but not *[βrgjat], in spite of Jäschke's 'Bal. *vrgyad*' (p. xx). It is also noteworthy that the equally complex 'Kham's' form '*vrgyad*' that he gives to illustrate a correspondence with WT *brgy-* (p. xx) is not supported by P. S. Ray's phonemic analysis of two Kham dialects, northern (Kanze) and southern (Batang), in which the northern-dialect cognate of WT *brgya* 'hundred' is given as '/jà/' ('/j/' is realized as a 'postvoiced' 'palatalized apicoalveolar affricated stop') (p. 339).

E. *Further studies*

This article is confined to a study of the Golok (lexical) r cluster and the Golok b and b̄ (grammatical) clusters in as much detail as the limited data allowed, in comparison with WT orthographic forms. If more time had been available, the next step would have been to make parallel studies of the remaining types of lexical clusters in Golok verbs to which the b-b̄ system commonly applies, the g and the n; and this would have been followed by a study of the m cluster, to which the b-b̄ system seldom applies (II.B). Lastly, it would have been interesting to consider the means by which the past tense is formally distinguished from other tenses in Golok verbs exemplifying types of initial cluster to which the b-b̄ system never applies: (i) the b̄ term of the five-term (or, possibly, six-term) lexical initial-cluster prosodic system (II.A), and (ii) the M phonematic unit (II.C.1) and the P phonematic unit (II.C.2).

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MORE ABOUT THE OTOT SALT LAKES

By HENRY SERRUYS

In the autumn of 1977, sometime after my paper on salt production in Otoy¹ had been published, while searching for something of an entirely different nature, unexpectedly I discovered tucked away in a book from the library formerly belonging to the late Antoine Mostaert, another letter dealing with the same question of salt.² It consists of one sheet of Chinese paper measuring 443 × 248 mm., with 25 lines of text: the copy of a letter of one of the ministers of the Banner of Otoy addressed to another Banner functionary; the very last line evidently is not part of the letter but is a note whereby the addressee forwards this copy to somebody who remains unidentified, perhaps the resident priest of Boro-Balyasun; the church indeed had been involved in the salt negotiations and is also mentioned in the letter.

Unfortunately, apart from month and day, no date is indicated, but there is little doubt that the present letter belongs to the same series of letters from the early 1920's mentioned above.

The writer of the letter is Čoyjiryal, one of the two ministers (*tusalayči*) of Otoy; he is mentioned in several contemporary documents;³ he was also known as Uuba, and it is by this name that I mentioned him in my article 'Five documents'.⁴

To recapitulate briefly the antecedents and background of those salt negotiations and this present letter in particular, let me just say that the Banner administration of Otoy, as usual hopelessly indebted, had borrowed Mex. \$6,000 from a certain Kao Yün-hsiu (or Yün-shou ?, -shu ?), and unable to repay, had granted him a contract allowing him to exploit three salt-producing lakes (29 October 1921): the Banner would not have to repay the \$6,000, and Kao would pay the Banner a yearly rent of \$4,000 for the lease of the lakes.

This was a period of utterly chaotic conditions all over North China, and Inner Mongolia in particular. Kao with the backing of some Chinese officials sent a few private soldiers of his to occupy the lakes, and a bandit chieftain sent in some of his own men. But apart from these intrusions, the lease itself of the lakes caused so much popular discontent among the Mongols, that the Banner administration found it safer to break the lease. However, Kao's soldiers remained in place and refused to budge, and more complications ensued.

Upon request by the people, the church of Boro-Balyasun offered its services and started negotiations with the Banner authorities on the one hand, and on the other with Mr. Robert Geerts, a Belgian engineer in the service of the salt administration of Kansu. As I have explained in my previous paper, during

¹ 'Five documents regarding salt production in Ordos', *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1977, 338-53.

² J. van Hecken, who from the late 1930's to the early 1950's resided most of the time at Boro-Balyasun, answering a series of queries of mine (13 December 1977; 5 and 25 January 1978), told me that there was a whole bundle of papers concerning the lease of the salt lakes in the archives of the church, unfortunately all burned by Communist troops in 1941.

³ For example in the ordinance of Otoy of 1923; see my paper 'A socio-political document from Ordos: the *dürim* of Otoy from 1923', *Monumenta Serica*, xxx, 1972-3, pp. 562 (1b.3), 564 (3b.7), 577, 585.

⁴ *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1977, 340. However, contrary to my identification there, he is not the same person as the Uuba of the *dürim* (*Mon. Ser.*, xxx, 1972-3, 544, 577, 578). Many Mongols went by more than one name, which made for confusion.

those negotiations, Čoyjiryal opened secret negotiations with the Salt Bureau of Hua-ma-ch'ih; most probably Čoyjiryal hoped to enrich himself if he could strike a deal with the Hua-ma-ch'ih Bureau. I am ignorant of most of the details of those negotiations, and even my confrère J. van Hecken wrote to me that since the events took place more than 10 years before his arrival in Ordos, he was never able to get more than some general and vague information about them. I may mention, though, that according to him, Čoyjiryal in the late 1930's was still minister and by far the richest man of Otoγ, and his lavish residence a shining proof of his fortune. At any rate, when the church and Mr. Geerts learned about Čoyjiryal's private negotiations, they withdrew all further co-operation.

The present letter concerns precisely those private discussions of Čoyjiryal with the Salt Bureau of Hua-ma-ch'ih.

The letter, as appears from the contents, was written in Ning-hsia, where Čoyjiryal had been meeting with an official from Hua-ma-ch'ih. It is addressed to another functionary of Otoγ, referred to as *ʃakiruyčī ʃanggin amban Ba* 'the functionary Ba(darqu ~ Badaraqu)', his title identifying him as the vice-minister. Čoyjiryal and his co-minister were noblemen (*tuγiγi*), but the post of vice-minister was usually held by a commoner. Badarqu was a notorious trouble-maker, nicknamed *tēg-Badarqu* 'B. the hook', or 'the crook'.⁵ It was this Badarqu and his son Ligšad, or Ligšadǰamsu, who were the evil spirits behind most of the chaos in the Banner of Otoγ in the early 1920's, and Ligšad's crimes were also the immediate cause for the issuance of the *durim* of 1923. Their intrigues and activities, summarized in my article in *Monumenta Serica*, xxx, 1972-3, need not be repeated here; however, the reader should keep in mind that the salt negotiations, first with Kao, then with the church and Geerts, and Čoyjiryal's own private negotiations at Ning-hsia, all took place during the turmoil caused by Ligšad and his band. In fact, as a result of Ligšad's banditry and murders, in the winter of 1921-2, both ministers of Otoγ, Čoyjiryal and his colleague Pünsüghaljur, were arrested by Chinese soldiers, taken to An-pien, and kept there under house arrest for a while. This was sheer black-mail on the part of the Chinese to force the ministers not to punish the guilty, but to sell land. The ministers, in their haste to leave An-pien, were tricked into accepting money and arranging for the sale of a stretch of land.⁶

Where does the present letter precisely fit in the series of letters of my 1977 paper? Letter III, dated 29 October 1921, tells us that the three lakes of Otoγ had been leased to Kao Yün-hsiu (as already indicated), but the lease was soon declared void; but letters IV and V show us the lakes as already under the administration of the Hua-ma-ch'ih Bureau. Now, since the present new letter clearly implies that it was written after Kao's lease had been rescinded and before the Hua-ma-ch'ih Bureau had secured the exploitation

⁵ A. Mostaert, *Dict. ordos*, p. 655a. Badarqu, too, is a fairly common name, and the *durim* of 1923, apart from the Badarqu holding the title of *ʃakiruyčī ʃanggin*, speaks of yet another Badarqu who also bore the honorary title of *ʃakiruyčī*, and whose wife had been murdered by a soldier named Unba. This Badarqu (not the vice-minister) himself was found guilty of another murder. In *Mon. Ser.*, xxx, 1972-3, I have failed to make a clear distinction between these two Badarqus. Several letters from 1904-5 mention Badarqu as holding the post of *bayilanda*. Undoubtedly this is the same Badarqu of the present letter. For the office of *bayilanda* (< Manchu *faidan-i da* 'majordomo'), see *Dict. ordos*, p. 60b; A. Mostaert, 'Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos', *CAJ*, II, 4, 1957, 252; and 'Annonce de la mort de l'Empereur Te-tseung et de l'Impératrice douairière Ts'eu-hi aux Mongols de la bannière d'Otoγ (Ordos)', in H. Franke (ed.), *Studia Sino-Altaica: Festschrift für Erich Haenisch*, Wiesbaden, 1961, 152.

⁶ See my forthcoming 'Mongol letters from Otoγ, 1920-1923, regarding a number of murder cases'.

of the same lakes, it must fall between letters III and IV. The present letter being from 'the median (lunar) month of summer', it is practically certain that it must be dated from the summer of 1922.

In his letter to Badarqu, Čoyjıryal says that Kao has not returned his 'original letter', which can only refer to the lease contract (October 1921) of the lakes. After the Banner had reneged on its word to grant him the monopoly of salt extraction, Kao seems to have held on to his contract, and the Banner administration was understandably eager to recover that document. Another interesting detail concerning that contract: in the course of Čoyjıryal's negotiations with the official from Hua-ma-ch'ih, the latter declared that, as soon as the Banner leased the lakes to the Hua-ma-ch'ih Bureau, they would be able to declare null and void that *küčüden abıysan he-tung bičig* 'contract held by force', and that too must refer to Kao's lease contract. J. van Hecken wrote to me that, when the Banner could not repay its first loan of \$6,000, it was Chinese officials of Yü-lin who put pressure on the Banner prince to lease the lakes to Kao.⁷ Probably it was thanks to the protection of those same officials that Kao had been able to keep his contract for another attempt, but the Hua-ma-ch'ih officials felt sure that their Bureau would be able to recover it.

Another interesting feature of the letter is that it contains a few rather unusual terms and expressions.

Transcription of the Mongol text

- 1 *tusalayči kemeseküi mungqay čoyjıryal yosulan*
- 2 *erkem*
- 3 *jakıruyči janggin amban ba tan-a amıyulıng-i ayıladaqu dasıram-tur*
- 4 *dabsıyulqu anu urıdqa amban-ača iregüligsen qas jisıyan-i*
- 5 *ayıljan abču anggarun üfıbesü man-u dabusun kedüked muır-i*
- 6 *barıyın qotas-un čireg ba arad-nar ügesefü küčüden ečıddeküi*
- 7 *mayad bolıysan büged ün-en-degen erteken-e arıaču ulus-un yayılı-ber*
- 8 *ese qamıyaryabası alban keregsen ba arad-un amidural talayar*
- 9 *aldaydaqu boljosi ügei metü-yi basaču ayın bolyomfilamui odo-a*
- 10 *quwa-ma-či-yin dabusun-u güi-če fu-ling-ke kemekü kümün tomıan*
- 11 *yaryafu ıryai-dur iregüligsen büged minı bey-e qamtu jolyoldufu*
- 12 *eyin ku gau-yıng-šiu-yin yuwan bičig gedergü tusiıyaysan ügei čirıldıgülin*
- 13 *bayıysayar edüi činegen kündü budulıyan jobalang-i kelekiil-e tere üi yuwan*
- 14 *kelekiini tan-u qosıyın kerbe sikir-üd-ıyen man-dur ögbesü tegün-ü*
- 15 *küčüden abıysan he-tung bičig kerkebeči ebden bayıyafu kereg*
- 16 *ügei bolyai-a kemen kelekiü büged mōn ku üi yuwan-ıyar iregsen alban*
- 17 *bičig-i yamun deger-e kurgügülin bariysan bile yayčaku degegiür ayıladdulıfu*
- 18 *tere yosıyar sidkekü bolbası tang-un yafar-a kelefiı bayıysan elbeg tüsiyesü*
- 19 *kedüi mayad toı-a-yi tuqayılqu tüsimel-diır jakir-a tusiıyafu alban-u*
- 20 *bičig-ün qamtu-yi iregülikü bolbau ene üi yuwan neliyed kedün kümün-tei*
- 21 *ıryai deger-e küliıyefü bayıqu büged kerkebečiı udarayayulqu ügei-ber*
- 22 *ayıladaqayad qurdun-a inayıı iregülikü afiıyamuı kemen eginiı tula*

⁷ In letter III of the 1977 series, Kao Yün-hsiu is said to be from Sui-te. J. van Hecken's notes say that he was from Yu-lin. But this is a minor point. The 'original letter' is not likely to refer to the loan contract of \$6,000. As long as the Banner was unable to repay, nobody, I imagine, would expect Kao to part with that document. At one point the Banner was ready to raise the necessary sum by selling more land, but loss of more pasture-land would only further aggravate the economic conditions of the people, and the church advised the Banner prince against such a solution. Instead the church advanced the \$6,000 to repay the debt owed to Kao. Thereupon Kao's loan contract was returned, but, as I have explained, this new loan was never fully repaid to the church.

23 *amuyulang-i ayiladqan bariyulba.*

24 *fun-u dumdatu sarayin arban nigen-e*

25 *eyin kemen iregsen-i basa medetügei kemen qayulju qamtudqan yabuyulba.*

Translation

Ignorant Čoyjiryal called ⁸ Minister, sends greetings, and on the occasion of wishing prosperity to the honourable functionary, ⁹ vice-minister, ¹⁰ Ba(darqu), (here is what I have to) communicate: ¹¹

A short while ago, as I received and carefully examined the honourable message ¹² which (you), the functionary, have made to reach (me, I understand that) it has become certain that soldiers and civilians of the two southern towns ¹³ are conspiring to occupy by force and make themselves master ¹⁴ of our several salt lakes, and in truth if we do not soon enough devise a way and let (this matter) be taken care of through the Nation's Gabelle, ¹⁵ the necessary (income) for official business and the people's livelihood could well be lost to no avail; I consider such a likelihood with apprehension.

Now the salt office of Hua-ma-ch'ih has commissioned ¹⁶ and dispatched a man named Fu Ling-k'o ¹⁷ to come to Iryai ¹⁸ (where) in a meeting with me, as we were arguing that Kao Yün-hsiu's ¹⁹ original letter ²⁰ has not been returned, ²¹ when speaking ²² of the grave and unfortunate reverses of that magnitude, that delegate ²³ declared: 'if your Banner hands its *sikirs* ²⁴ to us, ²⁵

⁸ *Kemese-*, essentially the same as *keme-*, implies a self-deprecatory connotation (J. van Hecken, letter of 5 January 1978).

⁹ *Amban*: a Manchu word meaning 'great', but in Ordos Mongol 'functionary' in general. *Dict. ordos*, p. 20a.

¹⁰ *Jakiruyč'i janggin*: the same as *gosiyn jakiruyč'i*. *Dict. ordos*, p. 181a; 200a.

¹¹ *Dabsiyul*: 'to communicate'. Lit. 'to make advance'. This word *dabsiyul* appears several times in a series of letters from 1904. In his notebook (II, Otoy, No. 16), A. Mostaert explains it as 'to communicate confidentially', which may have been a comment made by a Mongol when he copied this text.

¹² *Qas juiyan-i ayulja-*, lit. 'meeting (your) turquoise visit', evidently meaning here 'receiving your esteemed letter'.

¹³ *Bariyun* (= *barayun*) *qotas*: Ting-pien 定邊 and An-pien 安, two towns south of the Great Wall. *Barayun* 'right' is 'south' when one is facing the east, the usual orientation in Ordos. This may well refer to the fact that Chinese troops, including those sent by Kao Yün-hsiu, were in occupation of the lakes.

¹⁴ *Ečid-de-*, probably to be read with *-j-*, must be the same as *efile-* 'to make oneself master'.

¹⁵ *Ulus yayılı*, lit. 'the Nation's tax (office)'. This refers to the Salt Bureau of Hua-ma-ch'ih, which would administer salt production, collect the taxes, and pay a certain rent to the Banner.

¹⁶ *Tomila-*: 'to have a certain authority'.

¹⁷ Perhaps derived from the Manchu name Fulingga. Even at that time quite a few Mongols bore Manchu names, and Fu may well have been a Mongol, or of Mongol ancestry, in the government. Sometimes the Chinese made use of the services of such officials as intermediaries with the Mongols.

¹⁸ *Iryai*, *Eriyaya* of the 'Secret history', evidently a Tangyud word, indicates Ning-hsia. *Dict. ordos*, p. 387b.

¹⁹ In letter III of 'Five documents', the name is spelt *guu-yün-süü*. J. van Hecken spells Kao Yün-hsiu. Probably Yün-hsiu 雲秀: *yün* in local dialect is *y^uung*.

²⁰ *Yuwan-bičig*, evidently a Sino-Mongol hybrid combination meaning 'original letter, writing, contract'. For reasons indicated above, I believe that it refers to the lease contract of October 1921.

²¹ What I read as *gedergu* with some reservation, is in fact hard to decipher. Evidently the copyist made a correction here, retracing the lettering, and in the process made the word practically illegible. *Gedergu* seems to be the only reading possibility with an acceptable meaning.

²² I assume that 'delegate' is the subject of *kelekül-e*: in fact in my understanding, the delegate is threatening Čoyjiryal with dire consequences if Hua-ma-ch'ih is not granted exploitation of the lakes.

²³ The spelling *iu-yuwan* here and in II. 16 and 20 is unusual. It must stand for *wei-yüan*.

²⁴ *Sikir* 'sugar' is the name of two (Great S. and Little S.) of the three salt-producing lakes of Otoy. The name comes from the liquorice roots dug in that area. *Dict. ordos*, p. 615ab.

²⁵ *Man-dur* 'to us' evidently refers to the Salt Bureau of Hua-ma-ch'ih.

(we) will by all means cancel and make void the contract-deed²⁶ forcibly held, and make it invalid'. As he was stating this, I sent for presentation to the (Ning-hsia) *ya-men* a letter which had arrived with the same delegate; if we decide to solve (the matter) in this way, reporting higher-up,²⁷ would it be possible to entrust to an official acting in your name²⁸ (and with power to) dispose of it,²⁹ the full amount of the high rent³⁰ which has been discussed at the church³¹ and let him bring (that amount) here together with an official letter.³² Since this delegate is waiting at Iryai together with a great many people, please by all means report without delay and make (your representative) come here speedily.

For this reason I send (this letter) while wishing prosperity.

On the eleventh of the median month of summer.³³

Thinking that you too should know that (a letter) with these contents has arrived, I make a copy and forward it together (with the carrier).³⁴

²⁶ *He-tung bičig* is another Sino-Mongol hybrid expression. *He-tung* is from the Chinese *he-t'ung* 合同, originally 'contract in two parts to be put together to make the date, written in the middle, legible'. Here simply 'contract'. As I have indicated above, this must refer to the lease contract given to Kao under pressure of Chinese officials of Yü-lin.

²⁷ One must keep in mind that Čoyjiryai is writing this letter from Ning-hsia, and the 'higher authorities' mentioned here must be some Ning-hsia officials. I assume that Čoyjiryai is seeking their backing for his 'private' negotiations with the delegate from Hua-ma-ch'ih, just as Kao had the backing of the officials of Yü-lin.

²⁸ *Tuqayilaqu tūsimed*: I understand this as 'an official acting in your name'. *Dict. ordos* 160, under *tuqayila-* lists the following expression (transposed for reasons of convenience into standard written language): *noyan tuqayilafu tūsimed yabuyulqu* 'the prince will send a functionary to represent him', and in a text from 1903 (in Bishop A. Bermijn's notebooks): *minu beye-dür tuqayilan yaryafu . . . iregülitugei kemegsen-i üseged* 'I read (in the letter) "I send (you) in my place to bring . . ."' (cf. 'Mongol texts from 1903 regarding an anti-Christian conspiracy', in *Mongolian Studies*, iv, 1977, 44, 45).

²⁹ *Jakir-a*: converbum finale of *jaki-* 'to command', here 'to use his own power'.

³⁰ Lit. 'abundant rent'.

³¹ Lit. 'at the place of the church'.

³² This is by far the most difficult sentence of this letter, not only on account of its rather convoluted syntax, but even more so on account of our ignorance of the facts behind it. The translation is very tentative and proposed with great reservation. The reader will remember that while Čoyjiryai was at Ning-hsia trying to make his deal with the Salt Gabelle—unknown to all others—negotiations were still going on at the church in Boro-Balyasun with the Salt Gabelle. Whether Mr. Geerst was personally present or not, I do not know. Čoyjiryai wanted Badarqu to let him know what the rent negotiated at the church was going to be. But I think that Čoyjiryai wanted more than an exact quotation of the rent being negotiated (*kedün mayad toya* 'how much—the exact number'): something had to be delivered to him by special courier. I do believe that *tusiya-* is more than 'to let him know: *medegül-*'. But such an interpretation raises a number of difficult questions: what money, and what for? If Čoyjiryai's negotiations in Ning-hsia were successful, those going on at the church automatically became useless, and no rent could be expected there. What money could Čoyjiryai then expect? In the following line, Čoyjiryai says that the matter is urgent because there are so many people with that Hua-ma-ch'ih official, and perhaps he hoped to bribe them outright, or else he was somehow responsible for their expenses during their stay at Ning-hsia. However all this is pure speculation, impossible to clarify due to lack of more precise information.

³³ If my supposition that the letter comes immediately after the lease to Kao (October 1921) is correct, the first 'median (lunar) month' is the fifth month of the following year, i.e. 16 June 1922. In 1922 there was an intercalary (second) fifth month, but if the letter had been from that second fifth month, it would probably have been indicated as *ilegüti*.

³⁴ This additional last line is not part of the letter: evidently it is a note from Badarqu himself, but addressed to whom? In the introduction I have intimated that Badarqu perhaps forwarded the text of the letter to the church. But such a move would reveal Čoyjiryai's secret negotiations going on at Ning-hsia. Or was it Badarqu's intention to reveal those negotiations deliberately in order to wreck everything? Did Badarqu have plans of his own?

THE NUNG-CHIA 農家 'SCHOOL OF THE TILLERS' AND THE ORIGINS OF PEASANT UTOPIANISM IN CHINA¹

By A. C. GRAHAM

1. Hsü Hsing 許行, the Tillers, and the legend of Shen-nung 神農
2. Shen-nung in the Legalist *Shang-tzu* 商子
3. The realm of Shen-nung as the Tillers' Utopia
4. The Tillers' version of the legend of Po Yi 伯夷 and Shu Ch'i 叔齊
5. The Utopias of the Tillers and the Taoists
6. Shen-nung and the Yellow Emperor
7. The social background of the Tillers

1. *Hsü Hsing, the Tillers, and the legend of Shen-nung*

Among the philosophical schools of ancient China, the *Nung-chia* 'School of the Tillers' is the one of which we know least. The surviving information has been assembled by Feng Yu-lan 馮友蘭, who identifies it as the one school which reflects the aspirations of the peasants.² He finds only one recognizable spokesman, Hsü Hsing, the teacher of 'the words of Shen-nung' who came with his followers to settle in the small state of T'eng 滕, probably about 315 B.C.³ A disciple named Ch'en Hsiang 陳相 visited Mencius, and we have a report of the conversation from the Confucian point of view.⁴ Ch'en Hsiang says of the Duke of T'eng:

'A worthy ruler feeds himself by ploughing side by side with the people, and rules while cooking his own meals. Now T'eng on the contrary possesses granaries and treasures, so the ruler is supporting himself by oppressing the people'.

Mencius replies by appealing to the division of labour. Hsü Hsing thinks it both necessary and right that the farmer exchanges grain for the textiles, pots, and tools made by craftsmen. But if the craftsman is not expected to work in the fields, why should the ruler? In any case rulers work as hard with their minds as farmers do with their hands; why should they not receive the products of manual labour in exchange for their benefits to the people? The Tiller's reply, if any, is not reported; he next declares that the same quantity of goods should always be sold at the same price, a claim which seems hardly intelligible without further information. Mencius makes the obvious reply, that no one will make goods of superior quality unless he can sell them at a higher price.

This is the first and last instance in extant pre-Han literature of anyone

¹ Abbreviations

SPTK	<i>Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an.</i>
SPPY	<i>Ssu-pu Pei-yao.</i>
TSCC	<i>Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng.</i>
HY	Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series.
BSS	'Basic Sinological Series' (<i>Kuo-hsueh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu</i>).

² *Chung-kuo che-hsueh-shih hsün-pien* 中國哲學史新編, Peking, 1963, 1/176-9.

³ For the date, cf. D. C. Lau (tr.), *Mencius* (Penguin Classics), London, 1970, 9 f.

⁴ *Mencius*, 3A/4.

either denying the right to economic privilege or making a reasoned defence of it. It is the criticism of privilege, together with the appeal to the authority of Shen-nung, which identifies Hsü Hsing as a member of the Nung-chia, one of the 10 philosophical schools distinguished in the bibliography of the 'Han history'. The preface to the section devoted to it commends the Tillers in so far as they 'sowed the hundred grains and encouraged agriculture and sericulture, in order to provide a sufficiency of food and clothing', but adds that the extremists of the school 'thought that there was no point in serving a sage king, wished to make the ruler plough side by side with his subjects, upset the degrees of superior and inferior'.⁵

The bibliography lists 9 books, of which the last 6 date from the Western Han. Only one of them survived long enough to reappear in the Sui and T'ang bibliographies and to be quoted extensively in extant sources, the *Fan Sheng-chih* 氾勝之. Since Fan Sheng-chih was a censor under the Han emperor Ch'eng 成帝 (32-7 B.C.) he is unlikely to have insisted that the ruler should labour in the fields, and the fragments which remain suggest a purely technical manual of agriculture.⁶ But at the head of the list stands a book of 20 *p'ien* 篇 entitled *Shen-nung*, ascribed to the period of the Warring Kingdoms (403-221 B.C.). There are probable traces of it in scattered appeals to the name of Shen-nung in discussions of methods of farming or its paramount importance,⁷ but also, as Feng Yu-lan noticed, in a couple which affirm that every man should live by his own labour and that Shen-nung himself ploughed beside his subjects.⁸

We have now reached the end of the commonly accepted information about the Tillers. But if doctrines like those preached by Hsü Hsing in the fourth century B.C. appeared in the classic of one of the schools assigned a place in the Han bibliography in the first century A.D., we cannot safely dismiss it as a transitory phenomenon on the margins of Chinese philosophy. The Tillers are likely to be represented in the eclectic writings of the third and second centuries B.C. (*Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, *Shih-tzu* 尸子, *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子), as well as among the heterogeneous stories in such a collection as *Chuang-tzu* 莊子. To find one's way about these sources depends on being able to identify a viewpoint as Confucian or Mohist, Taoist or Legalist; there may be quite familiar episodes which we misunderstand because we are blind to the viewpoint of the Tillers when we happen to meet it. Their books, which would have provided a point of reference, have disappeared; but since agri-

⁵ *Han shu* 漢書, Peking, 1962, ch. 30, 1743/8-10.

⁶ The fragments are collected in *Shih Sheng-han* 石聲漢, *Fan Sheng-chih shu chin shih* 氾勝之書今釋, Peking, 1956, and Wan Kuo-ting 萬國鼎, *Fan Sheng-chih shu chi-shih* 輯釋, Peking, 1957.

⁷ *Fan Sheng-chih*, Shih 13, 68, Wan 49, 169; *Han shu*, ch. 24A, 1133; *Lun heng* 論衡, ch. 49, *SPTK* 16/10B/3, 5. The Han bibliography lists other books attributed to Shen-nung under the headings of 'Yin-Yang', 'Five elements', divination, and medicine; and nearly all the fragments of *Shen-nung* collected by Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰 in his *Yu-han shan-fang chi yi shu* 玉函山房輯佚書, ch. 69, seem to be from a book of divination.

⁸ Cited on p. 73, below.

culture has always been an inescapably important topic in China, the loss of its most ancient classic the *Shen-nung* is in any case remarkable, and likely to have had something to do with its 'upsetting of the degrees of superior and inferior'. Probably it passed out of circulation as soon as there were politically acceptable manuals such as Fan Sheng-chih's to take its place. We may suspect that the Tillers are an invisible presence which would re-order our perspectives if we could bring it to light.

We do have one possible test for identifying Tiller material, the presence of Shen-nung, the sage to whose authority they appealed. Shen-nung, whose name means 'Divine farmer', is familiar as the inventor of the plough in the 'Great appendix' of the 'Book of changes', following Fu-hsi 包犧 (inventor of the 'Eight trigrams') and preceding the Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti 黃帝), Yao 堯, and Shun 舜. Originally no doubt he was the Shen-nung who is occasionally mentioned as a farmer's god⁹; when he was adopted as a pre-dynastic emperor, we should expect him to be serving some philosophical interest. As Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 showed,¹⁰ the lineage of the most ancient emperors has been constructed by putting together sages who enter the literature at different periods as the heroes of different philosophical schools, starting in the sixth century B.C. with Yao and Shun, as models for the moralistic schools, first the Confucians, later the Mohists. The Tillers' Shen-nung and the Taoists' Yellow Emperor belong to a second wave in the late fourth and third centuries B.C., arriving in writings of the anti-moralistic schools, the Taoists (*Chuang-tzŭ*) and Legalists (*Shang-tzŭ*, *Kuan-tzŭ* 管子, *Han Fei tzu* 韓非子). In the case of the Yellow Emperor there are older references, in the *Tso-chuan* 左傳 and *Kuo-yü* 國語, to the battle with Yen-ti 炎帝 which was the starting-point of his legend.¹¹ As for Shen-nung, the Hsü Hsing episode in *Mencius* is his very first appearance in Chinese literature.

We may notice also that there was already an acknowledged patron of agriculture, Hou Chi 后稷, who was claimed as ancestor by the ruling house of Chou. When Mencius answers Hsü Hsing it is to Hou Chi that he appeals; and the agricultural chapters of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* twice allude to Hou Chi but never to Shen-nung.¹² Except in passages which we have already mentioned, Shen-nung does not appear at all in early Confucian literature, in the 'Analects', *Mencius*, *Hsin-tzŭ*, *Han-shih wai-chuan* 韓詩外傳, the 'Book of rites', the appendixes to the 'Book of changes'. In elevating Shen-nung above Hou Chi the Tillers would be defying, not only Confucianism, but the whole tradition of Chou.

Shen-nung and the Yellow Emperor, who are first documented in the same assortment of books, often appear together, sometimes contrasted, sometimes assimilated. The Yellow Emperor has been the Taoist sage, and Shen-nung has been philosophically insignificant, ever since the dominance during the early

⁹ *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, SPTK 6/2B/2, 3; *Li chi* 禮記, ch. 6, SPTK 5/13A/6, 7.

¹⁰ *Ku shih pien* 古史辨, 1, Peking, 1926, 105-50.

¹¹ *Tso chuan*, HY Hsi 25/fu 1; cf. Chao 17/3. *Kuo yü*, Chin 4, SPTK 10/9B/6-10A/-1.

¹² *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, 26/5B/6, 7A/-3.

Han of 'Huang Lao' 黃老, the doctrines of the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzŭ. But in earlier sources the Yellow Emperor, although current only among anti-moralistic thinkers (Taoist, Legalist), is not yet attached to any one party; indeed there are places in *Chuang-tzŭ* where, far from being a Taoist hero, he is the villain who first disrupted the spontaneous communion in which mankind originally lived.¹³ It is Shen-nung who has a clear philosophical identity in the third century B.C., which he retains down into the second. He is a sage who reigns in perfect peace over an empire of farmers, whom he teaches without issuing decrees or imposing punishments, and he works in the fields side by side with them. The 'Way of Shen-nung' is a coherent political ideal clearly distinguishable from Confucianism and Mohism, Legalism and Taoism, illustrated by quotations from 'The teachings of Shen-nung', 'The law of Shen-nung', 'The numbers of Shen-nung', 'The prohibition of Shen-nung'; sometimes it is upheld as a standard by which to criticize current institutions, sometimes it is dismissed as no longer applicable to a corrupted age. Except when he is fitted into schemes of the rites or the music of successive reigns,¹⁴ there appears to be nothing said about him which does not have a place in this ideal. The conception of a government in which the emperor himself is no more than an exalted village headman would in any case deserve close attention as the earliest in Chinese history which has the look of a peasant Utopia. If it can be confirmed that it is the ideal of Hsü Hsing and the Tillers, we shall find ourselves with new documentation for a strand in the pattern of ancient Chinese thought which has long seemed irrecoverable.

It will be as though we had to reconstruct Confucianism from stories about the Duke of Chou. The information would be very limited; but if we had nothing else but one dialogue reported by an anti-Confucian witness, and the preface to a list of missing Confucian books, we would be grateful for anything we could find.

2. *Shen-nung in the Legalist Shang-tzŭ*

After the account of Hsü Hsing's teaching in *Mencius*, the Taoist and Legalist sources in which Shen-nung first appears are uncertainly dated in the third century B.C. But there are good reasons for starting with *Shang-tzŭ*.¹⁵ Here the legend of Shen-nung is prominent and so clearly foreign to the thought of the book that its presence demands an explanation. Yet it is hard to imagine the authors of this most brutally authoritarian and militaristic of Legalist writings learning anything from the Tillers. The book therefore presents a hurdle we must pass before we can safely assume that the Utopia of Shen-nung was shaped by the thinking of the Tillers.

¹³ cf. pp. 89, 90, below.

¹⁴ His invention of the zither (*Huai-nan-tzŭ*, SPTK 20/5B/3) belongs to such a scheme of musical history. Cf. *Shih-pen* 世本, TSOO 105 f.

¹⁵ For the date of *Shang-tzŭ*, cf. J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Book of the Lord Shang*, London, 1928, 141-59; Kao Heng 高亨, *Shang-chün shu chu-yi* 商君書注譯, Peking, 1974, 6-11. The book is composite, and it is doubtful whether any of it was written by Lord Shang (died 338 B.C.), although Kao is inclined to credit him with ch. 2, 13, and perhaps 22. The chapters which can be dated by historical references are ch. 15 (between 260 and 229 B.C.) and ch. 20 (between 241 and 221 B.C.). But none of these refers to Shen-nung.

There are three references to Shen-nung in *Shang-tzū*, one of them repeated.

(1) *Shang-tzū*, ch. 1, Kao 17, cf. Duyvendak, 172. 'Fu-hsi and Shen-nung taught but did not put to death (教而不誅). The Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun put to death but spared the families of the condemned (誅而不怒 (= 怒)).'

This is an illustration of methods of government changing with the times, from the debate before Duke Hsiao 孝 of Ch'in 秦 (361-333 B.C.) in which Shang-tzū defended innovation. The passage is found also in the parallel in *Hsin-hsü* 新序, SPTK 9/7A/4, in the closely related debate on the introduction of barbarian dress into Chao 趙 in *Chan-kuo-ts'e* 戰國策 (Chao 2), BSS 2/63, *Shih chi* 史記, Peking, 1959, ch. 43, 1810, and in a historical sketch of pre-dynastic government in *Liu t'ao* 六韜 ap. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lün* 太平御覽, SPTK 76/5A, *Yi-lin* 意林, SPPY 1/2B.

(2) Ch. 18, Kao 136, cf. Duyvendak, 284. 'In the age of Shen-nung, they were fed by the ploughing of the men, clothed by the weaving of the women; he ruled without the use of punishments or administration (刑政不用而治), he reigned without resorting to weapons and armour. When Shen-nung died, they took advantage of strength to conquer the weak, of numbers to oppress the few. Therefore the Yellow Emperor instituted the formalities of ruler and minister and of superior and inferior, the rites for father and son and for elder brother and younger, the union of couples as husband and wife. At home he put to work the executioner's axe, abroad he employed weapons and armour. So it was a change in the times. Seen from this viewpoint, it is not that Shen-nung was loftier than the Yellow Emperor; that his name is none the less honoured is because he was suited to his times.'

(3) Ch. 7 starts with what is perhaps the most rationally worked out scheme of historical development in pre-Han thought. It distinguishes three historical stages.

(A) 'Recognizing only kinship (親親).' In the most ancient period when 'the people knew their mothers but did not know their fathers' they were selfish and cared only for their own kin. With increasing population, division led to contention, violence, and a recognition of the need for commonly shared standards.

(B) 'Elevating the worthy (上賢).' 'Worthy men established impartial standards and instituted unselfishness, and the people delighted in benevolence.' But with a further increase of population contention revived and moral restraints broke down.

(C) 'Recognizing rank (貴貴).' The sages established divisions of land, property, and sexes, offices to enforce the divisions, and finally a ruler to unify the offices.

At the first transition the people became aware of their ignorance, abandoned resort to force, and submitted to the wisest; at the second, when the people had become clever themselves, it became necessary once again to rely on force. This explains why government can no longer dispense with force as it could in the time of Shen-nung (who evidently belongs to the middle period):

Ch. 7, Kao 75, cf. Duyvendak, 227. 'Therefore if Shen-nung became ruler of the empire by teaching agriculture, it was because the authority of his wisdom was recognized; if T'ang 湯 and Wu 武 subjected the feudal lords by exerting strength, it was because they submitted to force.'

There is a parallel passage in ch. 6, Kao 67, cf. Duyvendak, 221. This version continues:

'The present age is crafty and the people dissolute, it imitates the time of T'ang and Wu; yet one enacts the policies of Shen-nung, and lets the current penalties fall into disuse. Hence states of a thousand chariots are deluded and disordered; it is because they are going about it the wrong way'.

The reference is presumably to rulers who listen to Confucians and Mohists and try to moralize government, a policy which worked in middle antiquity in the age of Shen-nung but is no longer suited to the times.

It is clear then that Shen-nung is a very important figure in *Shang-tzū*. That there was once an age without war or organized government is a recurrent idea in a work which for much of its length does little but reiterate a few ideas about law, punishment, war, and agriculture, and it stimulates some of the most original thinking in the book. In the context of the Legalist philosophy this is very remarkable. When Confucians and Mohists mention the period before the sages instituted government, it is as a time of anarchy, of war of all against all.¹⁶ A Legalist would seem to have even stronger motives for insisting that since history began there has never been any practical alternative to his relentlessly harsh policies. Yet *Shang-tzū* freely admits that there was once a time of perfect order without organized government. It cannot be borrowing from Taoism, for it is the one Legalist text which shows no Taoist affinities, and in any case, as we shall see shortly,¹⁷ the Shen-nung legend is an extraneous and only partially assimilated element even in Taoist historical schemes. Admittedly the authors of *Shang-tzū* find a use for the legend as an illustration of a theme dear to them, that forms of government change with the times, but they have other and less dangerous illustrations; what if a reader should suspect that what worked in the time of Shen-nung might after all work in the present? In parts of *Chuang-tzū* dating from about 205 B.C. the same historical scheme is in fact used to show that government has been declining ever since the Yellow Emperor.¹⁸ The Confucian 'Great appendix', which adopts Shen-nung as inventor of the plough, is much more cautious than *Shang-tzū*, omitting all reference to his methods of government.

A partial explanation is that much if not all of *Shang-tzū* was written in the north-western state of Ch'in, which was in close contact with barbarians. A Ch'in Legalist might well be stimulated to theorize about the development of civilization by asking himself why the tribesmen fight so well in spite of their loose organization. There is a story about an emissary of the barbarous Jung 戎

¹⁶ *Mo-tzū* 墨子, ch. 11-13. *Hsun-tzū* 荀子, HY 19/1-3, 10/1-10. Cf. also *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 20/1.

¹⁷ cf. pp. 84-86, below.

¹⁸ cf. pp. 89-91, below.

who was asked this question by Duke Mu 繆 of Ch'in (659-621 B.C.).¹⁹ He replied that government in China has been deteriorating ever since 'that supreme sage the Yellow Emperor invented rites and music, laws and measures'; the Jung require no institutions to make their king just and his subjects loyal, 'the government of the whole state is like one person ruling his own life, we do not know how we are ruled'. This story implies what *Shang-tzŭ* explicitly states, that there was a time of perfect order before the invention of the state by the Yellow Emperor. However, antiquity conceived on the model of the Jung would be a heroic age of battling tribesmen. One would expect that to be very much to the taste of the militaristic authors of *Shang-tzŭ*; why do they represent the time of Shen-nung as an era of universal peace and benevolence?

Now in the Legalist school, and above all in *Shang-tzŭ*, the principal concerns of government are agriculture and war. When Legalism prevailed under the Ch'in dynasty, and all useless literature was suppressed in the 'Burning of the Books' (213 B.C.), the categories exempted were 'books on medicine, on divination, and on sowing and planting'.²⁰ The only books on sowing and planting identified as pre-Han in the Han bibliography are the first two Nung-chia items, *Shen-nung* and the otherwise unknown *Yeh lao* 野老. We have the paradoxical situation that the very few writings recognized as indispensable by a Legalist would include the agricultural manuals of the Tillers. In the predominantly Legalist *Kuan-tzŭ* we find, in addition to two references to Shen-nung as the first farmer,²¹ a direct quotation from 'The numbers of Shen-nung' on a matter of agricultural policy.²² There is also an obscure reference, not easily related to its context, which suggests some political embarrassment: 'Therefore the emperors in the "Documents" amount to eight but Shen-nung is not included among them, because in his time there were no stations and one man could not employ another (爲其無位, 不能相用)'.²³

It seems then that the authors of *Shang-tzŭ*, scornful of book learning whose favourite reading was the 'Art of war' (兵法),²⁴ would be unable to do without the Tillers' *Shen-nung*. By good luck we have direct evidence of this in a note on *Shen-nung* in the Han bibliography by the commentator Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (A.D. 581-645):

'The *Pieh-lu* 別錄 of Liu Hsiang 劉向 says: "I suspect it is what Li K'uei and Lord Shang talk about" (疑李悝及商君所說).²⁵

The lost *Li-tzŭ* ascribed to Li K'uei, chief minister of Marquis Wen 文 of Wei 魏 (424-387 B.C.), and the extant *Shang-tzŭ* ascribed to Lord Shang, are the first two items in the Legalist section of the same bibliography.²⁶ Thus

¹⁹ *Shih chi*, ch. 5, 192.

²⁰ *Shih chi*, ch. 6, 255.

²¹ *Kuan-tzŭ*, ch. 64, 84: BSS, 3/39/11, 3/115/3.

²² cf. p. 79, below.

²³ *Kuan-tzŭ*, ch. 35, BSS 2/61/3.

²⁴ *Shang-tzŭ*, ch. 10, 15: Kao 93, 117, cf. Duyvendak, 244, 288.

²⁵ *Han shu*, ch. 30, 1743, n. 1.

²⁶ *Han shu*, ch. 30, 1735/2 f.

Liu Hsiang (77-6 B.C.), who edited the books for the Imperial Library and wrote the reports of which the Han bibliography is a digest, noticed material in *Shang-tzu* which seemed to him to be derived from *Shen-nung*.

The solution to our problem, then, is that the Golden Age of Shen-nung was extolled in the farming manuals which stood in the Legalist's library beside the 'Art of war'. It seemed a harmless conception as long as it was clearly understood that the political doctrine of Shen-nung was suited only to its own times; unlike Confucianism and Mohism, it could not mislead any practical administrator. But it was necessary to balance Shen-nung against a later sage from whom organized government starts. Yao and Shun would not do, since they are indelibly marked by Confucian moralism. The Yellow Emperor, as the warrior renowned for his victory over Yen-ti, was found suitable for the purpose. The final step in fitting the two into the historical sequence is the identification of the defeated Yen-ti with Shen-nung himself, but it is not yet taken even as late as Ssü-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145-c. 86 B.C.).²⁷

3. The realm of Shen-nung as the Tillers' Utopia

We shall depend mainly on the eclectic compilations, the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (c. 240 B.C.), the *Huai-nan-tzu* (c. 140 B.C.), and the fragments of *Shih-tzu* (also of the third or second century B.C.). We shall have to be more cautious in using the Taoist collection *Chuang-tzu* until we begin to recognize its various angles of approach, for which we must wait until we can form a clearer picture of what it is approaching. The eclectics may be expected to borrow acceptable ideas of the Tillers without much distortion, although *Huai-nan-tzu* at least will apply a little of the veneer of Taoism which gives its doctrine a semblance of unity. Judging by their treatment of known documents of other schools, they will leave out much that is most distinctive. They will quote extensively but move freely and unpredictably between rephrasings and direct citations, and sometimes Tiller passages will be inextricably mingled with other borrowings.

The most striking passage is the one already used by Feng Yu-lan in his brief study of the Tillers²⁸:

Huai-nan-tzu, ch. 11, *SPTK* 11/14B/10-15A/4. 'Therefore the "Law of Shen-nung" says (神農之法曰): "If in the prime of life a man does not plough, someone in the world will go hungry because of it; if in the prime of life a woman does not weave, someone in the world will be cold because of it." Therefore he himself ploughed with his own hands, and his wife herself wove, to give a lead to the world.

'In guiding the people, he did not value commodities difficult to obtain, did not treasure things without use. Consequently, any who did not work hard at

²⁷ The *Shih chi* starts with the Yellow Emperor; in the opening pages Ssü-ma Ch'ien seems tempted to identify Yen-ti with the last emperor of Shen-nung's line but does not commit himself. Elsewhere Yen-ti is placed between Shen-nung and the Yellow Emperor (*Shih chi*, ch. 28, 1361). The final step of identifying Yen-ti with Shen-nung himself is made in *Han shu*, ch. 21B, 1012/4 f. and by Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 (A.D. 215-82) in his *Ti-wang shih-chi* 帝王世紀, *TSCC* 3.

²⁸ cf. p. 67, above.

ploughing had no means to support life; any who did not work hard at weaving had nothing with which to clothe the body. Whether one had ample or less than enough was each person's own responsibility. Food and clothing were abundant, crimes and vices did not breed; they lived untroubled in security and happiness, and the world ran on an even level (天下均平). So there was no scope for Confucius and Tseng Shen 曾參 [the moralists] to exercise their goodness, or for Meng Pen 孟賁 and Ch'eng Ching 成荊 [the men of valour] to make people fear them'. (The first paragraph appears also with slight variations in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 21/4, *SPTK* 21/8A/6-10, where the quotation is ascribed to 'the "Teaching (*chiao* 教) of Shen-nung"').²⁹

The basic principle is that everyone must support himself by his own labour, presumably on his own land, although there is nothing in the available materials about landownership. If each person knows that he must work for his living, there will be no need of Confucian teachers to make men lead regular lives, everyone will be too busy to make war, and there will be universal abundance. The assumption that under Shen-nung men were industrious in the midst of plenty is mentioned in passing by the Legalist Han Fei tzü 韓非子. He is objecting to suggestions that men will work hard without the sting of want, and will behave morally without the fear of punishment:

Han Fei tzü, ch. 46, *SPTK* 18/4A/2 f. 'One who will work hard when he has enough goods and utensils is a Shen-nung; one who disciplines his behaviour when the ruler's government is mild is a Tseng 曾 or a Shih 史. That the people are not up to the level of Shen-nung, Tseng, and Shih is after all plain enough.'

The principle that every man lives by his own labour is extended to the ruler himself. One might of course take the labours of Shen-nung as no more than the emperor's three ceremonial pushes at the plough on New Year's Day, as prescribed in the 'Monthly orders' in the 'Rites'.³⁰ But the note on the Tillers in the Han bibliography takes the ruler's duty to plough quite literally, as we have seen³¹; and so does Hsü Hsing, who thinks that the revenues in the storehouses of the Duke of T'eng are extortion and that he should be supporting himself by ploughing in person. That the 'House of Shen-nung (神農氏)' worked in the fields throughout the 70 generations of its rule,³² and so did the later 'House of Yu-yü (有虞氏)' of which Shun was the single representative, is confirmed by a couple of *Shih-tzu* fragments:

Shih-tzu, *SPPY* B, 7B/9. 'He of the House of Yu-yü had his own grain field, his wife had a mulberry field; the House of Shen-nung reigned ploughing side by side with the people. It was to urge on cultivation.'

B, 10B/7. 'The rulers of the House of Shen-nung carried loads on their backs, their wives carried loads on their heads, in order to govern the empire.'

²⁹ There is another quotation from this document in *Han shu*, ch. 24A, 1133/7 f. 'The "Teaching of Shen-nung" says: "If you have a city with stone walls a hundred feet high, a moat of boiling water a hundred paces wide, and a million armoured men, but no grain, you will not be able to defend it." It appears also in *Fan Sheng-chih*, Shih 68, Wan 169.

³⁰ *Li-chi*, ch. 6, *SPTK* 5/2B/10-3A/6.

³¹ cf. p. 67, above.

³² cf. p. 78, below.

Yao said: "Compared with Shen-nung I am like the twilight to the dawn".

That Shun worked as a farmer, fisherman, and potter before he came to the throne was part of the Confucian tradition³³; but here he already has his reigning title, and there would be no point in mentioning his wife unless the couple, like Shen-nung and his consort, were setting an example to the empire. The second fragment is surely from the writings of a Tiller; what other kind of thinker would prefer Shen-nung to the great Yao, for the very reason that he carried loads on his back?

The reigns of Yao and Shun were the first stage in a decline which continued down to the Chou:

Huai-nan-tzû, ch. 13, *SPTK* 13/4B/8-12. 'In former times, under Shen-nung there were no orders or restrictions (制 令) but the people followed him; under the T'ang 唐 (Yao) and the Yü 虞 (Shun) there were orders and restrictions but no punishments (刑 罰). The House of the Hsia Emperors kept their word, the men of Yin swore oaths, the men of Chou made covenants.

'Coming down to the present age, men are shameless and careless of disgrace, greedy for gain and seldom embarrassed; if you wish to put them in order by means of the Way of Shen-nung, their disorder will be inevitable.'

The stages of the decline imply that the ideal order is a voluntary co-operation of men who trust each other without the support of punishments or oaths; its ultimate dissolution is marked by dependence on written covenants. Three considerations strongly suggest that this is the historical scheme of the Tillers.

(1) Out of the many ways of listing early emperors, the one chosen starts with Shen-nung and ignores the Yellow Emperor. We have seen that in *Shang-tzû* the function of the Yellow Emperor is to mark the end of the age of Shen-nung and the start of organized government; we should expect him to be missing from the Tillers' version of history.

(2) The preference for the Hsia over Yin and Chou, together with the choice of the introduction of covenants by Chou as the ultimate step in degeneration, are points shared with two short Tiller documents which have survived intact, which we shall examine in § 4 below.³⁴

(3) *Huai-nan-tzû* proceeds to observe that this 'Way of Shen-nung' is no longer applicable in the present. But we learn from elsewhere in the book that what it calls the 'Way of Shen-nung' is a current doctrine passing under his name, like the variety of Taoism attributed to the Yellow Emperor:

Huai-nan-tzû, ch. 19, *SPTK* 19/11A/5 f. 'Vulgar people mostly honour the past above the present; therefore those who cultivate a Way (爲道者) have to credit it to Shen-nung or the Yellow Emperor before it can be taken seriously.'

According to the first paragraph, Shen-nung ruled without punishing, and without decrees either; in the words of a formula already quoted above, to be found in no less than five books,³⁵ 'Fu-hsi and Shen-nung taught but did not

³³ cf. *Mencius*, 2A/8, 6B/15.

³⁴ cf. p. 82, below.

³⁵ cf. p. 70, above.

put to death'. The absence of punishments is a recurrent theme, and a single statement in *Huai-nan-tzŭ* that they were ordained but never applied because everyone was obedient³⁶ may be ignored as a concession to more conventional political ideas. There were no rewards either:

Huai-nan-tzŭ, ch. 13, *SPTK* 13/5A/8 f. 'What in ancient times was a means to order would nowadays be a means to disorder. Shen-nung and Fu-hsi applied neither rewards nor punishments, yet the people did no wrong. However, one who establishes an administration cannot if he dispenses with laws bring the people to order.'

So there was no administration (*cheng* 政), as we learned already from *Shang-tzŭ*,³⁷ and there were no laws (*fa* 法). However Shen-nung did not, like a Taoist sage, rule by the wordless influence of his Virtue (*te* 德), his teaching consisted of specific injunctions which his subjects voluntarily obeyed because they saw the practical point of them, which was to foster agriculture.³⁸ He did issue *fa* 'laws' in the broad sense of models or standards, as in the 'Law of Shen-nung' with which this chapter started. He seems also to have issued a corresponding 'Prohibition (*chin* 禁) of Shen-nung', although the single reference to it lacks the *yiiieh* 曰 'says' which would mark it decisively as a quotation. It occurs in the *Liu t'ao*³⁹ in the middle of an argument, reminiscent of Mencius,⁴⁰ that the way to win over a hostile people is not to reward and punish but to let them use to the full the resources of the land, and in particular to refrain from disrupting agricultural production by forced labour or military conscription in the wrong seasons:

Liu t'ao, ap. *Ch'ün-shu chih-yao* 羣書治要, ch. 31, *TSJC* 525/4-6. 'The "Prohibition of Shen-nung": "What grows up through spring and autumn is not to be injured or obstructed; carefully tend what is beneficial in the land, so that the myriad things complete their growth; do not snatch away what benefits the people, and the farmers will work in accord with the seasons". He gave responsibilities to the worthy and employed the capable, the officials were talented, and the men of worth came over to him.

Therefore the sphere of reward is a matter of completing the livelihood of the people, the sphere of punishment is a matter of enabling the people to live without crime. It is in this way that when reward and punishment are applied to the people the empire becomes transformed.'

The statement that 'the men of worth came over to him' connects with a brief reference in two other sources to the opposition or rebellion of a certain Su-sha 宿沙, 夙沙: 'the subjects of Su-sha themselves attacked their ruler and went over to Shen-nung'.⁴¹ This is the only disturbance under Shen-nung

³⁶ *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, *SPTK* 9/2A/2 f., 5.

³⁷ cf. p. 70, above.

³⁸ cf. p. 86, below.

³⁹ The antiquity of the *Liu t'ao* has been confirmed by the discovery of a manuscript in the Western Han tomb at Lin-yi 臨沂 (*Wen-wu* 文物, 1974, 2, p. 33), not yet published at the time of writing. The passages used in the present study (cf. also pp. 70, 83) are all missing from the standard text, that of the Sung edition, as well as from the T'ang manuscript fragment (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Pelliot 3454).

⁴⁰ cf. *Mencius*, 1A/3.

⁴¹ *Lu-shih ch'ün-ch'ü*, ch. 19/4, *SPTK* 19/11A/3 f.; *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, *SPTK* 12/13A/4 f.

noted in the eclectic sources, and it was evidently settled peacefully. The commonwealth of Shen-nung, in which there was no scope for 'Meng Pen and Ch'eng Ching to make others fear them',⁴² enjoyed universal tranquillity. By the standards of the Golden Age of Shen-nung the founder of the Chou is condemned, not for rebelling against his rightful lord, but for going to war at all.⁴³ We have noticed the statement in *Shang-tzŭ* that Shen-nung 'reigned without resorting to weapons and armour' and that war originated with the Yellow Emperor⁴⁴; similarly the 'Robber Chih' chapter of *Chuang-tzŭ* presents the reign of Shen-nung as the 'culmination of utmost Virtue', but continues: 'However, the Yellow Emperor was unable to maintain Virtue at its utmost, and went to war with Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤 in the field of Cho-lu 涿鹿'.⁴⁵ In the military sections of the eclectic writings the lists of battles proving that 'the origin of war goes very far back' begin with the Yellow Emperor fighting Yen-ti.⁴⁶ The military text *Sun Pin ping-fa* 孫臏兵法 does push back the first battle beyond the Yellow Emperor to Shen-nung, as does the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*,⁴⁷ and the Han bibliography even has an 'Art of war of Shen-nung'.⁴⁸ But military theorists would have their own reasons for tracing back the origins of war as far as possible.

The realm of Shen-nung consisted of self-sufficient fiefs in which no one was interested in going farther afield to trade for fancy new-fangled goods, as we learn from the sardonic opening of the chapter on economics in the *Shih chi*:

Shih chi, ch. 129, 3253. 'Lao-tzŭ says: "In the utmost perfection of government, neighbouring fiefs see each other in the distance, the sound of cocks and dogs in one is heard in the other, but in each of them the people find their food sweet enough, their clothes beautiful enough; they are content with their customs, delight in their work, and grow old and die without ever coming or going". . . .

'As for the time down to Shen-nung, I would not know about that; but when it comes to the time since Shun and the Hsia as reported in the "Songs" and the "Documents", ear and eye have desired all they can get of music and beauty, the mouth has desired as much as it can have of delicious meats. . . .'

The quotation is from a variant form of *Lao-tzŭ* 80,⁴⁹ a stanza which recommends small fiefs which cannot go to war with each other because the people refuse to go outside their borders. It has a parallel in *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 10/30 f. (not ascribed to Lao-tzŭ), in the description of the rule of a succession of sages ending with Shen-nung. Arthur Waley inferred from this parallel that *Lao-tzŭ* has borrowed the passage, and put it between quotation marks in his translation.⁵⁰ Whether or not it was actually taken from a Tiller source, it was evi-

⁴² cf. p. 74, above.

⁴³ cf. pp. 81-83, below.

⁴⁴ cf. p. 70, above.

⁴⁵ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 29/30 f.

⁴⁶ *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 7/2, SPTK 7/3A/8. *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, SPTK 15/1A/12-1B/1.

⁴⁷ *Sun Pin ping-fa*, Peking, 1975, 36; *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, Ch'in 1, BSS 1/16/7.

⁴⁸ *Han shu*, ch. 30, 1759/8.

⁴⁹ It is close to the Fu Yi 傅奕 text of *Lao-tzŭ*. Cf. Ma Hsi-lun 馬敔倫, *Lao-tzŭ chiao-ku* 老子校詁, Peking, 1956, 198.

⁵⁰ Arthur Waley, *The Way and its power*, London, 1934, p. 242, n. 1.

dently recognized both by the *Chuang-tzŭ* author and by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien as appropriate to the realm of Shen-nung.

Unlike rulers from the Yellow Emperor downwards, Shen-nung is never credited with named ministers. 'Robber Chih' in *Chuang-tzŭ* states explicitly that the institution of ministers by Yao and Shun was one stage in the decline from Shen-nung.⁵¹ Instead of centralizing government under ministers, he decentralized it in the multitude of small fiefs. This is mentioned in a discussion of the issue which became crucial in the Ch'in period, whether power is most secure when centralized or when delegated to fiefholders:

Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu, ch. 17/5, *SPTK* 17/15B/8 f. 'Therefore if you look at the highest antiquity, it was those with the most fiefs which had the most prolonged prosperity, the most glorious name. That Shen-nung possessed the empire for 17 (variant, 70) generations was because he shared it with the empire.'

A fragment on the same theme probably had a similar context:

Shih-tzŭ, B, 10B/9. 'How could it have been because it was wise in every generation that the House of Shen-nung possessed the empire for 70 generations? It was because the shepherding of the people was easy.'

The claim that it was *easy* to rule the empire while tilling one's own fields seems at first sight extraordinary. Surely Mencius was right in thinking it impossible? However, we are beginning to see the Utopia of Shen-nung in a clearer perspective. It is an empire of small self-sufficient fiefs or states (*kuo* 國), the lords of which, like their suzerain, presumably work their own fields. At every level government has been divested of every function which would be unwelcome to a peasant; the emperor and his lords do not raise taxes (at any rate for their own support), go to war, build palaces stuffed with 'commodities difficult to obtain', make laws, or inflict punishments. The single task of government is to ensure a flourishing agriculture; and its first responsibility, laid down in the 'Prohibition of Shen-nung', is *not* to disrupt production by interfering with the work demanded by the seasons. The question then is not how the ruler finds time to labour in the fields but what else there is left for him to do. The longest of all the accounts of Shen-nung's reign in the eclectic sources does give some account of the procedures of government:

Huai-nan-tzŭ, *SPTK* 9/1B/8, 9-11. 'Formerly, when Shen-nung ruled the empire. . .

The mild rain fell when it was due,
The five grains flourished.
In spring they sprouted, in summer grew up,
In autumn were harvested, in winter stored.
There were monthly inspections, there were seasonal trials,
At the year's end they reported how much had been done.
In due season the grains were tasted
And offered as a sacrifice in the Hall of Light.'

⁵¹ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 29/31.

The account continues with a description of Shen-nung's Hall of Light (*Ming t'ang* 明堂, the hall, differently designed under different dynasties, in which the ancient emperors are said both to have received the feudal lords and to have sacrificed to the Imperial ancestors). Of more interest to us are the 'monthly inspections and seasonal trials'. They suggest those tours of inspection which Mencius recommended to King Hsüan 宣 of Ch'i 齊, by which the emperor 'in spring inspects the ploughing and makes up for deficiencies (of seed for the sowing), in autumn inspects the harvest and helps the unprovided (with food for next year)'.⁵² This would imply granaries for storing and issuing grain, which would have to be managed by those 'officials' (*kuan* 官) mentioned in the *Liu t'ao*.⁵³ Another passage, although obscurely phrased, suggests that the Tillers, like Li K'uei (thought by Liu Hsiang to have borrowed from *Shen-nung*),⁵⁴ were among the early advocates of the policy of maintaining regular supplies and constant prices by storing grain in the good years and issuing it in the bad:

Kuan-tzū, ch. 78, BSS 3/91/5. 'The "Numbers (數) of Shen-nung" says: "If one grain fails, reduce the one grain, and let the issue of the grain be tenfold: if two grains fail, reduce the two grains, and again let the issue of the grains be tenfold". Maintain a full supply: give the old grain to those without food, lend new seed to those without seed. Hence there will be no tenfold prices and no profiteering people.'⁵⁵

A Tiller ruler would also have contributed to irrigation. Shen-nung is not mentioned in this connexion, no doubt because the role belongs to Yü 禹, drainer of the Flood. To uncover the Tiller policies we should have to find means to detach Tiller from Confucian and Mohist versions of the Yü legend.

The 'Great appendix' credits Shen-nung with the invention not only of agriculture but of markets.⁵⁶ These would be local markets, since his empire consisted of self-contained communities uninterested in importing 'commodities difficult to obtain'. The supply of grain would be stable, so there would be 'no tenfold prices and no profiteering people'. It is against this background that we can begin to understand the demand for equal prices by Hsü Hsing's follower, which Mencius seems to demolish so easily.

Mencius, 3A/4. "If you follow the Way of Hsü Hsing, there will not be two prices in the market, there will be no dishonesty in the capital. Even if you send a mere boy to market no one will ever cheat him. Cloth or silk of the same length will be equal in price; hemp or flax or raw silk of the same weight will be equal in price; the five grains in the same quantities will be equal in price; shoes of the same size will be equal in price."

'Mencius said: "It is essential to things that they are unequal. Some are

⁵² *Mencius*, 1B/4.

⁵³ cf. p. 76, above.

⁵⁴ cf. p. 72, above. Li K'uei's policies are described in *Han shu*, ch. 24A, 1124 f.

⁵⁵ For this difficult passage I follow Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 and others, *Kuan-tzū chi-chiao* 管子集校, Peking, 1956, 1178 (法 = 發), 1190 (夷疏, binome descriptive of fullness to the brim).

⁵⁶ *Yi ching* 易經, HY 45/Hsi B/2.

worth twice or five times, ten or a hundred times, a thousand or ten thousand times as much as others. In reducing them to the same, you are throwing the empire into disorder. If fine shoes are the same in price as rough ones, who will be making them? If we follow the Way of Hsü Hsing, everyone will be drawing everyone else into committing dishonesties. How can it make the state orderly?"

The Tiller wants to put an end to the fluctuation of price with supply and demand which puts the farmer at the mercy of the trader. Its root cause is the varying supply of grain, which can be levelled out by a policy of public storing in the good years and distribution in the bad. All this belongs to the common economic wisdom of the time. In the Tiller's Utopia, where presumably there are no merchants, only peasants and craftsmen, and the ruler does nothing but help to maintain a regular supply of grain, everyone will be able to go to his local market in the confidence that he will always be paying the same price for the same length of silk or the same length of cloth. Mencius, who is thinking, like a modern reader of the dialogue, of the varied goods available in a city, jumps on the point that quantity has been mentioned but not quality. The Tiller, if he had been allowed to answer, would perhaps have brushed aside the objection as irrelevant; of course one would pay more for fine shoes than for rough ones, but he has the right to take quantity as the representative factor in price just as one takes ploughing as representative of manual labour. He is thinking of the market in a self-sufficient community suspicious of fancy goods from outside, where variety is a minor consideration, and an experienced buyer knows exactly the grade he is after when he goes looking for a good tool or a good pot, and exactly how much it is worth.

4. *The Tillers' version of the legend of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i*

The brothers Po Yi and Shu Ch'i are familiar examples throughout pre-Han literature of uncompromisingly righteous men. As in so many legends, the essentials of the tale are a named place (Mount Shou-yang 首陽) and a compelling image, of two brothers starving to death under the mountain after a great act of renunciation. What it was that they renounced is a secondary matter; it is variously described as the fief of Ku-chu 孤竹,⁵⁷ as office and salary,⁵⁸ and as the throne of the empire.⁵⁹ The story assumed its definitive shape when Ssü-ma Ch'ien wrote their biography.⁶⁰ He included two renunciations, and explained both in terms of conventional duty. The brothers refuse in turn to inherit their father's fief, the elder because it was bequeathed to the younger, the younger out of deference to the elder. They then go off to join the Chou in the West, but when King Wu succeeds King Wen and goes to war with the Yin or Shang Emperor Chow, they protest that it is unfilial for a son to fight before his father is buried and for a subject to attack his lord. They starve to death because they judge it unrighteous 'to eat the grain of the Chou'.

⁵⁷ *Chuang-tzū*, HY 29/41.

⁵⁸ *Huai-nan-tzū*, SPTK 11/13B/11 f.

⁵⁹ *Han Fei tzü*, ch. 14, SPTK 4/12B/5 f. Cf. *Chuang-tzū*, HY 17/13.

⁶⁰ *Shih chi*, ch. 61.

The earliest allusions are in Confucian sources, the 'Analects' and *Mencius*. In neither is there any suggestion that they turned against King Wu; Confucius, deeply committed to the Chou, admires them without reserve, and Mencius mentions only that they welcomed the rise of King Wen:

Mencius, 4A/14, 7A/22. 'Po Yi avoiding Chow settled on the shore of the North Sea. When he heard of the rise of King Wen he said: "Why not go off to join him? I hear that the Lord of the West takes good care of old men".'

The tale is first told in a full version in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (the account in *Chuang-tzū* appears to be an abridgement of this version).⁶¹ The episode is the one mentioned by Mencius, but concludes with the final defection from the Chou. The brothers, who are living in Ku-chu, hear that 'there is a local lord in the West who seems like someone who would have the Way', and go off to join King Wen. By the time they arrive King Wen is dead, and they observe King Wu making alliances with other nobles against the Yin Emperor promising them rank and perquisites, in covenants at Ssü-nei 四內 and Kung-t'ou 公頭, making three copies smeared with the blood of a victim and burying the third. It is these covenants which are the occasion for the protest:

Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu, ch. 12/4, *SPTK* 12/7A/5-7B/2; cf. *Chuang-tzū*, HY 28/74-86. 謬，異乎哉。此非吾所謂道也。昔者，神農氏之有天下也，時祀盡敬而不祈福也。其於人也，忠信盡治而無求焉。樂正與爲正，樂治與爲治。不以人之壞自成也，不以人之庫自高也。

今周見殷之僻亂也，而遽爲之正與治。上謀而行貨，阻（丘）*兵⁶²而保威也。割牲而盟以爲信，因四內與公頭以明行。揚夢以說眾，殺伐以要利。以此紹殷，是以亂易暴也。

'Hmm, strange! This is not what we would call the Way. Formerly, when the House of Shen-nung possessed the empire, in the seasonal sacrifices they were perfectly reverent but they did not pray for blessings, their dealings with others were loyal and trustworthy and perfectly ordered, but they did not seek anything from them. If others delighted in rectitude they joined with them in practising rectitude, if others delighted in order they joined with them in realizing order. They did not take advantage of others' weaknesses to achieve success for themselves, or of others' degradation to elevate themselves.

'Now the Chou, seeing that the Yin are deviant and disorderly, are in a hurry to impose rectitude and order upon them. They promote conspiracy and distribute bribes, rely on arms and depend on inspiring dread. A covenant in which you slaughter a victim is their conception of good faith, it takes a pact

⁶¹ *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 12/4, *Chuang-tzū*, ch. 28. Kuan Feng 關鋒 (in *Chuang-tzū lun-wen chi* 莊子論文集, Peking, 1962, 89-96) has convincingly argued that together with *Chuang-tzū*, ch. 29 (which I would date about 205 B.C., cf. p. 88, below) and 31, ch. 28 comes from late members of the school of Yang Chu 楊朱. The parallels with the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* include not only stories but comments on them which seem characteristic of the latter book.

⁶² Emended from the *Chuang-tzū* parallel.

at Ssü-nei or Kung-t'ou to make plain what they will do. They brag about an auspicious dream to please the multitude, and murder and invade to get their hands on profit. To succeed the Yin by such means is to exchange tyranny for disorder.'

The brothers then go off to fulfil their destiny by starving to death under Mount Shou-yang.

Here a number of points deserve attention.

(1) The model of good government to which the brothers appeal is the realm of Shen-nung.

(2) The occasion for the protest is the making of covenants. The editor of the story in *Chuang-tzŭ* evidently saw no point in the detailed accounts of the two covenants, for he speeded up the narrative by reducing them to a single treaty offered by King Wu to Po Yi and Shu Ch'i themselves. But it will be remembered that the last stages of decline from the age of Shen-nung are summed up as 'The men of Yin swore oaths, the men of Chou made covenants'.⁶³ Men were content to take each other's word right down to the Hsia; even under the Yin they were satisfied with an oath. Po Yi and Shu Ch'i are witnessing the very last step in the decline from an order based on mutual trust.

(3) We have already noticed a reference to the seasonal sacrifices under Shen-nung.⁶⁴ Here it is added that 'they did not pray for blessings', presumably because men should win prosperity by their own labour and not expect free gifts from the gods. The opening sentences would then be a statement of the fundamental principle of the Tillers, that 'whether one has ample or less than enough is each person's own responsibility (有餘不足, 各歸其身)'.⁶⁵ The parallel sentence would be making the corresponding point that in dealing with others one should not 'seek anything from them', expect them to do one's own work. This interpretation is supported by a related story of another pair of brothers who settled by the same sea at the same period, the rise of the Chou:

Han Fei tzŭ, ch. 34, *SPTK* 13/3B/4-6. 'When T'ai-kung Wang 太公望 was enfeoffed in the East in Ch'i, by the sea on the East of Chi there were two brothers who were hermits, called K'uang Yü 狂裔 and Hsue Shih 華士. They upheld a doctrine: "We shall not be subjects of the emperor, we shall not make friends with the feudal lords. We shall eat what we get by ploughing, drink from a well that we dig ourselves; we shall not seek anything from other men (吾無求於人也). We shall not have the titles of superiors, shall not have a stipend from the ruler; we shall work not as officials but as labourers". (T'ai-kung executed them for setting a bad example, as he explained when the Duke of Chou objected.)

(4) There is nothing whatever about King Wu committing treason by taking up arms against his rightful lord. The brothers, admirers of the pacific

⁶³ cf. p. 75, above.

⁶⁴ cf. p. 78, above.

⁶⁵ cf. p. 74, above.

realm of Shen-nung, denounce him for taking up arms at all. We find this also in a *Liu t'ao* fragment about King Wu consulting his lords about the campaign against the Yin Emperor. The contribution of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i is: 'If by killing one man he could possess the empire, the sage would not do it'.⁶⁶

(5) The brothers have travelled to the West in the hope of finding the Chou building a community based on mutual trust and not on force, in which one can co-operate with the correct and the orderly, but without taking it upon oneself to suppress the deviant and disorderly. They are like Hsü Hsing travelling to the little state of T'eng and deciding that the Duke 'has not heard the Way'⁶⁷; probably this was a recurrent experience of the Tillers. They would have preferred King Wu to work in his own fief and not contend for the empire. We have noticed, however, that the effect of Shen-nung's agricultural policies was that 'the men of worth went over to him'.⁶⁸ Possibly they think that the oppressed subjects of the Yin would have imitated the people of Su-sha, who 'attacked their ruler and went over to Shen-nung'.⁶⁹

Ssü-ma Ch'ien in his biography of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i rewrites the whole episode on the assumption that men whom Confucius admired can only have been acting on Confucian principles. But he presents one of his documents intact. It is a verse ascribed to the brothers, which he ponders because it suggests to him that Confucius was wrong in crediting them with being free of rancour.⁷⁰

Shih chi, ch. 61, 2123/6.

'Climb that Western mountain,

Pick its herbs.

They exchange tyranny for tyranny.

And don't know that they do wrong.

Shen-nung, the Yü, the Hsia are as though they had never been.

Who deserves our allegiance?

Alas! Away we go.

The Mandate is in decay.'

The verse rejects both Yin and Chou and looks back to the tradition of Shen-nung which ended in the Hsia. Shen-nung and Shun ('the Yü') are elsewhere paired as emperors who tilled the fields.⁷¹ The Hsia was the dynasty in which it was still possible to take a man's word without insisting on an oath or a covenant made out in triplicate.⁷²

The importance of the legend of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i for the present inquiry is that the story in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* and the verse in the *Shih chi* are intact though brief Tiller documents, in which sentences have a firm context. Otherwise, until further items can be located, we have to depend on Confucian,

⁶⁶ *Liu t'ao*, ap. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, SPTK 329/4B.

⁶⁷ *Mencius*, 3A/4.

⁶⁸ cf. p. 76, above.

⁶⁹ cf. p. 76, above.

⁷⁰ 'Analects', 5/23, 7/15.

⁷¹ cf. p. 74, above.

⁷² cf. p. 76, above.

Taoist, Legalist, or eclectic sources which, even when they quote the words of Shen-nung, have lifted the passage out of context, and sometimes leave us to guess where it breaks off.

5. *The Utopias of the Tillers and the Taoists*

In the predominantly Taoist collection *Chuang-tzŭ* we do not find Shen-nung in the seven 'Inner chapters' generally conceded to have been written by Chuang-tzŭ himself in the late fourth century B.C. His Golden Age does appear in the Primitivist and 'Robber Chih' chapters, which I believe to be datable with unusual exactness at about 205 B.C.⁷³; we shall consider them in detail later.⁷⁴ Outside these chapters the references are seldom datable with our present resources, and might be from any time in the third or second centuries B.C.

In *Chuang-tzŭ*, and in the Taoist parts of *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, there is no special emphasis on any pre-dynastic sage. The general assumption is that the primal unselfconscious oneness of man and nature was broken as soon as the names of sages began to be remembered; the lineage of the ancient emperors is introduced only to plot the stages of a continuous degeneration. Except in the Primitivist chapters Utopia has no named rulers and is put either in the immemorial past or in a remote country.⁷⁵ However, the sages were nearer than we are to the origin of things. One can cite them and exalt them, even such relative newcomers as Yao, Shun, and Yü, but the doctrines adapted to their times in which they verbalized the unsayable do not matter; it is part of the convention to throw off revered or unfamiliar names quite indiscriminately, except for a loose adherence to the maxim 'the older the better'. In the introductory episode of 'Mountain trees' (reproduced in *Lü-shih ch'ün-ch'iu*, ch. 14/8, so earlier than 240 B.C.), Chuang-tzŭ is made to exult in the Way as 'the model and standard for Shen-nung and the Yellow Emperor'.⁷⁶ In 'Mending nature' on the other hand the same pair, again undifferentiated, are responsible for the second of the steps in the prolonged decadence of man.⁷⁷

The Taoist Utopia stands at the beginning of time; the mere fact that a sage is distinguished and remembered by a name is proof enough that the wordless unity of everything has already been broken. The Golden Age of Shen-nung on the other hand is the culmination of progress from primitive savagery, a peak from which humanity has since declined.⁷⁸ The various historical schemes into which Shen-nung is fitted in *Shang-tzŭ* and in the 'Great Appendix', and in the sequence of ages of stone, jade, bronze, and iron in the *Yüeh chüeh shu* 越絕書,⁷⁹ may have little to do with the Tiller tradition.

⁷³ cf. pp. 87-89, below.

⁷⁴ cf. pp. 89-91, below.

⁷⁵ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 1/28-30, 12/80-2, 16/5-7, 20/15-17.

⁷⁶ *Ut sup.*, 20/7.

⁷⁷ *Ut sup.*, 16/8.

⁷⁸ cf. pp. 85, 90, 91, below.

⁷⁹ *Yüeh chüeh shu* ch. 11, SPTK 93B/3. The *Yüeh chüeh shu* is a miscellany of materials various in date, the compilers of which identified themselves, by covert allusions of a kind popular in the Eastern Han, as Yuan K'ang 袁康 and Wu P'ing 吳平 writing in A.D. 52 (Chang Hsin-ch'eng 張心激, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 偽書通考, Shanghai, 1957, 636-40). In a dialogue

But the sages themselves, such as Fu-hsi the inventor of hunting,⁸⁰ Yu-ch'ao 有巢 who taught men to escape the wild beasts by building nests in the trees,⁸¹ and Sui-jen 燧人 the discoverer of fire,⁸² enter literature at the same time as Shen-nung, and may well be his predecessors in the Tiller historiography. Fu-hsi in particular tends to be linked with Shen-nung and credited with the same kind of government,⁸³ and may have represented for the Tillers the age of hunters before agriculture began. However that may be, the idea of an earlier and more primitive stage must always have been implicit in the legend of the first tiller of the soil.

In the Taoist Utopia men live in spontaneous harmony. The account in 'Mending nature' does not mention any sage; it says simply that the people lived in 'utmost oneness', and that 'during this time things were constantly so of themselves without anyone doing them'.⁸⁴ In other accounts we do sometimes find a sage, but the people are unconscious of his influence like wild deer who do not notice the tree as they rest in its shade.⁸⁵ According to a *Huai-nan-tzŭ* history of the degeneration of man, before Fu-hsi arose and 'knowledge then began', the sages (who are unnamed) 'exhaled and inhaled the breath of Yin and Yang, and everything living reverently looked up to their Virtue and harmoniously accorded with it'.⁸⁶ Shen-nung on the other hand is a hard-working teacher of solid, useful information. A criticism of the Taoist doctrine of *wu-wei* 無爲 'Doing Nothing' starts with the example of Shen-nung:

Huai-nan-tzŭ, SPTK 19/1A/8-12. 'In ancient times the people ate herbs and drank water, picked fruit from the trees, devoured the flesh of wasps and mole-cricket; there was always much suffering from diseases and poisoning. Then Shen-nung taught the people for the first time to sow the five grains, to appraise the soil, judge between dry and humid, fertile and stony, high and low. He tested the flavours of a hundred herbs, the sweetness and bitterness of springs of water, and enabled people to know which to approach and which to shun. During this time, in a single day he would come on seventy poisons.'

The next three examples are Yao, Shun, and Yü; that the series starts with Shen-nung and omits the Yellow Emperor is suggestive of Tiller origin. Admittedly the labours attributed to these sages include their wars, and the

about swords it is remarked that 'in the time of Hsien-yuan 軒轅, Shen-nung, and Ho-hsu 赫胥, they made their weapons out of stone'; they were made of jade from the time of the Yellow Emperor, of bronze from the time of Yu, and finally of iron (ch. 11, SPTK 93B/3-94A/3). 'Hsien-yuan' is given as the personal name of the Yellow Emperor in the opening sentence of the *Shih-chi*; the dialogue must come from the earlier period when Hsien-yuan was not yet identified with him, as in *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 10/30, *Liu t'ao* ap. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, SPTK 76/5A/7, cf. 9.

⁸⁰ *Shih-tzŭ*, SPPY A, 15B/10. *Yi-ching*, HY 45/Hsi B/2. His invention of the 'Eight trigrams' in the latter source belongs to a schematism particular to the scholars of the 'Changes'.

⁸¹ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 29/28; *Han Fei tzu*, ch. 49, SPTK 19/1A/4-7.

⁸² *Han Fei tzu*, as in n. 81; *Shih-tzŭ*, SPPY, A 15B/8.

⁸³ cf. pp. 70, 76, above, and p. 86, below. Fu-hsi is first mentioned in the late fourth century B.C., in the 'Inner chapters' of *Chuang-tzŭ* (HY 4/33, 6/31). *Chuang-tzŭ* does not mention his inventions; but he is not interested in the innovations of sages, only in their closeness to the beginning of things.

⁸⁴ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 16/6 f.

⁸⁵ *Ut sup.*, 12/81.

⁸⁶ *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, SPTK 2/8B/8.

fifth and last of the series is the conqueror T'ang who founded the Yin, who would be no more of a hero for the Tillers than the destroyer of his dynasty King Wu; but it is characteristic of *Huai-nan-tzŭ* to mingle borrowings from different sources. The suspicion of a Tiller substratum is strengthened by a quotation illustrating the argument against Doing Nothing, which drops the name of T'ang:

Huai-nan-tzŭ, SPTK 19/3A/5 f. 'For we hear from a book which has been handed down: "Shen-nung was haggard, Yao emaciated, Shun weatherbeaten, Yü calloused".'

Shen-nung teaching men to farm, Yü learning to drain, and Fu-hsi, presumably in his role of first hunter, turn up as examples of the wordless teaching of the Taoist, but the reference is apparently to instruction by practical demonstration:

Huai-nan-tzŭ, SPTK 1/6B/6 f. 'Therefore when Yü opened up the channels, he took the water itself as his teacher; when Shen-nung sowed the grains, he took the rice-shoots themselves as his doctrine.'

Ut sup., 9/3B/2 f. 'Therefore unspoken commands, vision which does not depend on the eye, it was by these that Fu-hsi and Shen-nung acted as teachers. Hence when the people's mode of life was transformed by them, they were following, not what they said, but what they did.'

Unlike the Yellow Emperor, Shun, Confucius himself, Shen-nung is never adopted as a spokesman of Taoism. His legend obstinately retains its homogeneity, he remains unalterably a Tiller. This is true even of his single appearance in one of the dialogues in *Chuang-tzŭ*. In this episode he studies but makes no progress, and says when his teacher dies: 'He that was Heaven to me knew that I am coarse and rude, that is why he abandoned me and died.'⁸⁷ A Taoist would see the Tillers as hermits like himself, but crude people interested only in farming, quite insensible to the profundities of the Way.

6. *Shen-nung and the Yellow Emperor*

Throughout this study we have noticed the Yellow Emperor appearing side by side with Shen-nung. Whenever they are differentiated, the Yellow Emperor stands as the founder of a new era of organized government. In *Shang-tzŭ* he is mentioned only twice,⁸⁸ both times in conjunction with the more prominent Shen-nung, and his function is clear; he is the inventor of the state and of war, he marks the end of the free and pacific society of middle antiquity. Throughout the third and second centuries his legend develops in interaction and mutual opposition with Shen-nung's. For anti-moralistic thinkers therefore the Yellow Emperor presents himself as the natural alternative to the Confucian's Yao and Shun; thus the postface at the end of ch. 12 of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (with a calendrical date interpretable as 241 or 239 B.C.) explicitly identifies the philosophy of the book as the teaching of the Yellow Emperor. The Legalists, who care little for ancient authority, do not make much use of

⁸⁷ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 22/54.

⁸⁸ Ch. 1, 18; Kao, 17, 136. Cf. Duyvendak, 172, 284 f.

him (he appears only occasionally in *Kuan-tzū* and *Han Fei tzū*). But the early emperors of the Han were conscious that a régime can be stable only if it has a tradition behind it; they were not yet ready to adopt Confucianism, and as a philosophy with a respectable pedigree tended rather to 'Huang-Lao' 黃老, the doctrine of the Yellow Emperor and of Lao-Tzū. The name of the Yellow Emperor would attract them as the guarantee that this is *not* the kind of Taoism which questions the power of the state.

Although the Yellow Emperor's legend is much more varied than Shen-nung's, strands other than the political may be treated as secondary. The 'Inner chapters' of *Chuang-tzū* already say that he 'ascended into the cloudy sky'.⁸⁹ But the one story in that book which associates him with the immortality cult is in the 'Outer chapters' and may be as late as the second century B.C.⁹⁰ That traffickers in the elixir of life should claim that their arts derive from the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzū is understandable since the most distinguished clients for whose attention they were competing were Ch'in and Han Emperors who would be inclined to honour them more than other ancient sages. When the Emperor Wu 武帝 (140-87 B.C.) rejected Huang-Lao for Confucianism without losing his appetite for the elixir, the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzū were left without political significance but remained authorities for the arts of prolonging life. This helps to explain the puzzling fact that alchemists came to share the name of 'Taoist' with philosophers such as Chuang-tzū who had preached reconciliation with death.

A crucial period in the interaction of the two legends is the brief interval between the Ch'in and Han dynasties. The Ch'in suppression of the philosophical schools occurred almost at the end of the dynasty, in 213 B.C.; when the dynasty collapsed in 209 B.C. the Confucians quickly revived, and K'ung Fu 孔鮒, head of the K'ung family, took office under the peasant rebel Ch'en Sheng 陳勝.⁹¹ We know from the five essays expounding the ideas of Yang Chu in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*,⁹² and from the account of the Mohist sects as still active in *Han Fei tzū*, ch. 50, that these schools too had survived until at least the beginning of Ch'in; after a suppression of only four years they would surely, like the Confucians, emerge from hiding to compete for the favours of contenders for the throne. During the period of civil war (209-202 B.C.) it must have seemed that the Ch'in reunification was no more than a brief interlude in the age of the Warring Kingdoms. This time of transition has a special advantage for the historian of Chinese philosophy; in a literature which seldom gives him an opportunity for exact dating, a document which bears the marks of it should be easily recognizable, and he can date it 'circa 205 B.C.' with a margin of error of only a few years.

One such document is a series of essays in *Chuang-tzū*, covering HY 8-11/28, 12/95-102, so idiosyncratic and consistent in thought and style that they must

⁸⁹ *Chuang-tzū*, HY 6/33.

⁹⁰ *Ut sup.*, 11/28-44.

⁹¹ *Shih chi*, ch. 47, 1947.

⁹² Ch. 1/2, 3; 2/2, 3; 21/4. Cf. Feng Yu-lan, *History of Chinese philosophy*, tr. Derk Bodde, Princeton, 1952, I, 137-40.

come from the hand of a single writer, whom it is convenient to call the 'Primitivist'. Since they mention the 12 generations of rule by the T'ien 田 family in Ch'i down to the fall of the state in 221 B.C.,⁹³ the very last step in the Ch'in reunification of the empire, yet assume continuing disunity as though still in the time of the Warring Kingdoms,⁹⁴ there seems to be no room for them in history except between 209 and 202 B.C. This is confirmed by a sketch of the stages of history which starts with the Yellow Emperor, continues through the Three Dynasties and the rise of Confucianism and Mohism, and concludes with a time of increasing punishments culminating in the present:

Chuang-tzŭ, HY 11/25 f. 'Therefore men of worth hide away down among the great mountains and craggy cliffs, while the lords of ten thousand chariots are trembling with anxiety up in their ancestral shrines. In the present age men condemned to death lie back to back, prisoners in cangues and shackles are elbow to elbow, the mutilated are never out of each others' sight, yet it is just now that the Confucians and Mohists start putting on airs and flipping back their sleeves among the fettered and manacled (而儒墨乃始離跂攘臂乎桎梏之間). (Cf. also *ut sup.*, 12/98, 'Yet Yang and Mo are starting (乃始) to put on airs and think they are getting somewhere'.)

The rise of Confucianism and Mohism had been mentioned already; here the reference is surely to a revival at the end of the brutal oppression of the Ch'in dynasty.⁹⁵

Another such document is *Chuang-tzŭ*, ch. 29, 'Robber Chih', which likewise seems to assume a disunited empire, but not only mentions the end of the Chou in 256 B.C. and the extinction of its line,⁹⁶ but assumes the Ch'in, and Han measures in estimating the height of the giant robber as 8 *ch'ih* 尺 4 *ts'un* 寸 (7 feet 5 inches: by the Chou measure he would be a mere 5 feet 4 inches).⁹⁷ Several common features suggest that it is contemporary with the Primitivist—the violently polemical tone, otherwise unparalleled in this usually rather gentle Taoist collection; Robber Chih himself, never mentioned outside these sections; the identification of the ruler and the criminal, the observation in almost the same words that 'A petty robber goes to gaol, a great robber becomes a feudal lord, and at the gate of a feudal lord you will find those dutiful scholars' (like K'ung Fu serving Ch'en Sheng); and finally a point which connects with the present inquiry, that both denigrate the Yellow Emperor and exalt Shen-nung. Kuan Feng has pointed out that

⁹³ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 10/7 f.

⁹⁴ cf. especially *ut sup.*, 10/32-4, 'At the present it has come to such a point that the people crane their necks and stand on tiptoe saying "At such-and-such a place there's a worthy one", and pack their bags to head for him, so within the family they abandon their own parents and outside the family leave the service of their own lords; their footprints go on crossing at the borders of the feudal lords, their carriage ruts go on joining a thousand miles away'.

⁹⁵ The story of Robber Chih disavowing on morality is used both by the Primitivist (*ut sup.*, 10/10-13) and in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ch. 11/4, *SPTK* 11/7B/8-9), but is not an example of literary borrowing. The parallelism is of the type in which there is little identity of phrasing except in the more pungent sayings, suggesting different written versions of a story in oral circulation.

⁹⁶ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 20/27.

⁹⁷ *Ut sup.*, 29/19. Cf. *Mencius*, 6B/2, where a visitor annoys Mencius by boasting that he is 9 *ch'ih* 4 *ts'un* tall.

⁹⁸ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 29/63 f. Cf. 10/19.

'Robber Chih' is not Taoist at all, but a late document of the school of Yang Chu⁹⁹; its three dialogues may therefore be actual examples of the revived disputation of 'Yang and Mo' denounced by the Primitivist.¹⁰⁰ We may even suspect that the story of Confucius and the robber is a satire on the contemporary descendant of Confucius who fawned on the peasant rebel Ch'en Sheng.

Read in this historical context the Primitivist essays compose a Taoist polemic against other reviving schools. The Primitivist, like his rivals, hates the authoritarianism of the defunct Ch'in, but he does not want to be managed by Confucian moralists either. He wants a state which rather than governing will be content to set limits within which the people can go their own way (*tsai yu* 在宥 'leave them in their places and within bounds').¹⁰¹ The Taoist Utopia of which he writes so eloquently¹⁰² is not, as in much Taoist writing, a nostalgic dream, rather it is of the nature of a political 'myth' (in the sense of Sorel's 'myth of the general strike'), an unrealizable goal intended to focus the objectives of all who want minimalized government in the present.

Unlike other Taoists, the Primitivist locates his Utopia in a historical scheme. It flourished under 12 sages the last of whom was Shen-nung.¹⁰³ His interest does not centre in Shen-nung, for elsewhere he picks out one of the earlier names on the list, Ho-hsü.¹⁰⁴ But when he traces the stages of decline of government, he starts with the Yellow Emperor.¹⁰⁵ He is exploiting that dangerous admission of *Shang-tzŭ*, that under Shen-nung there was perfect order but not yet any organized government, which originated under the Yellow Emperor. But as a Taoist he must assume that perfect order was the primeval state of man, not the consequence of material progress culminating in the invention of agriculture. He therefore treats Shen-nung as the last of a line which can be traced back to the beginning of time.

It is not clear to what extent the Primitivist takes over concrete details from the Tillers' Utopia. But among his rhyming passages there is one quatrain which is surely borrowed directly from Tiller propaganda.

Chuang-tzŭ, HY 9/7 織而衣, 耕而食, 是謂同德。一而不黨, 命之天放。

'By their weaving clothed, by their ploughing fed,
This is called "sharing in the Virtue".
In oneness and without faction,
The name for it is "free as the air".'

In the context of Tiller thought the phrase *t'ung te* 'sharing in the Virtue' would have a precise meaning. Throughout the literature, in passages which we have connected with the Tillers, the word *te* is used only of the Virtue of

⁹⁹ cf. p. 81, n. 61, above.

¹⁰⁰ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 8/6 f.

¹⁰¹ *Ut sup.*, 11/1-4.

¹⁰² *Ut sup.*, 9/7-11, 16 f.; 10/29-32.

¹⁰³ *Ut sup.*, 10/30 f.

¹⁰⁴ *Ut sup.*, 9/16.

¹⁰⁵ *Ut sup.*, 11/19. There is another historical sketch of the decline which starts with the Yellow Emperor, *ut sup.*, 14/60-73. This passage has two verbal parallels with the Primitivist essays, in lines 63, 72 f.; cf. 11/15, 10/39.

dynasties; both the Primitivist and the 'Robber Chih' writer describe the reign of Shen-nung as the time of 'Virtue at its utmost',¹⁰⁶ and Po Yi and Shu Ch'i say that 'the Virtue of Chou has declined'.¹⁰⁷ Moreover the House of Shen-nung possessed the empire for 70 generations 'because they shared it (the empire) with the empire' (與天下同之也),¹⁰⁸ and they reigned by 'taking as basis the resources of heaven and earth and harmoniously sharing with them (因天地之資而與之和同)'.¹⁰⁹

In all ancient Chinese thinking the Virtue of a dynasty is its capacity for maintaining the social order. The point of the first couplet, then, is that in an age of utmost Virtue everyone makes his own contribution to a flourishing society by ploughing or weaving, and so shares in the Virtue. The Virtue does not belong to the emperor alone. It is a conception which the Primitivist easily assimilates to his own philosophy, and once he describes ideal government by the very Taoistic 'Virtue throughout the empire will for the first time be shared from its profoundest depths (天下之德始玄同矣)'.¹¹⁰ But certainly he would not himself *identify* the sharing of Virtue with contributing to universal order and prosperity by manual labour. Indeed he never elsewhere suggests that the Utopians do a stroke of work. 'In the time of the House of Ho-hsü, the people resided without knowing what they were doing, travelled without knowing where they were going, basked chewing on a morsel or strolled drumming on their bellies.'¹¹¹

The writer of 'Robber Chih' is not a Taoist and is able to accept the gradual ascent to Shen-nung as well as the decline from the Yellow Emperor:

Chuang-tzū, HY 29/27-32. 'Moreover I have heard that in ancient times the birds and beasts were more numerous and men were fewer, so men all lived in nests to escape danger. In the daytime they gathered acorns and chestnuts, at nightfall perched in the treetops, and so they were named the people of the House of Yu-ch'ao ("the Nester"). In ancient times men did not know how to clothe themselves; in summer they piled up quantities of fire-wood, and when winter came burned it, and so they were named the people of Chih-sheng 知生 ("Know how to live").

In the age of Shen-nung
They slept sound,
They woke fresh.
The people knew their mothers
But did not know their fathers,
And lived together with the deer.

They fed themselves by ploughing, clothed themselves by weaving, and there was no mischief in their hearts. This was the culmination of utmost Virtue.

'However, the Yellow Emperor was unable to maintain Virtue at its utmost, he battled with Ch'ih-yu in the field of Cho-lu, and made the blood stream for

¹⁰⁶ *U* *sup.*, 10/29, 29/30.

¹⁰⁷ *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 12/4, *SPTK* 12/7B/4.

¹⁰⁸ *U* *sup.*, ch. 17/6, *SPTK* 17/15B/9.

¹⁰⁹ *Huai-nan-tzū*, *SPTK* 9/2A/2.

¹¹⁰ *Chuang-tzū*, HY 10/27.

¹¹¹ 9/16 f.

a hundred miles. Yao and Shun arose, and instituted the ministers; T'ang exiled his lord, King Wu killed Chow. From this time on men took advantage of strength to bully the weak, of numbers to oppress the few. Since T'ang and Wu they have all been the troublemaking sort.'

The period of advance up to Shen-nung would be appropriate to Tiller historiography,¹¹² and the ensuing decline corresponds closely to the Tiller account found in *Huai-nan-tzŭ* and in the song of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i,¹¹³ except for the intrusion of the Yellow Emperor. However, he is credited only with fighting the first battle; it is Yao and Shun who institute ministers. 'Knowing one's mother but not one's father' is a cliché which normally implies an absolutely primitive existence.¹¹⁴ The assertion that kinship remained matrilinear even as late as Shen-nung is interesting, but probably reflects only Robber Chih's own flamboyant repudiation of the patrilinear or any other kind of family ('He ignored his father and mother, elder brother and younger brother, and did not sacrifice to his ancestors').¹¹⁵ He may be adapting a verse about the age before agriculture, to which the reference to living in harmony with the animals (a theme shared with the Primitivist) also seems more appropriate.

By the end of the third century B.C. therefore the Utopia of Shen-nung was turning out to be not quite as harmless as the authors of *Shang-tzŭ* had supposed; it was exploitable by others beside the pacifistic little sect in which it originated. The *Yü-tzŭ* 鬻子, a fragmentary text closely connected with the four *Ta-cheng* 大政 and *Hsiu cheng yü* 修政語 chapters of the *Hsin-shu* 新書 of Chia Yi 賈宜 (198-165 B.C.), advises us 'to follow only the sages as far back as the Yellow Emperor and down to Shun and Yü',¹¹⁶ and a stray fragment of it¹¹⁷ says that 'the Yellow Emperor knew from the age of 10 that Shen-nung was wrong and reformed his government'. The *Ching fa* 經法 attached to *Lao-tzŭ* in a manuscript from Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆 written between 179 and 168 B.C., and believed to be the Yellow Emperor classic of the Huang-Lao school, tells how the Yellow Emperor laid down the principles of government and became the 'ancestor of the empire',¹¹⁸ but does not mention Shen-nung. The *Shih chi* starts history with the Yellow Emperor (as did one of its sources, the uncertainly dated *Shih-pen* which survives only in fragments),¹¹⁹ with a mere passing reference to 'the decline of the House of Shen-nung'. Among Western Han writings only *Huai-nan-tzŭ*, as an eclectic compilation utilizing all the dead or dying schools, is unembarrassed by this skeleton in the cupboard.

An alternative reaction to ignoring Shen-nung was to suppress the Utopia

¹¹² cf. pp. 84, 85, above.

¹¹³ cf. pp. 75, 83, above.

¹¹⁴ In the first sentence of *Shang-tzŭ*, ch. 7, it refers to the most ancient period, not the middle antiquity to which Shen-nung belongs. Cf. p. 70, above.

¹¹⁵ *Chuang-tzŭ*, HY 29/2.

¹¹⁶ *Yü-tzŭ*, *Tao-tsang* 道藏, A, 6B/7 f.

¹¹⁷ *Yü-tzŭ*, ap. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, SPTK 79/2B/3.

¹¹⁸ *Ching fa*, Peking, 1976, 45.

¹¹⁹ *Shih-pen*, TSCO 5 (but cf. its note).

but preserve Shen-nung in his role as the first farmer, as in the Confucian 'Great appendix'.¹²⁰ With the ascendancy of Confucianism after the Emperor Wu, Shen-nung like the Yellow Emperor loses his political meaning and is able to return to his rightful station. In the *Ti-wang shih-chi* of Huang-fu Mi (A.D. 215-82) he is fully rehabilitated, identified with Yen-ti, fitted into a genealogy which makes him half-brother of the Yellow Emperor, and is no longer distinguishable from other sages except by his invention of the plough.¹²¹

However, even in the Eastern Han, among the miscellanea of the *Yüeh chüeh shu*,¹²² in an episode obviously borrowed from some older source, we have the pleasure of hearing again someone who appreciates the true meaning of Shen-nung:

Yüeh chüeh shu, ch. 16, *SPTK* 108B/7. 'Formerly, when Shen-nung ruled the empire, he was concerned only to benefit it, he did not look for any recompense. He did not covet the wealth of the empire, but the whole empire in common enriched him; he did not¹²³ in spite of his wisdom and ability rank himself above other men, but the whole empire in common honoured him.

Hence it is said: "Riches and rank are gifts of the empire, they cannot be snatched from it". Now Your Majesty sees advantage in expanding his territory and is covetous of wealth, bloodies the blades of clashing weapons, makes the blood stream over strewn corpses, wishing to become famous in the world: is it not after all an error?'

7. The social background of the Tillers

Although the Tiller classic *Shen-nung* was widely read down to the end of the Western Han, the Hsü Hsing episode in *Mencius* remains our only account of the Tillers themselves:

Mencius, 3A/4. 'There was a man who studied the words of Shen-nung, Hsü Hsing, who travelled from Ch'u to T'eng. He approached the gate and informed Duke Wen "A man from far away, I have heard that your lordship is conducting benevolent government, and wish to be granted a place to live and to become your subject."

'The Duke gave him a place. He had several dozen disciples, who all wore coarse cloth and wove sandals and mats for a living.

'Ch'en Hsiang and his younger brother Hsin 辛, disciples of Ch'en Liang 良 [a Confucian, originally from Ch'u], travelled from Sung to T'eng with plough-shares on their backs.

' "We have heard", they said, "that your lordship conducts sagely government, which is to be a sage yourself. We wish to be subjects of a sage."

¹²⁰ *Yi ching*, HY 45, Hsi B/2. The appendixes to the 'Changes' are very probably part of the commentaries said in *Han shu*, ch. 88, 3597/3 f., to have been written by various Confucians soon after the rise of Han in 206 B.C. Cf. Feng (as p. 87, n. 92, above), I, 381 f. But the discovery of a manuscript of the 'Changes' including the 'Great appendix' in the Western Han tomb at Ma-wang-tui (described in *Wen-wu*, 1974, 9, p. 42) may require a new investigation of its date.

¹²¹ *Ti-wang shih-chi*, *TSCC* 3.

¹²² For this work cf. p. 84, above.

¹²³ Reading 不以 for 所以 with the quotation from it in *T'ai-p'ing yu-lan*, 78/6B/2.

'When Ch'en Hsiang saw Hsü Hsing he was delighted, abandoned all he had learned [his Confucianism], and learned from him.'

Ch'en Hsiang then visits Mencius, who debates with him about the doctrine of Hsü Hsing because he wants to win him back to Confucianism. The dialogue supplies one more item of information, that Hsü Hsing himself makes his living by farming.

It is only because Mencius could not reconcile himself to the defection of a Confucian that we know anything at all about Hsü Hsing. Otherwise, the Tillers are lost to sight among the various kinds of hermit which flourished during the Warring Kingdoms. There is no evidence that Hsü Hsing preached to the Duke himself, and in any case if the Tillers had tried to compete with the other schools as advisers of princes we would surely hear more about them. However, Hsü Hsing is not, like most recorded hermits, simply an individual withdrawing to private life. His school seems to be a community of farmers and craftsmen living the life prescribed by Shen-nung. He is building his 'Alternative Society', in the first place no doubt for the satisfaction of living in it, but also presumably in the hope that his example will spread and undermine existing institutions, until the empire becomes again a federation of little communities as it was in the time of Shen-nung. He has come from the giant state of Ch'u to the north-east, the region of high culture and small states, and has chosen to settle in T'eng, which is one of the smallest of all. Perhaps he hopes, like Po Yi and Shu Ch'i travelling to join King Wen, that the lovers of rectitude and order voluntarily co-operating in his community will spread until they take over the state, and afterwards the subjects of neighbouring states will go over to T'eng as the people of Su-sha went over to Shen-nung.

The ideal of the Tillers as we have reconstructed it seems a remarkable blend of the unworldly and the down-to-earth. Unlike the Taoist Utopia, it is a paradise which depends on hard work to keep it going, and its classic is a manual of agriculture so practical that even Legalists cannot do without it. The Tillers think in terms, not of the great centralized states of the time, but of village communities where a man's word can be trusted by his neighbours without the need of oaths or covenants, where only idle hands make mischief and disputes are better settled by local custom than by calling on the law, under leaders who work their own fields and are obeyed because everyone can see the point of their decisions. Their unworldliness lies in supposing that the empire can be a federation of such communities, in refusing to be reconciled to the trend of the times towards larger and larger political units.

When *Shang-tzū* and *Huai-nan-tzū* declare that the Way of Shen-nung is inapplicable to the present, it is on the grounds that times have changed.¹²⁴ This is a point which deserves pondering, for one might have expected that Legalists at least would dismiss it as inherently impracticable. It is commonly said that the Legalists shared Hsün-tzū's doctrine that men are wicked by nature.¹²⁵ However, the goodness, badness, or moral neutrality of human

¹²⁴ cf. pp. 70, 75, 76, above.

¹²⁵ cf. Feng, as in p. 87, n. 92, above, I, 327-30.

nature is a purely Confucian issue. The Legalists have low expectations of human behaviour, but they think in terms of changing social conditions rather than of the innate characteristics of man. They are very conscious of a difference between small communities which can be ordered by custom and the new, expanding, increasingly bureaucratized states which can be held together only by law imposed from above. According to Han Fei tzü, in the time before there was agriculture, when people lived by picking fruit and herbs, 'the population was smaller and resources more plentiful, therefore the people did not compete. This is why the people were orderly of themselves without the bestowing of rich rewards or the use of heavy punishments'.¹²⁶ With the growth of population by geometrical progression, with 5 sons and 25 grandsons being born before the father dies, population outgrew resources, competition sharpened, until now 'however many times you double rewards and multiply punishments there is no escape from disorder'. Consequently, 'that in ancient times men were more generous with their resources was not because they were more benevolent but because resources were more plentiful; that nowadays men compete and rob is not because they are more dishonest but because resources are sparser'. We have seen that in the historical scheme of *Shang-tzû* the conditions of social existence are twice transformed by increases of population, and that it treats the régime of Shen-nung as perfectly credible in the underpopulated world of middle antiquity.¹²⁷ It may be said of course that the point would be easily conceded about a time so far back in the past. But statesmen were well aware of the differences between their own kind of state and the contemporary tribal communities, martial or peaceful, with which they had to deal. The emissary of the Jung told King Mu that among his own people 'the government of the whole state is like one person ruling his own life'.¹²⁸ Elsewhere in the *Shih chi* the same phrase is used of the great enemies of the Han in the West, the Hsiung-nu 匈奴.¹²⁹ That martial peoples with a loose political organization could be highly disciplined by custom was a fact which no one could afford to ignore.

Feng Yu-lan's argument that the Tillers reflect the interests of the peasants¹³⁰ is considerably strengthened by the new information about them. Granted that Shen-nung was originally a farmer's god,¹³¹ his Utopia could have developed among peasants telling each other 'It wasn't like this in the good old days of Shen-nung'. Its striking combination of the naïve and the practical suggests, not the indifference to contemporary realities of the philosopher withdrawn from the world, but the limited horizons of peasants who see no good reason why the ruler should not work for his living as they do, and reflect that if he did he would not be grabbing a share of their crops and would be too busy to fight wars. However, the thoughts of illiterate people

¹²⁶ *Han Fei tzü*, ch. 49, *SPTK* 19/1B/2 f.

¹²⁷ cf. p. 70, above.

¹²⁸ cf. p. 72, above.

¹²⁹ *Shih chi*, ch. 110, 2900/3.

¹³⁰ cf. p. 66, above.

¹³¹ cf. p. 68, above.

can enter literature only through writers who are sure to censor them, tidy them, develop them in directions of their own. The Tillers' historical scheme and their version of the story of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i are not the creations of peasants. The writers of the *Shen-nung* classic would belong to some literate group close to, perhaps sinking into, the peasantry.

The interesting but speculative identification by Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 of Hsü Hsing with Hsü Fan 許犯, a second-generation disciple of Mo-tzŭ, raises the possibility that the Tillers might be an offshoot of the Mohists.¹³² It is interesting that the Confucian Hsün-tzŭ mentions in passing the idea that the ruler should 'do it himself' (自爲之) as 'the Way of a menial, the opinion of Mo-tzŭ'.¹³³ From the viewpoint of a Confucian gentleman the Tillers seem like the other lower-class movement, the Mohists, who are now widely recognized to have originated among the craftsmen of the cities.¹³⁴ However, the thoughts of peasants and city craftsmen would have differences as well as similarities. The Tiller philosophy as we have reconstructed it is reconcilable with the Mohist concern for thrift, utility, universal love, but in other respects looks very unlike Mohism. The Tillers want a decentralized empire of small fiefs under a sovereign who does nothing but ensure that agriculture is running properly. But the Mohists are the first theoreticians in China of the centralized state with a bureaucracy recruited on grounds of merit. Their attitude may be compared to that of the English, French, and Spanish middle classes in the fifteenth century, welcoming the security of trade and opportunities of promotion inside an expanded and unified field of action. Hsü Hsing wants permanently stabilized prices which will save the peasant from being exploited by traders¹³⁵; but the Later Mohist 'Canons' (which in spite of their abstract topics, logic, ethics, physics, are full of references to money, prices, rich merchants) affirm as a principle that prices should vary with supply and demand.¹³⁶

For a more promising lead we may look again at Po Yi and Shu Ch'i, whom we identified as heroes of the Tillers. Throughout pre-Han literature they are archetypes of the hermit who has renounced all worldly prospects rather than act against his moral principles, a sort very different from the Taoist. In the 'Finicky ideas' chapter of *Chuang-tzŭ*, which is not a Taoist but an eclectic document which classifies five one-sided views of the world, the moralistic and the Taoist hermit occupy respectively the first and the fourth places in the sequence:

Chuang-tzŭ, HY 15/1. 'To have finicky ideas and elevated conduct, to depart from the age and differ from the vulgar, to discourse loftily and criticize resentfully, concerned only to defy—such is the taste of the scholars of the mountains and valleys, the men who condemn the age, who wither away or drown themselves. . . .

¹³² *Ku shih pien*, 4/300 f.

¹³³ *Hsün-tzŭ*, HY 11/60. The opinion is found nowhere in the text of *Mo-tzŭ*.

¹³⁴ That Mo-tzŭ was a craftsman, probably a wheelwright, was first argued by Fang Shou-ch'u 方授楚, *Mo-hsueh yüan-liu* 墨學源流, Taipei, 1957 (first ed., 1937), 15-17. The evidence is assembled in my *Later Mohist logic, ethics and science*, London and Hong Kong, 1978, 6-8.

¹³⁵ cf. pp. 79, 80, above.

¹³⁶ 'Canons', B 30, 31. Cf. *Later Mohist logic* (as n. 134, above), 8, 397 f.

'To make off for the bushes and marshes, settle comfortably in the wilderness, sit there comfortably with their fishing-rods, concerned only with Doing Nothing—such is the taste of the scholars of the Yangtse and the sea, the men who shun the age, the idlers'. (In spite of the presence of the document in the book which carries his name, the obvious example would be that carefree fisherman Chuang-tzū.)

The moralistic hermits set a problem to Confucians. The Confucian school defended the aristocratic tradition of the Chou against the new bureaucratized states, the social cement of custom (*li* 禮 'rites') against the enforcement of order by law (*fa* 法), and had to decide where to draw the line in serving or refusing to serve the rulers of an age which was diverging farther and farther from the Way. Mencius, who was half-hearted about them, gives a vivid sketch of the type in his picture of Po Yi:

Mencius, 2A/9. 'Po Yi would serve no one but *his* kind of ruler, befriend no one but *his* kind of friend. He would not stand in an evil man's court, would not talk with an evil man. To stand in an evil man's court or talk with an evil man was as though he were sitting in the mud dressed in court robes with a court hat on his head. He pushed his hatred of evil so far that he thought that if he were standing with a neighbour whose hat was not straight he should leave him there and then, as though he were going to be polluted by him.'

But the hermit has one moral advantage over Confucian and Mohist teachers, that in ploughing his own fields he is demonstrably earning an honest living. It was commonly assumed that a member of the knightly class (*shih* 士) will, when out of office, be contributing to the common good by ploughing his fields, as we see, for example, from the categorizations of people from the administrator's point of view in the 'Questions' chapter of *Kuan-tzū*.¹³⁷ Whether 'ploughing' (*keng* 耕) is to be understood literally as manual labour is no doubt beside the point; the knight should at least be contributing by his supervision to the state's output of grain. The professional teacher, paid fees for inculcating doctrines of very doubtful social utility, was in a vulnerable position. *Shang-tzū*, which displays an obsession with categories of people who 'eat at others' expense' (游食), gives a prominent place among them to teachers of the Classics¹³⁸; Robber Chih derides Confucius himself for 'eating without having ploughed, being clothed without having woven'.¹³⁹ Mo-tzū met a recluse named Wu Lü 吳廬 who 'in winter made pots and in summer ploughed, and compared himself with Shun',¹⁴⁰ and when questioned about it replied 'It's duty, just duty'.¹⁴¹ Mo-tzū took this as a reproach to himself as a professional teacher, and argued in detail that the inventor of farming (who would presumably be Shen-nung, although he is never named in *Mo-tzū*) would do more good by teaching men to plough than by working in the fields himself. The dialogue is very like the one between Hsü Hsing's disciple and Mencius;

¹³⁷ *Kuan-tzū*, ch. 24, BSS 2/11/9-12. Translated by W. Allyn Rickett, *Kuan-tzū*, Hong Kong, 1965, 107-16.

¹³⁸ *Shang-tzū*, ch. 3, 18, 23: Kao, 37, 142, 171.

¹³⁹ *Chuang-tzū*, HY 29/12.

¹⁴⁰ For Shun's labours, cf. pp. 74, 75, above.

¹⁴¹ *Mo-tzū*, HY 49/40-54.

but the principle that every man should work for his living is pushed only as far as the teacher, and we do not know whether Wu Lü would have extended it to the ruler himself. The temptation to take this dangerous step would be strong since even emperors, by their ceremonial ploughing on New Year's Day, tacitly admitted that they were within the scope of the principle. It is curious to note the reaction of the Han Emperor Wen 文帝 (179-157 B.C.) to a memorial on agricultural policy by Chia Yi, which quoted the aphorism elsewhere ascribed to Shen-nung¹⁴²: 'The men of old said: "If one man does not plough someone will go hungry because of it..."'. The emperor 'was moved by Yi's words', and 'ploughed with his own hands to encourage the peasants'.¹⁴³

We tend to assume that the moralist who retires from a corrupt world is judging it by more or less Confucian standards. We have seen Ssü-ma Ch'ien making this assumption about Po Yi and Shu Ch'ü, who even in his own sources are condemning all government since the Hsia dynasty by a much more radical standard, the Way of Shen-nung. We may guess that a wide variety of independent, quirky, downright cranky ideas flourished among these men who had cut themselves off from both the advantages and the responsibilities of office. One would dearly like to know for example what was in the head of the fanatical Ch'en Chung-tzu 陳仲子, an aristocrat who vomited up his share of a goose when he learned that it was a gift to his brother, whose stipend he judged unrighteous; he wove sandals for a living and once almost died of starvation.¹⁴⁴ Did he like Hsü Hsing condemn as extortion the government revenues out of which the stipend was paid, or did he have some idiosyncratic philosophy of his own?

There is an example of the kind of thinking which may have sprung up in these circles in a group of stories about Yao, Shun, and Yü in the *Shuo-yüan* 說苑 and the *Hsin-hsi*, miscellanies of largely pre-Han material edited by Liu Hsiang.¹⁴⁵ The first *Shuo-yüan* story is a citation, and the second immediately follows a citation, from Prince Hsien 獻 of Ho-chien 河間 (died 130 B.C.), who has two books under his name in the Confucian section of the Han bibliography.¹⁴⁶ According to the first passage, in the time of Yao 'the people were induced without being rewarded, were orderly without being punished; to "see the other man's point of view (*shu* 恕)" and then teach, such was the Way of Yao'. His successor Shun stopped Yü from attacking the rebellious Yu-miao 有苗, and taught them until they voluntarily submitted; the people 'all rejected the justice (*yi* 義) of Yü and went over to Shun's Virtue (*te*)'. In the next passage Yü, having ascended the throne, weeps over a condemned man saying: 'The subjects of Yao and Shun all aimed at the aims of Yao and Shun; now that I am ruler, each of the people aims at aims of his own'. Of

¹⁴² cf. pp. 73, 74, above. A second memorial on agriculture which immediately follows Chia Yi's contains a quotation from the 'Teaching of Shen-nung' (cf. p. 74, n. 29, above). Similarly the aphorism appears without being attributed to Shen-nung in *Kuan-tzu*, ch. 78, BSS 3/91/1 f., just four lines ahead of the reference to the 'Numbers of Shen-nung' (cf. p. 79, above).

¹⁴³ *Han shu*, ch. 24A, 1128/1 f., 1130/5.

¹⁴⁴ *Mencius*, 3B/10.

¹⁴⁵ *Shuo-yüan*, SPTK 1/3B/8-4B/1, 5B/2-7; *Hsin-hsi*, SPTK 7/1A/3-1B/4.

¹⁴⁶ *Han shu*, ch. 30, 1725/9, 1726/15.

especial interest is the *Hsin-hsi* episode, found elsewhere but in shorter versions bearing only on the theme of punishment.¹⁴⁷ When Yü became emperor, Po-ch'eng Tzū-kao 伯成子高 resigned his fief to plough the fields, saying:

'Formerly when Yao ruled the empire, he passed on the empire to one outside his family, which is the utmost in desirelessness; he gave his throne to the one he chose as worthiest, which is the utmost in impartiality. Because he displayed to the empire the utmost in desirelessness and impartiality, the people were induced without being rewarded, were in awe of him without being punished. It was still so under Shun. Now you do reward and punish, but the people both desire and are greatly inclined to partiality; it is because the thought in your own breast is partial [to pass on the throne to your own son]. The people know it; from now on greed and contention will begin to arise, Virtue will decay, punishments will multiply'.

An annotator has appended two quotations at the end of this story, one from the 'Documents' to show that emperors before Yü used only 'symbolic punishments', the other from some tradition of commentary on the 'Spring and autumn annals':¹⁴⁸ 'The Annals say: "The Five Emperors did not swear oaths", because a man's word was good enough'.

These stories make four points about ideal government.

- (1) The ruler teaches but does not punish.
- (2) He persuades peacefully instead of going to war.
- (3) He passes the throne to the best man, not to his own son.
- (4) He gives his word, does not swear oaths.

All but the third are doctrines shared with the Tillers. But nothing is said about the ruler ploughing, and since the House of Shen-nung reigned for 70 generations¹⁴⁹ the Tillers can hardly have rejected the hereditary principle. (For others who criticized Yü for introducing hereditary succession, cf. *Mencius*, 9/6.)

The four points add up to a very radical programme. Not that anyone is likely to have thought them realizable in practice; their function would be to show how right the hermit has been in withdrawing from politics like Po-ch'eng Tzū-kao. Having committed himself to renouncing all prospects of worldly success, it would suit him to raise his standards for an acceptable ruler higher and higher, and scrutinize the Classics for evidence that once upon a time they were observed.

To what extent did hermits become déclassé, so that the archaizing radicalism of literate men could fuse with peasant Utopianism? Farming was a respectable occupation for a member of the knightly class, but not everyone who refused office had a farm to retire to. Ch'en Chung-tzū made shoes for a living, as did some of Hsü Hsing's disciples, and the Taoist Chuang-tzū too.¹⁵⁰ That hermits were sensitive to mockery of their shabbiness can be seen from a number of stories. 'How low you have sunk!', said the king of Wei 魏,

¹⁴⁷ *Chuang-tzū*, HY 12/33-7; *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 20/2, SPTK 20/4A, 6-4B/3.

¹⁴⁸ cf. *Ku-liang chuan* 穀梁傳, HY Duke Yin 8/6.

¹⁴⁹ cf. p. 78, above.

¹⁵⁰ *Chuang-tzū*, HY 32/23 f.

seeing Chuang-tzŭ in a patched gown and shoes tied up with string.¹⁵¹ 'It's poverty', said Chuang-tzŭ, 'It isn't sinking low. A knight being unable to put into effect the Way and the Virtue which he possesses, that's sinking low. Having tattered clothes and holes in your shoes is poverty, it isn't sinking low.' The same rejoinder is ascribed to Yüan Hsien 原憲 the disciple of Confucius.¹⁵² It would be a useful piece of repartee for the despised recluse to treasure for a suitable occasion.

Chuang-tzŭ has a Bohemian indifference to appearances, but Yüan Hsien lives in genteel indigence, a dignified figure calmly playing the zither under a leaking roof. There were other hermits who discovered a new basis for self-respect in a pride in manual labour and in the simple life uncluttered by 'commodities difficult to obtain'. In the 'Analects' an old man weeding his plot is asked by a disciple of Confucius whether he has seen the Master and replies scornfully 'You who do not toil with your four limbs and cannot tell one of the five grains from another, who is your master?'.¹⁵³ This recluse is a gentleman (for the disciple tells him he should be serving his ruler whether the Way prevails or not), but he has assumed the bluff no-nonsense manner of the common man.

Men of this sort, who have come to be proud of thinking like working men, even if they are making a virtue out of what for peasants is a necessity, manual work, absence of luxuries, simple manners, might well listen sympathetically to talk about the Golden Age of Shen-nung, and connect it with literary evidence of a simpler form of government under the most ancient sages. As for the peasants themselves, we are not so well informed. But the Chou institutions binding them to the soil had broken down, there was still much underpopulated and undeveloped land, some of it no doubt out of reach of tax collectors, and rulers welcomed immigrants who would help to expand the cultivated area. One of Mencius' arguments for benevolent government is that it strengthens the state by attracting farmers from elsewhere,¹⁵⁴ and *Shang-tzŭ*, ch. 15, has a whole programme for enticing immigrants to cultivate the underpopulated state of Ch'in. Parties moving to another state might well include both peasants with ideas of their own about a better life in new communities (almost in the spirit of the American frontier) and déclassé knights disillusioned with the politics of the age.

The account of Hsü Hsing in *Mencius* does suggest such a situation. Hsü Hsing is a farmer who travels to T'eng at the head of a party from Ch'u in the south. He is later joined by Ch'en Hsiang and his brother, who have arrived from Sung 'with ploughshares on their backs'. Both groups expected to be welcomed by the Duke of T'eng, and Hsü Hsing at least has in fact been granted an allotment. Ch'en Hsiang, who studied under a Confucian, is presumably a knight. Mencius receives him but does not meet Hsü Hsing

¹⁵¹ *Ut sup.*, 20/45-50.

¹⁵² *Ut sup.*, 28/44-9.

¹⁵³ 'Analects', 18/7.

¹⁵⁴ *Mencius*, 1A/7, 2A/5.

himself, who could well be a peasant. But there is no positive evidence for Hsü Hsing's social origins. Unfortunately for the present inquiry, he comes from the semi-barbarous country of Ch'u, so that Mencius can exclude him from civilization altogether as a 'shrike-tongued barbarian from the south who denies the Way of the former kings', a survivor of those savages whom the Duke of Chou pacified by fire and sword. If he had been a northerner we could have drawn conclusions from whether or not Mencius spoke of him in socially derogatory language. But we can say at least that the milieu described in *Mencius* is one in which the peasant and the déclassé could easily mingle and exchange ideas.

BAYSO REVISITED: SOME PRELIMINARY LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS—II

By R. J. HAYWARD

PART II

3.0. The nominal system

The description of the nominal system will be divided into three sections, the first two dealing with nouns and pronouns, and the last with categories of items which are dependent upon nouns.

3.1. The noun

3.1.1. The noun radical

For the vast majority of nouns the radical may be identified with the unit reference form; see § 3.1.2.1. The noun radical may be vowel-final or consonant-final. Although one may suspect that certain final vowels and certain final consonants were once nominal suffixes, a synchronic grammar can give no recognition to this. More than half the noun radicals collected were disyllabic in structure, and over a third were trisyllabic. Monosyllabic radicals constituted about a tenth of the corpus. Radicals having four or more syllables appear to be rare (3 per cent). Other than the general phonotactic constraints on word structure described in § 1.4 there are no obvious constraints on the structure of noun radicals. The accentual patterns of nouns have already been described in § 1.3.1.

3.1.2. Grammatical categories of the noun

3.1.2.1. Gender and number

As in certain other Cushitic languages statement of the grammar of gender and number in Bayso is somewhat complex, and at the outset it is necessary to distinguish two systems, which cut right across the categories of gender and number as they would be traditionally defined. The system here termed gender is a formal classification of nouns based on concord marking expressed in terms external to the noun itself. It contains three terms: masculine, feminine, and plural. A noun form is classified *vis-à-vis* gender in accordance with the following criteria.¹

(a)

Concord constraints expressed in the verb form when the noun functions as clause subject. Masculine nouns require 3 m.s. subject markers, feminine and plural nouns require 3 f.s. and 3 p. subject markers respectively, e.g.

m.	lúban gira	there is a lion
f.	kimbír gitta	there is a bird
p.	ilkoo giran	there is a tooth / are teeth ²

¹ The three criteria set up here are not exhaustive.

² **ilkoo** has been selected here in order to point up the relative arbitrariness of the assignment of plural gender. While many plural nouns such as **eenoo** 'milk', **soo** 'meat' have referents which are semantically 'mass' or 'non-count', it is certainly not the case that 'non-count' nouns are always assigned plural gender. Thus, **ilg** 'blood' and **ees** 'grass' are both masculine nouns. Conversely 'count' nouns such as **ilkoo** 'tooth/teeth' and **iloo** 'eye' are plural.

(b)

Concord constraints expressed in the form of the associative particle occurring with some item grammatically dependent upon the noun. Masculine nouns require **ka** as the associative particle, feminine and plural nouns require **ta** and **o** respectively, e.g.

m.	áni ka dee lúban . . .	the lion which I saw . . .
f.	áni ta dee kimbír . . .	the bird which I saw . . .
p.	áni o dee ilkoo . . .	the tooth/teeth which I saw . . .

(c)

Concord constraints expressed in the form of the demonstrative occurring with (or standing instead of) the noun. Masculine nouns require a demonstrative containing the element **-kk-**, feminine and plural nouns require demonstratives containing **-tt-** and **-ŋ-** elements respectively, e.g.

m.	hikki lúban	this lion
f.	hitti kimbír	this bird
p.	hĩni ilkoo	this tooth / these teeth

The other system which is distinguished here is termed **number**. This too involves formal marking which is expressed in a series of noun suffixes. The number system contains four terms: unit reference, multiple reference, paucal reference, and singulative reference. A noun form may be recognized as belonging to one or other of these categories by the presence/absence of specific suffixes. Notionally the unmarked unit reference form refers either to an individual member or the class of the referent. The multiple reference form (marked variously, see below) refers to a plurality of individual members or units. The marked paucal reference form refers to a small discrete number (from two to six) of individuals, while the marked singulative refers to a particular member only, e.g.

unit ref.	lúban	a lion / lion
multiple ref.	lubanjool	lions
paucal ref.	lubanjaa	a few lions / some lions
singulative ref.	lubántiti	a/the particular lion

The main reason why the systems of gender and number have to be distinguished in the above manner is that for most noun lexemes gender is not a constant property, it varies with the number category. Certain generalizations may be made about the correlation between gender and number.

(a)

All paucal reference forms are plural.

(b)

Singulative reference forms do not occur with plural gender. Otherwise singulative reference forms have the same gender (masculine or feminine) as their unit reference form.

(c)

All 'regular' multiple reference forms are masculine. (The distinction between regular and irregular multiple reference forms is described below.)

The situation is illustrated in table 1, in which eight nouns have been

selected in order to represent the full potential for variation exhibited in the gender and number systems. The nouns (which are numbered throughout for identification) are: (1) *lúban* 'lion', (2) *baal* 'feather/leaf', (3) *aar* 'ox/bull', (4) *kimbír* 'bird', (5) *nébe* 'ear', (6) *abba* 'sister', (7) *saé* 'cattle', (8) *ilkoo* 'tooth'.³

TABLE 1

Gender Number	masculine	feminine	plural
Unit ref.	(1) <i>lúban</i> (2) <i>baal</i> (3) <i>aar</i>	(4) <i>kimbír</i> (5) <i>nébe</i> (6) <i>abba</i>	(7) <i>saé</i> (8) <i>ilkoo</i>
Multiple ref.	(1) <i>lubanjool</i> (4) <i>kimbirjool</i> (7) <i>saejool</i>	(3) <i>aaraar</i> (6) <i>abbalaal</i>	(2) <i>baalallo</i> (5) <i>nebebboo</i> (8) <i>ilkool</i>
Paucal ref.			(1) <i>lubanjaa</i> (2) <i>baaljaa</i> ~ <i>baaljejaa</i> ~ <i>baalallojaa</i> (3) <i>aaraajaa</i> (4) <i>kimbirjaa</i> (5) <i>nebejaa</i> ~ <i>nebebboojaa</i> (6) <i>abbajaa</i> ~ <i>abbalaaljaa</i> (7) <i>saejaa</i> (8) <i>ilkoojaa</i>
Singulative ref.	(1) <i>lubantiti</i> (2) <i>báaltiti</i> (3) <i>áartiti</i>	(4) <i>kimbirtiti</i> (5) <i>nebeti</i> (6) <i>abbati</i>	

The remainder of this section is devoted to the consideration of the formal expression of the three marked categories of number.

3.1.2.1.1. Multiple reference forms

There are two types of multiple reference form: those which are formed regularly and those which are formed irregularly.

Three distinct morphs are found in regular multiple reference forms; -jool, -jolaal, and -l. The first two are in free variation with each other and may occur with any noun which does not have an irregular multiple reference form. -l occurs only with nouns having a radical with a final vowel. A short

³ No case has been recorded of a plural unit reference form which has a feminine multiple reference form.

radical-final vowel is lengthened when **-l** is suffixed. Thus for a noun such as **suuḵe** 'duiker' there are three possible multiple reference forms: **suuḵeel**, **suuḵejool**, and **suuḵejolaal**. My informant expressed a general preference for the first type of multiple reference form with vowel-final radicals, but allowed the others. For a noun such as **lúban** 'lion', however, there are only two possibilities: **lubanjool** and **lubanjolaal**. In all cases there is a single word accent which falls on the final syllable of the word. Virtually all regular multiple reference forms have masculine gender.

A minority of nouns have irregular multiple reference forms, and on the whole, these seem to be strictly adhered to. A variety of distinct patterns has been noted, but in each case the pattern is shared by only a very few nouns. Thus

1.

Seven multiple reference forms have been found with suffixes **-eel**, **-ool**, and **-aal**, e.g.

wórab m.	worabeel m.	he-goat
málab m.	malabeel m.	honey
çaçáw m.	çaçawool m.	scorpion
lef f.	lefaal m.	bone

2.

Reduplication of some part of the radical has been noted in five multiple reference forms, e.g.

aar m.	aaraar f.	ox/bull
ker m.	keroor m.	dog
íra m.	íraar m.	field / cultivated land
yíis m.	yíisaas m.	child
	~ yíisajool m.	
nébe f.	nebebboo p.	ear

3.

Loss of a radical-final vowel is observed in a few cases, e.g.

idaado f.	idaad m.	sheep (general)
dabaalo f.	dabaal m.	heifer
qibaare f.	qibaar m.	kid/lamb

Note also

oroono f.	orén m.	she-goat/goat (general)
------------------	----------------	-------------------------

4.

A suffix **-allo** is found in two forms, both of which have radical-final **l**.

suul m.	suulallo p.	nail/claw
baal m.	baalallo p.	feather/leaf

5.

Lengthening of a radical-final vowel is also noted in one case.

ḍimér f.	ḍimeer m.	she-ass/donkey (general)
-----------------	------------------	--------------------------

6.

A suffix **-laal** is found in two forms.

abbi m.	abbilaal f.	brother
abba f.	abbalaal f.	sister

Finally a handful of entirely idiosyncratic multiple reference forms are noted.

jaarsa m.	jaarsolee f.	old man
gilib m.	gilboo p.	knee
aayo f.	aayoos p.	mother
tumalessa m.	tumaliye m.	castrated goat
ga m.	gaadool m.	tree/wood

The last example should be compared with the regular pair **gaa f.** and **gaajool m.** 'forest'.

As can be seen from the above examples the gender of the irregular multiple reference forms is not fully predictable.

3.1.2.1.2. Paucal reference forms

Three suffixes occur: **-jaa**, **-jejaa**, and **-ejaa**. The second has been noted only with monosyllabic noun radicals having a final liquid consonant, in which cases it is in free variation with **-jaa**, e.g.

min m.	minjejaa ~ minjaa p.	house
kor m.	korjejaa ~ korjaa p.	bullock
baal m.	baaljejaa ~ baaljaa p.	feather/leaf

The form **-ejaa** is in complementary distribution with the other suffixes, being restricted to monosyllabic radicals having a final **s**, e.g.

gees m.	geesejaa p.	year
yiis m.	yiisejaa p.	child
ees m.	eesejaa p.	grass

In all other cases **-jaa** is found. As in the suffixation of **-jool**, **-jolaal**, etc., accent shifts so as to remain word-final. Although not obligatory the paucal reference form suffix usually occurs with the irregular multiple reference form where a noun has one. It never co-occurs with the regular multiple reference form, e.g.

aar m.	aaraarjaa ~ aarjaa p.	ox/bull
orono f.	orenjaa ~ oronojaa p.	she-goat/goat (general)

There is one unit reference form **goljaa** 'wart-hog' which formally resembles a paucal reference form; but this behaves regularly, having **goljaajaa** as its paucal reference form.

As previously noted, all paucal reference forms are plural.

3.1.2.1.3. Singulative reference forms

There are two suffixes in strict complementary distribution: **-ti** and **-titi**. **-titi** occurs with radicals which are consonant-final or monosyllabic and vowel-final, **-ti** occurs in all other cases, e.g.

gilib m.	gilibtiti m.	knee
iig m.	iigtiti m.	blood
gii f.	giititi f.	bone-marrow
biifaa f.	biifaati f.	ground-squirrel
sulaale m.	sulaaleeti m.	wild animal

Certain things should be noted. Firstly final short vowels are lengthened when **-ti** is suffixed. Unlike the other suffixes described in this section, singulative suffixes do not attract the accent, which, therefore, remains or becomes radical-final, but not word-final; see § 1.3.1. Some radical-final morphophonemic phenomena are noted when the singulative reference suffix occurs.

(a)

Providing the preceding vowel is not **i**, radical-final **b** and **d** undergo elision, e.g.

farátiti	cf. fárad	horse
worátiti	cf. wórab	he-goat
but gilibtiti	cf. gilib	knee

(b)

Providing the preceding vowel is not **i**, radical-final velars undergo lenition to **y**, e.g.

bóytiti	cf. bog	belly
lúytiti	cf. luk	leg
but lígtiti	cf. ilg	blood

The remaining remarks concern the use of the singulative reference form.

There is nothing corresponding to the English definite article in Bayso, nor was my informant always clear about the usage of the **-u** (**-w**) nominal suffix of Amharic. Nevertheless, Amharic forms such as **betu** 'the house' and **betoccu** 'the houses' would often, but not consistently, be translated by **mintiti** and **minjejaa** respectively, i.e. by means of singulative and paucal reference forms. It has been earlier noted that where a unit reference form has plural gender there is no corresponding singulative reference form. In cases where definiteness was indicated by use of Amharic **-u** (**-w**), as, for example, in **segaw** 'the meat', the paucal reference form **soojaa** was employed. This rather suggests that individualization or particularization is the primary function of singulative reference forms. Where attention is focused specifically on the singularity of an item in absolute numerical terms, **koo/too** 'one' is introduced, and the noun has a unit reference form, e.g.

oroono epeera	he slaughtered a goat
oroonooti epeera	he slaughtered a/the particular goat
oroono too epeera	he slaughtered one goat

There are a few cases where what is obviously a singulative reference form has taken over unit reference, e.g.

jáartiti f.	old woman, cf. multiple reference form jaartiil m.
deeléltiti f.	young woman, cf. multiple reference form deelel m.
ariliti f.	sun, cf. arrii 'day'

3.1.2.2. Case

Although the distinction is marked in some dependent categories, nouns themselves do not exhibit any formal markers correlating with subject or object function. There is one curious exception to this. Some **r**-final noun forms optionally take an **-o** suffix in subject function, e.g.

kimbíro (~ kimbír) buubatte	the bird flew
bíro (~ bir) boolo baate	a hundred dollars were lost
cf. bir bool baase	I lost a hundred dollars

Indirect object / benefactive function is indicated formally, however. With vowel-final noun forms this is generally shown by means of a **-n** suffix; where the final vowel is short it undergoes lengthening.

With consonant-final noun forms the suffix is **-un**, e.g.

Yaltatteen ka wáre segeere ibaaddooti gale
 Yaltatte-to ass. news he-had-told person he went
 the person who had told the news to Yaltatte went away
kaami heleelun sisewa
 grain woman-to I-gave
 I gave grain to the woman
Wáun galata ha leu
 God-to praise let-there-be
 praise be to God!

(The noun **waa** 'God' behaves anomalously in this respect, as the third example shows.⁴)

Instrumental function is indicated by means of an **-i** suffix with all consonant-final and vowel-final monosyllabic noun forms. With polysyllabic vowel-final forms no **-i** is apparent, e.g.

ambali felamera
 wind-with it-was-worked
 it was worked by wind
lúki hoṛose
 foot-with he-kicked
 he kicked (it) with (his) foot
húi hogogisaagitta
 thing-with you(s.)-are-covering
 you are covering (it) with a thing
 but **gáše hogogisaagitta**
 you are covering (it) with a cloak

A genitival relationship is indicated by a number of formal cues. The possessor noun is preceded by the associative particle, which in turn is preceded by the possessed noun. The associative particle agrees in gender with the possessed noun. If the possessor noun is a vowel-final form this vowel (if short) will be lengthened, while if it is a consonant-final form either an **-ee** (or occasionally **-oo**) suffix will be added to it, or the vowel in the last syllable will be lengthened, e.g.

qála ta lubaan/lubanee
 skin ass. lion-of
 the skin of a lion / lion-skin
middi ta eesee
 form ass. grass-of
 the form/appearance of grass
hunna ka ambaal/ambalee
 power ass. wind-of
 the power of the wind
iltiti ta goljaatí, cf. goljáati 'a/the (particular) wart-hog'
 eye-sg. ass. wart-hog-of
 a/the (particular) eye of a/the (particular) wart-hog

⁴ Etymologically **waa** derives from a form which had a final consonant (cf. Oromo **waakaa** 'God').

soo o keree (~ **keroo**)
 meat ass. dog-of
 flesh of a dog / a dog's meat

Some genitival constructions of this type are more or less lexically fixed expressions, e.g.

jerén ka daruur/daruuree
 spear of the sky, viz. rainbow
raa ka konoonoo
 way of the nose, viz. nostril
ga ka udulumaa
 wood of the mortar, viz. pestle

The structure of phrasal genitives is discussed in § 3.3.2(d).

Locative and other functions have been investigated only most superficially, but they appear frequently to be expressed by means of postpositional phrases. It is unclear whether some or all of these postpositions are to be regarded as suffixes. The following types have been noted.

source

haggee ko emette
 where from you(s.)-came
 where have you come from ?
ayyo ko iminte
 who from you(s.)-bought
 from whom did you buy (it) ?
min ko sári/sára baraara
 house from outside-at he-passes-the-night
 he passes the night outside the house

goal

An **-i** suffix has been noted occasionally, but only on consonant-final noun forms, e.g.

wodami korate
 mountain-at he-went-up
 he went up a mountain
min ko sári bee
 house from outside-at he-went
 he went outside the house

but **giya bee**

he went to market
kaé abaabatara
 he has returned to the village

A postposition **de** appears in goal expressions, but only following a small set of location words, e.g.

sar de šafe (in rapid pronunciation **sar de > sarre**)
 outside to he-threw
 he threw (it) outside
min óro de tabe
 house inside to he-entered
 he entered into the interior of the house

but **gaa bee**

he went to the forest

not ***gaa de bee**

Interior location

bekee ulla iró giran
 water water-pot inside it-exists
 water is in the water-pot
ibaaddo min iró tabe
 person house inside he-entered
 a person entered the house
hog iró tukuba gira
 belly inside disease it-exists
 there is a disease in the abdomen

Superior location

The -i suffix noted above for certain goal expressions occurs together with a postposition **gúti**. As suggested above, it is probable that the -i suffix indicates 'location at' rather than 'goal of', e.g.

kimbír(o) mini gúti gitta
 bird house-at top it-exists
 a bird is on top of the house
wodami gúti korate
 mountain-at top he-climbed
 he climbed up the mountain

Inferior location

nebeero táke hegeli gira
 rat bed under it-exists
 a rat is under the bed

Simulative

lúban aani iyaara
 lion like he-cries
 he cries like a lion
kimbír aani buubatta
 bird like she-flies
 she flies like a bird

Interior duration

gaa óro máre emettewa
 forest inside through she-came
 she came through the forest
kaé óro máre roore
 village inside through he-passed
 he passed through the village

Comitative

A comitative relationship is expressed by the postposition **wóta**, which also requires a further **ne** element following the final noun. **ne** and **wóta** may contract to **neeta**.

Yaltatte ne wóta (~neeta) emee
 Yaltatte with I came
 I came with Yaltatte
oori taani aa taani wóta ódo kaani ne wóta . . .
 wife our mother our with father our with
 . . . with our wives, mothers, and fathers

3.2. The pronoun

(a) personal pronouns

	subject	object	indirect object / benefactive
1 s.	áni	in	iin
2 s.	áti	ku	kuun
3 m.s.	úsu		usunun
3 f.s.	ése		eseen
1 p.	no		noon
2 p.	isin		isinun
3 p.	iso		isoon

It will be observed that the subject : object distinction is marked only in 1 s. and 2 s. personal pronouns, e.g.

ker(o) in abate
a dog bit me
unnu ku geelaata
the child likes you (s.)
no ése kansowa
we know her

(b) Reflexive and emphatic pronouns

Two invariable forms are found: **isii** the reflexive pronoun and **isi** the emphatic personal pronoun; see also § 2.1.1(c), e.g.

isi dee
he himself saw (it)
isii daate
he saw himself

(c) Interrogative pronouns

ayyo m./f., ayyos p.	who ?
me m./f., meya p.	what ?
missiki m., missiti f., missini p.	what kind ?
mississiki m., mississiti f., mississini p.	what kinds (distributive) ?
miyaa m./f./p.	how many/much ?

In none of the above forms is the subject : object distinction expressed overtly. The distinction is, however, a necessary one in transitive clauses and may be made syntactically by placing the associative particle in front of the verb when the interrogative pronoun has subject function,⁵ e.g.

ayyo lagade
whom did he kill ?
ayyo ka lagade
who killed (him) ?
missini o giran
what kind is there ?
missiki atate
what kind did he take ?
miyaa doote
how many do you want ?
miyaa ka gira
how much/many is there ?

⁵ This is clearly an 'a-copular' equative clause construction, i.e. a focusing device which front-shifts a constituent; see § 3.3.2(e).

The demonstratives, possessives, cardinal, and ordinal numbers and adjectives (see below) are all used pronominally, e.g.

hikki (ka) kaaniya

this (ass.) ours-is

this is ours

ka-gabaabbanki lakko ka-iidanyo

ass.-short-sg. neg. ass.-good-is-neg.

the short one is not good

3.3. Categories dependent upon the noun

On formal grounds two over-all groups of items are recognized. The largest group is distinguished by the presence (whether obligatory or optional) of the introductory associative particle, which links the modifying element to the noun head. There is, however, another group of items, which never require the associative particle; these are the demonstratives and cardinal numbers. They are considered first.

3.3.1. Categories without the associative particle

(a) Demonstratives

	'this'		'that'	
	subject	object	subject	object
m.	hikki	hikka		aakki
f.	hitti	hitta		aatti
p.	hiŋi	hiŋa		aani

There is another non-proximal demonstrative, **hassu** 'that', which may occur without morphological change with a noun of any gender.

— (b) Cardinal numbers

koo m./p., too f.	one	lamáatan	twenty
láma	two	sóndom	thirty
seedi ~ seed	three	afártam	forty
áfar	four	kóntom	fifty
ken	five	lóotam	sixty
le	six	todobáatan	seventy
todoba	seven	siddóotam	eighty
siddeed	eight	saagáaltam	ninety
saagaal	nine	bool	hundred
tómon	ten	kúma	thousand

For the intermediate numbers units of ten are linked to digits by means of **ko**; but **ko** does not appear when linking units of a hundred to other numbers, e.g.

tómon ko koo/too	eleven
sóndom ko ken	thirty-five
lóotam ko seedi	sixty-three
áfar boolee kóntom ko le	four hundred and fifty-six
siddeed boolee ken	eight hundred and five

Attention is drawn to two things concerning **bool** 'hundred'. When it is qualified by a number it follows its qualifier; it also takes a suffix **-ee**. In this it contrasts with the general positioning of modifiers with respect to their

heads in Bayso. Thus: **láma boolee** 'two hundred', but **kúma láma** 'two thousand'.

There is an interesting instance of subject case marking in most numbers. One may generalize by saying that an **-o** suffix occurs obligatorily with these numbers when they occur in a subject noun phrase. Only the numbers **koo/too**, **láma**, **todoba**, and **kúma** (and numbers in which these occur as final elements) do not have distinct subject case forms, e.g.

dabaaljaa kéno goeran	five heifers died
úsu ibaaddo ken lagadera	he has killed five people
hetó seedo šaantetta	three thieves were arrested

3.3.2. Categories introduced by the associative particle

The following classes of items are introduced by associative particles: ordinal numbers, personal possessives, noun possessives (i.e. nouns marked as possessors), adjectives, and relative clauses. Of these the personal possessives and adjectives sometimes also occur without the associative. In all cases the three associative particles **ka**, **ta**, and **o** agree with the gender of the head noun.

(a) Ordinal numbers

In addition to the associative particle numbers 2-10 take a suffix **-i**, which replaces any vowel found finally in a cardinal form. In higher units of 10, however, the suffix is **-oo**. Idiosyncratically, the associative particle does not have to appear with the ordinal form for 'first', e.g.

(ka) kói m. , (ta) tói f.	first
ka/ta/o lámi	second
ka/ta/o seedi	third
ka/ta/o afari	fourth
ka/ta/o kéní	fifth
ka/ta/o léi	sixth
ka/ta/o tomoni	tenth
ka/ta/o tómón kó kói/tói	eleventh
ka/ta/o lamaatanoo	twentieth
ka/ta/o sandomoo	thirtieth
ka/ta/o lootamoo	seventieth

(b) Personal possessives

A distinct subject form is found only in the first person singular.

	masculine		
1 s.	ka kee , ka kii (subj.)	ta tee , ta tii (subj.)	o tee , o tii (subj.)
2 s.	ka kaa	ta taa	o taa
3 m.s.	ka kessa	ta tessa	o tessa
3 f.s.	ka kisee	ta tisee	o tisee
1 p.	ka kaani	ta taani	o taani
2 p.	ka kisin	ta tisin	o tisin
3 p.	ka kisoo	ta tisoo	o tisoo

Examination of these forms suggest that for the purpose of gender marking the associative particle is a redundancy. This viewpoint receives support from the fact that the masculine and feminine, but not plural, associative particles are sometimes dropped, e.g.

yaydo (ta) taa	your (s.) calf
eenoo o tisin	your (p.) milk

(c) Adjectives

A morpho-syntactic class of adjectives has to be recognized in Bayso. An adjective may contain up to three distinct elements: an associative particle, an adjectival stem, and a gender suffix.

In predicative function it is usual for the associative particle to occur. An exception to this, however, is often seen in the case of colour words, e.g.

habessa ka-eeriya	a snake is long
ummát ta-meelanta	malaria is bad
félo o-aatiiyan mu	is the work difficult ?
no aalo o-e?eerna	we are very tall
wórah širindooya	the he-goat is spotted

(Note: a hyphen is placed between the associative particle and the adjectival stem; see p. 114, n. 6.)

Adjectives may appear with gender suffixes. Such suffixes exhibit gender concord with the head noun. The forms are: **-ki** m., **-ti** f., and **-ni** p. In many cases these suffixes tend to nominalize adjectives (see below, however). It is to be suspected that they originally had, and still perhaps partially retain, a function similar to the singulative reference suffix in the noun. This is indicated in a rather gross way in the English translations of the following examples.

móontiti ka-do?ankiia	the jack-ass is an old one
áti ka-čiminkiita	you (singular male addressee) are a thin person
áni lakko ta-čimintiiyo	I (female speaker) am not a thin person
isin o-laafayniitan	you (p.) are tired/weak individuals

Nominalized adjectives with gender suffixes may also appear with subject function, e.g.

gumaarati gitta	there is a white one (f.)
gumaaraki gira	there is a white one (m.)

Providing no other modifying constituent occurs the preferred order is for adjectives to precede their head nouns in attributive function, e.g.

huçari eenoo giran	there is a little milk
ka-njinki ibaaddo gira	there is a big man
gumaarati oroono gitta	there is a white she-goat
but aañi ibaaddojaa o-meelañi lagadamen	those bad men were killed
dabaaljaa o tii heelañi goeran	my red heifers have died

Perhaps the last two examples could better be translated by means of appositional phrases, i.e. as 'those men, the bad ones, were killed' and 'my heifers, the red ones, died'.

As the above examples show the associative particle may be absent in the pre-modifying attributive position. There are, however, certain adjectives in which the associative particle is invariably present. The adjectival stem **-nji-** never appears without the particle. This particular stem is idiosyncratic in another way. If it appears without the gender suffix, it denotes quantitative or numerical abundance, while if it appears with it, it denotes a dimensional magnitude, e.g.

soojaa o-njiian	the meat is plentiful
o-nji soo giran	there is plenty of meat
yaydool ka-njiia	the calves are numerous
hikki min lakko ka-njinkiiyo	this house is not big
ta-njinti oroonooti gitta	there is a small she-goat

There is another adjectival stem **-çer-** 'small' with which the masculine and feminine associative particles are always present and have the forms **ki-**, **ti-**. In plural forms the associative particle **o** occurs together with **ki-**. In this adjective the gender suffix is invariably present also, e.g.

ki-çerki m., ti-çerti f., o-ki-çerñi p.

The adjectival stem here is almost certainly cognate with the **-çar-** element in the stem **huçari** 'a little/few'. This adjective denotes quantitative/numerical paucity and may not take the gender suffixes. The parallelism with **-ñi-** is apparent. The masculine and feminine forms of the associative particles with **huçari**, although not invariably present, are also irregular, i.e. **ko-** and **to-**.⁶

Morpheme alternations are observed in some adjectival stems when gender suffixes occur. Four groups of alternations may be distinguished.

1.

Stems having a final **a** add **n** when the non-plural gender suffix occurs, e.g.

do?anki, do?anti, do?ani	cf. ka-do?a , etc. 'old'
iidanki, iidanti, iidani	cf. ka-iida , etc. 'good'

The same stem form is observed also with the suffixed copula, e.g.

hikki ka-iidanya this is good

A **n** also appears in the irregular adjective **-ñi-**, see above.

2.

The behaviour of stem-final **-ii** is variable.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) -ii may be replaced by a , e.g. | |
| gumaaraki, gumaarati, gumaarani | cf. ka-gumaarii , etc. 'white' |
| heelaki, heelati, heelani | cf. ka-heelii , etc. 'red' |
| (ii) -ii may be replaced by o , e.g. | |
| çeriidoki, çeriidoti, çeriidoñi | cf. ka-çeriidii , etc. 'green' |
| şirindoki, şirindoti, şirindoñi | cf. ka-şirindii , etc. 'spotted' |
| (iii) -ii may remain unchanged, e.g. | |
| aattiki, aattiti, aattiñi | cf. ka-atli , etc. 'strong' |
| kalaadiiki, kalaadiiti, kalaadiiñi | cf. ka-kalaadii , etc. 'striped' |

3.

A final **y** in an adjectival stem may undergo elision when the gender suffix occurs, e.g.

laafayki, laafayti, laafayni	cf. ka-laafaye , etc. 'weak'
~ laafaki, ~ laafati, ~ laafani	
biçayki, biçayti, biçayni	cf. ka-biçayi , etc. 'yellow'
~ biçaki, ~ biçati, ~ biçani	

⁶ Although associative particles are all proclitic, only in the case of adjectives are they represented as having a quasi-suffixal status, indicated in the transcription by means of a hyphen. The reason is that it is only with adjectives that any assimilation of the associative particle vowel has been observed. Thus, **ko-huçari** and **ki-çerki**, **ke-eri** ~ **ka-eri**, etc. The extent to which such assimilation takes place varies with respect to the tempo of utterance, and is more apparent with some lexical items than others.

4.

Stem-final **b** undergoes glottalization to **p** with the plural gender suffix, e.g.

usuṣṣni cf. **ka-usub**, etc. 'new'

Otherwise, consonant-final stems exhibit no alternations. Thus

eerki, eerti, eerṣi cf. **ka-eeri**, etc. 'tall/long/far'

isilki, isilṭi, isilni cf. **ka-isil**, etc. 'heavy'

ḡiminki, ḡimintṭi, ḡimini cf. **ka-ḡimin**, etc. 'thin'

Adjectival stems terminating in vowels other than **a** or **ii** exhibit no alternations, e.g.

ṭibiroki, ṭibiroṭi, ṭibiroṣi cf. **ka-ṭibiro**, etc. 'difficult'

olomooroki, olomooroti, olomooroṣi cf. **ka-olomooro**, etc. 'sweet/tasty'

muumeseki, muumeesti, muumeesṣi cf. **ka-muumees**, etc. 'round'

Adjectives sometimes occur in a reduplicated form. While certain adjectives have forms in which only part of the stem is reduplicated, others show repetition of the entire stem. Such forms appear to have either a distributive or an intensifying component of meaning, e.g.

ka-iṭiida cf. **ka-iida**, etc. 'good'

kiki-ḡerki cf. **ki-ḡerki**, etc. 'small'

ka-jinji cf. **ka-nji**, etc. 'big'

heelaheelaki cf. **ka-heelii**, etc. 'red'

gambalgambalaki cf. **ka-gambalii**, etc. 'black'

(d) Noun possessives

Simple single genitival constructions of the type **kóbo ka buṣṣaa** 'the shell of the egg' and **hasaa ta oorii** 'the wife's beads', etc. have been discussed in § 3.1.2.2. When the possessor noun phrase contains elements modifying its head noun recourse is made to another construction type, which is here termed the phrasal genitive. In this construction the possessor noun phrase is linked to the possessed noun by means of what may be considered as a pro-form **ko**, which bears one of the gender-sensitive suffixes **-kii**, **-ṭii**, or **-ṣii**. The accent falls on this suffix, e.g.

oori ta ibaaddoo kotii mége

wife ass. man-of 'her' name

the man's wife's name

doob ka ḡanṭoo kotii waagaa

medicine ass. scabies 'its' price

the price of scabies medicine

aar ka-heelii kokii maaša

bull ass. red 'its' horn

the horn of the red bull

aatti heléeltiti kotii entér

that woman-sg. 'her' husband

that woman's husband

hitti se koṣii eenoo

this cow 'its' milk

this cow's milk

min (ka) kee kokii tfa

house (ass.) my 'its' door

the door of my house

When the other modifying element which is present is a personal possessive, as in the last example given above, the *ko* may be dropped. In this case the gender-sensitive suffix is attached to the personal possessive, e.g.

ábo keekii min ka-iidanya
my father's house is good
abba taakii ul lakko ka-eerilyo
your (s.) sister's land is not far away

(e) Relative clauses

The verb in a relative clause is always preceded by an associative particle agreeing in gender with the head noun, which normally follows the relative clause, e.g.

kéle ta goote heléeltiti kamalante
yesterday ass. she-died woman-ag. she-was-buried
the woman who died yesterday was buried
o iminamen keferroo lakko likkiyan
ass. they-were-bought sandals neg. right-is
the sandals which were bought are not right
ker ta abate féro aalo duddubte
dog ass. it-bit finger greatly it-swelled
the finger which the dog bit swelled greatly
iso ka ayeeseran hi?i ta-atilta
they ass. they-speak language ass.-difficult-is
the language which they speak is difficult
entérun ta handaatta oori anjo atatta
husband-ben./dat. ass. she-obey wife praise she-receives
a woman who obeys (her) husband receives praise

Affirmative verb forms of all aspect/tense concord sets may occur in relative clauses, but simple perfect, simple imperfect, and compound imperfect forms have been recorded far more frequently than the other concord sets. Only three types of negative relatives were encountered. The simplest of these, used in a past tense relative, is an invariable form consisting of *-u* suffixed to the stem, e.g.

ka amanu ibaaddooti
the man who did not believe
ta amanu heléeltiti
the woman who did not believe
o keenu ibaaddo
people who did not bring

The second type, which is used in the imperfect aspect, again has an invariable main verb element with an *-u* or *-nu* suffix, but it is also preceded by an *an-* prefix. The associative particle precedes the auxiliary *gir-*, and the latter inflects for the full concord set, e.g.

doob antammu o giran ibaaddo
people who have not drunk the medicine
anfeu o giran bekee
water which has not boiled

The third type, which is used in the imperfect aspect, again has an invariable form for all persons and consists of **-annu** suffixed to the verb stem, e.g.

ka keenannu ibaaddooti
the man who does not bring
ta keenannu heléeltiti
the woman who does not bring
o keenannu ibaaddo
people who do not bring

In all the relative clauses considered thus far there is nothing which really corresponds to a relative pronoun. However, an examination of relative clauses based on temporal or postpositional phrases reveals a form **ko** which does seem to be a sort of general relative pro-form.⁷ See also § 3.3.2(d) and § 2.2.2.2.3, e.g.

keleeya heléeltiti ka ko goote
yesterday-it-is woman-sg. ass. pro. she-died
it was yesterday when the woman died
ka ko šiye wodaro bae
ass. pro. I-tied rope it-got-lost
the rope with which I tied it got lost
ta ko iminte bāne ilootte
ass. pro. she-bought place she-forgot
she forgot the place where she bought (it)

In addition it is noted that providing the head noun refers to a place the associative particle may optionally be replaced by **man**, a form which is neutral to gender distinctions, e.g.

man (~ ta) ko iminte bāne eneeta
the place where she bought (it) is near
man (~ o) ko iminte minjejaa ilootte
she forgot the houses where she bought (it)
man (~ ka) ko emera ka-meelanya
the road on which I came is bad

As in many other Ethiopian languages, selective focus upon clause constituents in the wider interests of emphasis within discourse involves nominalized relative clauses in constructions of the cleft or pseudo-cleft types, e.g.

neutral	ibaaddooti bulaad lagade the man killed a bushbuck
subject emphasis	ibaaddootiyya ka bulaad lagade it is the man who killed a bushbuck
object emphasis	bulaadiyya ibaaddooti ka lagade it is a bushbuck that the man killed
temporal emphasis	keleeya ibaaddooti ka ko bulaad lagade it was yesterday when the man killed the bushbuck
instrumental emphasis	jereniyya ibaaddooti ka ko bulaad lagade it was a spear with which the man killed the bushbuck

In the preceding examples the predicate complement of the equative clause construction is preposed; but this is by no means obligatory, e.g.

⁷ A parallel with 'Afar is noted here. In 'Afar pro-forms are found only with relatives based on postpositional phrases; see R. J. Hayward, 'The stative conjugation in 'Afar', *AION*, xxxviii, 1, 1978, 1-39.

ibaaddooti ka ko lagade jereniya
 what the man killed with was a spear
úsu ta lagadde eseeta
 she is the one who killed him
se ta-u?urti o eniinenna noona
 we are the ones who slaughtered the fat cow
no ka dootanna ira kaaniya
 what we want is our own land

3.4. The structure of the noun phrase

Relative to the head noun modifying elements may be classed as pre-modifying or post-modifying. Those elements which always pre-modify are demonstratives, interrogatives, and phrasal genitives. These three types do not co-occur. Those elements that always post-modify are personal possessives and numbers (both cardinal and ordinal). When these co-occur they do so in the order just given. When no other modifying element is present adjectives precede the head noun (see § 3.3.2(c)), otherwise they will follow, not only the head noun, but also any other elements that are regularly post-posed. Adjectives in phrasal genitives also follow their head noun, e.g.

híni idaaíaa seedo o-jinji emeten
 these three big sheep came
dabaalíaa o tii kéno heelani goen
 my five red heifers have died
heléeltiti ta-gabaabbanti kokii mége
 the short woman's name

The position of relative clauses is rather variable but the following tentative statement may be made. In the presence of a demonstrative or interrogative a relative clause will still precede its head, but when there are a number of modifying elements present relatives have been observed to occur as the post-modifying item, e.g.

híni heleelíaa afaro o-gabaabbanti o emeten
 those four short women who came

4.0. Vocabulary

Throughout the vocabulary list the following conventions have been employed. The gender of nouns is marked as m. (masculine), f. (feminine), and p. (plural). Only where a multiple reference form (abbreviated to m.r.f.) is irregular (see § 3.1.2.1.1) is it indicated. Each verb entry is given in the 3 m.s. simple perfect form, and its conjugation membership is indicated by a roman numeral. Adjectives are entered with the **ka-** associative particle. Since full lists of other categories, such as pronouns, numerals, etc. are to be found elsewhere in the paper they are not repeated here.

abdomen	bog m.
abscess	dúddub m.
acacia (various types)	bilínce m., obórs m.
ache (of stomach)	kantine I
add to	kibe I
adorn	esaade I
aloe	kuranna m.
always	argetto

ancestor	ababbo m.
ankle	kawee f.
anklet	sagaayo m.
anoint	šigide I
another	ka kale
answer	abaabe I
ant	tunce f.
appear	mute I
appearance (form)	middi f.
approach	enelle III
arm—general	géne f.
—lower	hísil m.
—upper	gárab m.
arrive	gee III
ask	hoosate IV
aunt—maternal	lanko f.
—paternal	anna f.
axe	kalte m.
baboon	jaldessa m.
baby	unnu m.
back	bágad m.
bad	ka-meela
balsa-like tree (used in making boats)	borboono m.
bake	dube I
banana	munze m.
bark	meeši f.
barley	haʔúr m.
bat	káro m.
battle	óla m.
be able	daandee II
be born	alate IV
be gathered together	kukuame I
be quick	saameeme I
be spread out	yaame I
bead	hasaa f.
bean	darfolle m.
beard	açaano f.
beat	boçee II
become	lee III
become accustomed to	agalsate IV
become adolescent	ķamee II
become angry	iʔoote IV
become bad	meelille III
become bitter	okokoote IV
become bold	ataate IV
become broad	bałaate IV, make broad bałaase I
become distant	eeraate IV
become drunk	setee II
become dry	angabe I
become emaciated	nugulaate IV
become evening	hemelle III
become fat	uʔuraate IV

become good
 become happy
 become heavy
 become high/raised up
 become hot
 become hungry
 become ill
 become long
 become lost
 become new
 become old
 become an outlaw
 become pregnant
 become reconciled
 become replete
 become rotten
 become sad
 become short
 become silent
 become a sorcerer
 become startled
 become strong
 become sweet
 become tall
 become thin
 become thirsty
 become tired
 become verdant
 bed—local type
 —professionally made
 bed-bug
 bee
 beer
 beg
 beget
 believe
 belly
 bend (intr.)
 bend down / become low
 big
 bile
 bird
 bite
 bitter
 black
 bleed
 blind person
 blood
 blood vessel
 blossom
 blow
 blue

hide I
 ufaysee II, geegeelaate IV
 islaate IV
 kaffeme I
 fursee II, ho?ee II, kolkolame I
 u?ee II
 hawaame I
 eeraate IV
 baē I
 usubaate IV
 jaaroomē I, do?aate IV
 šitalle III
 fāto kaatte (3 f.s. form) I
 wogare I
 barare I
 šeme I
 reesise I
 gabaabbate IV
 çaleme I
 wonolle III
 nee III
 ataate IV
 olomootē I
 eeraate IV
 çimaate IV, laale I
 subaate IV
 hare I, waate I, laafe I
 hurise I
 táke f.
 algaa f.
 tikaane m.
 zizaale m.
 sagil m.
 ebaate IV
 ummule I
 ammane I
 bog m.
 ambaye I
 husseme I
 ka-jinki ~ ka-njinki
 halçisera f.
 kimbir f.
 abate IV
 ka-okokoro
 ka-gamballi
 iige I
 kooke m.
 lig m.
 hidid m.
 daraare I
 ufuufe I
 ka-samayi

boat—Bayso type	wolaabo f.
body	maar m.
✧ boil (intr.)	fee III, (tr.) feese I
bone	lef f., (m.r.f.) lefaal m.
bone-marrow	şil f.
borrow	amaate IV
boy	abide m.
bracelet	sagaayo m.
brain	udumule m.
bread—Amharic <i>enjāra</i>	budeena m.
—Amharic <i>kitṭa</i>	babó m.
breathe	neefsate IV
break (intr.)	ebe I, (tr.) ibise I
break into pieces (food)	turşee II
✧ breakfast	ḵursil m.
breast	naas m.
brew	muulee II
bring	keene I
brother—general	abbi m., (m.r.f.) abbilaal f.
—elder	barki m.
—younger	maañi m.
build	madaare I
burn (intr.)	gubate IV, (tr.) gube I
bury	ḵamale I
bushbuck	bulaad f.
butter	súba m.
buttocks	ṭeeri m.
bull	aar m., (m.r.f.) aaraar f.
✧ bullock	kor m.
buy	imine I
calabash —general	oomme f.
—large type, for milk	báta m.
—longitudinal section	
(used for dipping and drinking)	
calf	ḵooçe f.
call	yaydo f.
camel	uume I
carry—general	gaala m.
—on back	side I
cat	taagate IV
catfish (various types)	adurree f.
catch light (intr.)	ambaza m., karkaroo m.
cattle	beebee II, (tr.) beebeese I
chair	saé p.
chameleon	arjaata m.
change (intr.)	garaṛaa f.
✧ change (tr.)	laamee II
chase away	igillise I
cheese	horooore I
chest	bé?e m.
chew	gegiyo f.
child	fooçe I
	eré m., yiis m., (m.r.f.) yiisaas m.

chin	aqaano f.
choke (intr.)	margate IV, (tr.) margise I
churn	kaše I
circumcise	hamašiise I
claw	suul m., (m.r.f.) suniallo p.
clear bush	maṭare I
climb	korate IV
clitoris	gontoro f.
cloak—Amharic buluḵo	gāše f.
close	qufe I
clot (blood/milk)	itate IV
cloth	qerkiil f.
clothing	sarsi m.
cloud	dumbo m.
coil	ṭaade I
cold (of weather)	ambál m.
collarbone	dangagallo f.
common cold	gabaayo m.
come	emete IV
cook	dubamise I, gafe I
copulate	esele I
corpse	rees m.
cough	úfi m.
cough	ufee II
count	tootee II
country	maaman m.
cover over	hogogise I
cow	se f., (m.r.f.) saé p.
crawl	gilbiise I
create	meṭṭee II
crocodile	halaace m.
cross over	duudaate IV
cry	iyee II
cultivate	ote I
cultivated land	ira m., (m.r.f.) iraar m.
curds	itattuu f.
cut	goose I
damp	ka-unjeneye
dance	madarri m.
dance	madarree II
darkness	mugudi m.
day	arrii m.
deaf person	tulle m.
deceive	sosobe I
decrease	yeraate IV
deep water	bađ f.
defecate	ododoote IV
descend	dage I
dew	abaran m.
dewlap	yembi m.
diarrhoea	erje f.
die	goe f.

difficult	ka-ñihiro, ka-atii
dig	oše I
dip	muulee II
disease	ʔukuba m.
disgust (tr.)	hifaciise I
dissolve (intr.)	muulame I
divide	kanʔee II
do	yele I, kaye I
dog	ker m., (m.r.f.) keroor m.; kér ʔaláa f. 'bitch'; yiis ka keróor m. 'puppy'
donkey	dimér f., (m.r.f.) dimeer m.; darmee f. 'heifer she-ass'; moon m. 'jack-ass'
door	gooça m., úfa m.
draw water	hamuuse ~ humuuse I
dress (of woman)	ʔamisii f., ñincinii f.
dress (refl.)	sarsate ~ sassate IV
drink	ʔame I
drink water / be watered (of cattle)	woraabe I
drive	wode I
drown	licame ~ liceme I
dry season	giilaal m.
duiker	budannee f., suuʔe f.
dumb person	duuda m.
dust	gorra m.
ear	nébe f., (m.r.f.) nebebboo p.
earlier	ʔáe
earth—land	ul m.
—soil	erre f.
eat—human	aame I
—cattle	eede I
egg	buuʔa f.
enemy	morke m.
enter	tabe I, gale I
<i>Eragrostis tef</i>	ʔaafi f.
evening	ibto m., hemeen m.
evil	ka-meela
evil eye	budá f.
eye	iloo p., il f.
eyebrow/eyelash	gumbaar m.
faeces	udú p.
fall	iiye I
fall asleep	dute I
false banana plant	werke f.
family	ibáaddo ka minée m.
far	ka-eeri
fat	ka-uʔúr
father	ódo m., ábo m.
father-in-law	aabos f.
fear	afsate IV
feather	baal m., (m.r.f.) baalallo p.
feel ashamed/shy	mullee II

fence	oot f.
fever	gúbar f.
few	ko-huqari
fiancée	te?eratero f.
field	ira m., (m.r.f.) iraar m.
fight	inse ingaame I
fill	migille III
find	hele I
finger	fer m., (m.r.f.) fererroo p.
finish	gudise I
fire	elén f.
first-born	barki m.
fish	kúlub m., (m.r.f.) kulubeel m.
flat	ke-ekkaate
flatten out (bread dough)	rigide I
flay	epee II, kaare I
flea	kanaaço f.
float	dirire I
flood	kiṭa m.
flour	ṭaamme m.
flower	daraara f.
fly	buube I
food	kaami m., ṣinkī m. 'provisions for travelling'
foot	luḳḳaa p., lúki f.
forbid	tirate IV
forest	gaa
forget	iloote IV
form	middi f.
formerly	horko
fowl	lukale m.; lukále kormáa m. 'cock'; lukále taltúu f. 'hen'
francolin	gororii f.
frog	gorro m.
fruit	il f.
future time (adverb)	horembaa
garlic	ṣunkurti ka-gumaari m.
gather together (tr.)	kukuise I, (intr.) kukuame I
get married—of man	atate IV
—of woman	keesante I
get up	kee III
girdle (worn by women)	hiitu f.
girl	abaade f.
give	sise I
give birth to	ummule I
give drink to	ṭamise I
go	seete IV, gale I
goat—she-goat / general	oroono f., (m.r.f.) orén m.
—he-goat	wórab m., (m.r.f.) worabeel m.
—heifer she-goat	roode f.
—gelded he-goat	tumalessa m., (m.r.f.) tumaliye m.
—kid	qibaare f., (m.r.f.) qibaar m.

go out	bee III
God	waa m.
* good	ka-ilda
goods	huu m. (has the semantic range of Amharic <i>əḵa</i>)
grandmother	akko f.
grass	ees m.
green	ke-qeriidii
grind	riite I
grindstone	riim m.
ground squirrel	biifaa f.
grow	jinaate IV
guest	marti m./f./p.
guinea fowl	sukkuloo f.
* hail	belelte f.
hair—general	ogorroo p.
—of head	adaar ~ adaal m., méte m.
hand	géne f.
hang	suye I
hatchet	hooke f.
head	méte m.
hear	maale I
heart	wodana f.
hearth	abari m.
heavy	ka-isil
heel	i?ʔib f.
heifer	dabaalo f., (m.r.f.) dabaal m.
help	garaare I, maaddee II
* herd cattle	foofe I
hide (tr.)	siyamise I
highland	gaaga f.
hinder	tirate IV
hippopotamus	duulo m.
hips / lumbar region	moo p.
hit	base I
hoe	hooke f.
hoe	koofe I
hold	abe I
hole	butto f.
honey	málab m., (m.r.f.) malabeel m.
horn	maafa m.
horse	fárad m., (m.r.f.) faradeel m.
house	min m.
how	missi
hump (cow)	tuurre f.
hurry	dijeree II, hordofe I
* husband	entér m.
hyena	woraba m.
insult	ingaame I
intestines	meqeer m.
iron	birata m.
island	wódam m.

jackal	hiyeyi f.
jump	firame I
keep watch	oore I
kick	hoŕose I
kidneys	kalaljaa p.
kill	lagade I
kite	q̄ila f.
knee	gilib m., (m.r.f.) gilhoo p.
knife	mašá f.
know	malabe I, kase I
kraal	awd m.
kudu	gadansa m.
lack	waate IV
lame person	wobbe m.
land	ul m.
language	hiʔi f.
larynx	kokke f.
laugh	osole I
lead	tuse I
leaf	baal m., (m.r.f.) baalallo p.
learn	tamaaree II
leather	galba f.
leave off	iise I
leg	luḵkaa p., lúki f.
lend	amaise I
leopard	keebeel m.
let go of	gafare I
level	ke-ekkaate
lie down	hudure I
lift up	keese I
light-coloured	ka-gumaarii
like	geelaate IV
lineage	haʔumultu f.
lion	lúban m.
lip (lower)	menterša f.
listen	q̄aḵase I
liver	tóro ~ tóro f.
load	qaanee II
long	ka-eeri
love	geelaate IV
louse	iggir f.
lowland	gumbi m.
lung	sómbob m.
mad person	gooša m.
maize	badala f.
make	yele I
make a hole	butto beese I
malaria	ummát f.
man—general	ibaaddo m.
—male	babbaar m.
—young man	wodalla m.
—old man	jaarsa m., (m.r.f.) jaarsolee f.

many	ka-nji
market	giya f.
marsh	çaffa m.
meal—general / mid-day	kita m.
—evening	kita ka heméen m.
—breakfast	ķursii m.
measure	ekkaase I
meat	soo p.
mead	fejii f.
meadowland	burre f.
medicine	doob m.
milk—general	eenoo p.
—fresh milk	eenó(o) miʔii p.
—curds	itattuu f.
—cheese	béʔe m.
milk	hige I
millet	bašinka m.
millet flower	furto f.
mix	lelede I
monitor (<i>Varanus</i> sp.)	margeen f.
month	diginni f.
moon	diginni f.
morning	bári m.
mortar	uduluma m.
mother	aa f., aayo f., (m.r.f.) aayoos p.
mountain	wódam m.
mourn	reesise I
mouse	nebeero m.
mouth	munje f.
move	aaʔee II
much	ka-nji
mud	gugguuba f.
mule	gange f.
nail (of finger/toe)	suul m., (m.r.f.) suulallo p.
name	mége m.
nasal haemorrhage	sonón m.
navel	ufuto f.
near	ka-eneyi
neck—front	margi f.
—back	geredde m.
new	ka-usúb
night	hemeen m.
Nile perch	doboko f.
nose	konoono m.
nostril	ráa ka konoonóo m.
now	gidda
oar	ferfera f.
obtain	hele I
oil	zeetii f.
old	ka-doʔa
onion	šunkurti m.
open	bane I

outlaw	šiftaa m.
paint	šigide I
palm (of hand)	géne talpáa f.
parch (grain)	yele I
parched grain	bipiilo m.
pass	roore I
pass day	haye I
pass evening	heme(n)yele I
pass morning	foosate IV
pass night	baree II
penis	manto m.
pepper (red)	barbare f.
person	ibaaddo m.
pestle	gá ka udulumáa m.
pick quarrel	ingaame I
pidgeon	arabe f.
pierce	eoge I
pile up	tuulee II
pit	gumbi m.
place	bápe m.
place	kaye I
plain	diida m.
plant	abbare I
play	medarree II
plough	ote I
potter	çinešša f.
pound	çançane I
pour	uube I
power	hunna m.
prepare	ekkaase I
price	waagaa m.
proverb	maamaa m.
punish	murise I
punting pole	ferfera f.
put down	kaye I
pus	méle f.
push	šafe I
python	dóbos m.
rags	hóço f.
rain	idaamo m.
rain	ubate IV
rainbow	jerén ka darúur m.
rainy season	bašessa m.
raise	keese I
rat	nebeero m.
reap	tage I
receive	atate IV
recover (from sickness)	fayyee II
red	ka-heelli
refuse	diide I
relative	falli m.
return (intr.)	abaabate IV, (tr.) abaabe I

rib	arenja f.
river	lábu f.
river-bank	lága m.
road	raa m.
roar (of lion/bull)	alaasate IV
root	hidid m.
rope	wodaro m.
round	ka-muume
round-worm	maagaa m.
rubbish	huura m.
run	tiiye I
rushes	a?ala m.
sack (made of leather)	lukaamo m.
sacrifice	jaršo ~ yaršo m.
salt	esebo f.
sand	çekale f.
sandals	keferroo p.
Satan / evil spirit	şalae m.
say	ame I
scabies	kanšo f.
scorpion	çaçaw m., (m.r.f.) çaçawool m.
see	dee III
seed	wúta m.
seize	abe I, abate IV 'seize personally'
sell	dadale I
send	fare I
separate (tr.)	şaakee II
sew	irire I
sharpen/whittle wood	kore I
sharpen (of axe/knife)	arbate IV
sheep—ewe/general	idaado f., (m.r.f.) idaad m.
—ewe	şaltu idaado f.
—ram	kórma ka idaadóo m., idáado kormáa m.
—lamb	çibaare f., (m.r.f.) çibaar m.
shell	kóbo m.
shirt	şaamisi f.
short	ka-gabaabba
shoulder	haan m.
shout	iyee II
show	tuse I
sift (grain)	harkise I
sink	licame ~ liceme I
sister—general	abba f., (m.r.f.) abbalaal f.
—elder	bakiro f.
—younger	maana f.
sit down	hamasee II
skin	galba f., çála f.
sky	daruur f.
slaughter	enee II
sleep	hudure I
small	ki-çerki

smallpox	ṣagga m.
smith	wuḵaaṣee f.
smoke	iiyi m.
snake	habessa m.
so-and-so	hebelo m./f./p.
sometimes	kooki kooki
sorcerer	wóno m.
sorcery	góyo m.
sore	meegga f.
sow	wuṭe I
speak	ayeese I
spear	jerén m.
spin	sukée II
split wood	beleese I, fifee II
spoil (intr.)	bae I
spoor	faana m.
spotted	ka-ṣirindii
spread out (tr.)	yae I
spring	fulto m.
sprout	alate IV
stand	allee II
star	baraaja m.
start out	kee III
steal	hete I
stew—Amharic wät	woṭii f.
—Amharic nefro	buuṣo m.
stick—general	dáma m.
—with crooked handle	kisaraa f.
stink ant	ganduleessa m.
stone	e?emo m.
story	maamaa m.
stranger	marti m./f./p.
striped	ka-kalaadii
strong	ka-atii
suck	iilate IV
suet	mooró m.
sun	ariiti f.
swallow	ennege I
swamp	ṣaffa m.
sweep	ṣekaare I
sweep into a heap	kukuise I
sweet	ka-ołomooro
swell	duddube I
swim	gilise ~ girise I
tail	débe f.
take	atate IV
tall	ka-eeri
tapeworm	soḵól f.
taste	ḵamasee II
tasty	ka-ołomooro
teach	tamaarise I
tell	segee II

termite	iririm f.
testicles	amburukee f.
thief	hetó m.
thigh	reera f.
thin	ka-qimin, ka-laale
thingummy—Amharic <i>enten</i>	inki, ingiidi
think	koŋŋee II
thorn	e?én f.
throat	gororo m.
throw away	šafe I
tick	šeemi m.
tie	šiiye I
tire	harise I
tired	ka-laafaye
tree	ga m., (m.r.f.) gaadool m.
today	hitaare m.
toe	fer m., (m.r.f.) fererroo p.
tomorrow	geebhari; tuuti 'day after tomorrow'
tongue	érreb m.
tooth	ilkoo p.
toothstick	fifiyo m.
tortoise	a?alaa f.
touch	dine I
uncle—maternal	awya m.
—paternal	aabo m.
undress	kaare I
uphill	gaaga f.
uproot	tage I
urinate	kaatise I
urine	kaati f.
uterus	gedeemi f.
vagina	mantiiti f.
vervet monkey	da?eer m.
village	kaé f.
vine	maraa m.
visitor	marti m./f./p.
vomit	didigise I
vulture	ala(a)tti m.
wādi	lāga m.
wait	adallaate IV
wake up	nabaade I
walk	seseete IV
want	doote I
wart-hog	goljaa m.
warrior	ka?atii m.
wash (refl.)	aale I, (tr.) aalise I
water	bekee p.
water-pot—general	uulla f.
—large	dimbito m.
way	raa m.
weak	ka-laafaye
wealth	giddi m.

week	saaminta m.
weep	oote IV
wet	ka-unjeneye
wheat	gistee f.
when	góre
where	haggee, hay
white	ka-gumaarii
why	mun
wife	oori f.
wild animal	sulaale m.
wind	ambál f.
winnow—by tossing in air	baampee II
—by blowing	fufe I
woman—general	heleel f.
—old	jaarti f.
—young (virgin)	deeléltiti f., (m.r.f.) deelel m.
wood	ga m., (m.r.f.) gaadool m.
work	félo p.
wound	meegga f.
year—general	gees m.
—this year	arka m.
—last year	gees ka roore m.
—next year	gees úma m.
yellow	ka-biçayi
yesterday	kéle; toorri 'day before yesterday'

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

A PARTHIAN SOUND-CHANGE

The existence of M Sogd. *prqyš-* 'to imprison', past stem *prkšt-*, and the meaning of the associated B Sogd. noun *prk's* 'imprisonment' were first established by Henning in 1936.¹ Later he recognized also the equivalent Parth. verb *prg'c-* 'to incarcerate'.² For the alternation between *š* and *č* he compared NP *āγōš*: Parth. *'gwc* ('side') and MP *āgustan* < **ākuštan*: Sogd. *ākōč-/ākuyd-* ('to suspend'), remarking that 'the discrepancy is found only in syllables that begin with *k-* and is therefore probably due to assimilation or dissimilation'.

The deliberately cautious wording of this important statement leaves open the direction of the change (*č* > *š* or *š* > *č*?), evidently because of the etymological obscurity of the words cited by Henning. However, the addition to their number of a single unequivocal example, the loan-word B Sogd. *'k'o* 'sky' < Skt. *ākāśa-*, provides a prima facie case in favour of the priority of the forms with *š*, at the same time indicating a Middle rather than Old Iranian date for the emergence of the variants with *č*.

For corroboration one may return to Parth. *prg'c-* and its cognates. It has recently been pointed out that the past stem of *prg'c-* is attested as *prqšt*:³ *wsn'd ky prqšt mdy'n dyw'n* 'on whose account was he imprisoned amongst the demons?' (*Mir. Man.*, III, h 82-3). Parth. *prqšt*, which unlike Sogd. *prkšt-* cannot be suspected of being an analogical formation from the present stem, ensures the existence of an OIr. p.p. **pari-kašta-*.

Corresponding to M *prqyš-/prkšt-*, but with different preverb, the C Sogd. MS C2 possesses a verb **ptqyš-* (only in the abbreviated spelling *ptqš-*), past stem *ptq(y)št-*, of which there are the following instances: ⁴ (*š*)*w xy(d p) tq(š)t-q'* *y'ry* 'that will imprison him in darkness'; *p(tq)š(t) ~* Syr. *ṭšt* 'hid herself';

ptqyšt[yt . . .] ~ Syr. *'lbbšw* 'were confined'; (*p*)*t(q)šc d'r'z xypθ rryw* 'used to keep himself shut away' ~ Gk. *ἀπέκλεισεν εαυτόν*.⁵ However, the noun corresponding to B *prk's* is not **ptq's* but *ptq's*,⁶ with a *s* as significant as it is unexpected. It is clear that *ptq's* can in no way be derived from a base with final *č*.⁷ The underlying root is almost certainly **kas-*, with OIr. **s* < IE **k̑*, whence **kāš°* with IE **-s*-suffix,⁸ Parth. *prg'c-* < **pari-kāša-* or **kāšaya-*, Sogd. *prqyš-* etc. and Chor. **prk'sy-* < **kāšaya-* or **kāšaya-*. If, as is likely,

¹ *BBB*, p. 96 on b 74. The present stem is attested also in C Sogd. (*prqyš-*, Cl. 89), the past stem in B Sogd. (*prk'yšt-*, P6.151, cf. Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 735).

² *Apud* Boyce, *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 1951, p. 913, n. 5.

³ Boyce, *A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Acta Iranica, 9a), Téhéran, Liège, 1977, 72. Professor Boyce has kindly informed me that this interpretation is due to Henning, who translated *prqšg* in an unpublished text (M 5785 i r. 9) as 'imprisoned'.

⁴ The MS C2 will be cited according to my forthcoming edition, references to the edition of O. Hansen (*BST*, II) being added wherever appropriate.

⁵ C2/51v.4-5; C2/11r.26; C2/64v.28; C2/94r.16 (= *BST*, II, 826.16).

⁶ ~ Syr. *ḥwšy* 'confinement, imprisonment', C2/94v.26 (= *BST*, II, 827.56).

⁷ One need scarcely hesitate on account of B *syrl* f. 'wheel' (on which see Benveniste, *TSP*, 205-6, and *VJ*, p. 91). This cannot be a native Sogd. reflex of **čakra-*, since it contrasts not only in its initial but also in its gender from the expected and attested B *cyr-*, M *cār-* m.; it might be of Bactrian origin, especially if Bactr. *σ* < **č* really stands for [s] (cf. Henning, *BSOAS*, XXIII, 1, 1960, 49).

⁸ A phonologically possible but morphologically less plausible alternative would be to take **kaš-* as the basic form (with **š* < IE **k̑s*), whence **kāš°* with an IE suffix containing **k̑*.

⁹ See MacKenzie, *BSOAS*, XXXIII, 3, 1970, 557.

all these present stems derive from an OIr. **kāšaya-*, it would seem perverse not to connect them with the attested Av. *kāšaya-*, the meaning of which appears to be approximately 'to grasp, hold' (~ Pahl. *gīrēd*). In view of the *s* of Sogd. *ptq's* one might also contemplate the possibility of an ultimate connexion with OInd. *kāśi-* 'clenched hand, fist, handful' or with Khot. *kaśā-* (gender and declension uncertain) 'hole, nook, inner chamber', Late Khot. *kaśājsā-* (and other spellings) 'idem', and Oss. Dig. *k'ās* 'hearth, hut', perhaps originally synonymous with *k'olā* (Iron *k'ul*) 'inner part of the house between the hearth and the back wall', cf. *k'āsibadāg* = *k'olibadāg* (Iron *k'ulybadāg*) 'stay-at-home; witch'.¹⁰

Similarly in the case of Parth. *'gwc* 'side, direction',¹¹ which Henning equated with NP *āyōš*,¹² one may extend the list of cognates to include not only forms with *š* but also forms with *s*. The chief of these cognates are as follows.¹³ With *s* (< IE **k̑*): Sogd. *kws* 'side', Arm. *koys* 'idem', Parth. *kws* and *p'dqws* 'district, region', MP *pāyggōs* 'idem'; with *št*, S-WIr. *st* (< IE **k̑t(h)* or **k̑st(h)*): NP *kušt*, Arm. *kowšt* 'belly, waist, side', MP *kustāg*, modern *koštā* 'sacred girdle', MP *kust* and *kustag*, Arm. *k'owst* 'side, direction, district', C Sogd. (from MP) *qost* 'side, party (in a disagreement)';¹⁴ with *š* (< IE **k̑s*): Khot. *k(u)vā'ysa-* 'side (of the body)',¹⁵ C Sogd. *quš-* 'idem'.¹⁶

For this last word there is attested a mixture of masculine and feminine inflexion: acc. *qušy* and obl. (*quš*)*y* (m.);¹⁷ abl. *qušy* (f.).¹⁸ The similar vacillation between m. and f. forms in the declension of Sogd. *tm-* 'hell' < **tamah-* has been ascribed to the fact that this was an OIr. neuter.¹⁹ In the case of *quš-* it is tempting to suppose that the etymon was an OIr. masculine *i*-stem, and that the irregularity results from the disappearance of this class and a consequent hesitation between the m. *a*-declension and the f. *ī*-declension.²⁰ Be that as it may, Sogd. *quš-* < **kušV-* is almost certainly to be compared with OInd. *kukṣi-* m. 'belly, abdomen, womb, cavity' and its later derivatives (Turner, *CDIAL* 3213, where one may observe *inter alia* meanings such as 'bosom, lap, side below ribs, hips, armpit'). It will not escape notice that the *š* of *quš-* is compatible both with the *c* of Kafiri Waigali *kuc* 'belly, stomach' (< **k̑s* according to Morgenstierne, *Irano-Dardica*, Wiesbaden, 1973, 339) and with the standard etymology which links *kukṣi-* with *kōśa-* 'cask, pail; storeroom, treasury', *koṣṭha-* 'intestines, abdomen; storeroom' etc., and thus ultimately with a further group of Iranian cognates: Khot. *kūsa-* 'measure for grain; drum', Sogd. *kws* 'drum', *kws'y* 'cup', Oss. Dig. *k'os*,

¹⁰ cf. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxix, 3, 1966, 528, and *KT*, vi, 44.

¹¹ Only in the phrase *hw'gwc*, 'c *hw'gwc* 'on all sides, everywhere', attested at least six times in Parthian, once also in a MP text (*Mir. Man.*, ii, 296.20). Note that the explanation of Parth. *'gwc* as a mistake for **'gwš* = *'gwc* (*Mir. Man.*, iii, 48b) is withdrawn in *BBB*, p. 106a.

¹² The assumption that NP *āyōš* 'armpit, bosom, breast, embrace, amount which can be held in an embrace, bundle' (Vullers) derives from an OIr. form with **-k-* is supported by the variant *āyōš* 'embrace, bosom, side' and by the spelling of Pahl. *'kws* 'embrace'. On the other hand, MMP *'wš* 'wš' 'by armfuls' (recognized by Sundermann, *BTT*, iv, 113b) and Shughni *miyūš*, Sarikoli *maywš*, etc. 'in an embrace, in the compass of two arms, armpit' (Morgenstierne, *EVSg*, 43b) demand an OIr. form with **-g-*. Possibly two words have fallen together in NP *āyōš*. [cf. Humbach, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, xxxiii, 1975, 51-2.]

¹³ cf. Benveniste, *TPS*, 1945, 73-4.

¹⁴ Only in *ST*, i, 66.20 (the proper Sogd. form would be a light stem **qušt-*).

¹⁵ < **kūśā-*, Bailey, *KT*, vi, 49.

¹⁶ It is not quite certain that *quš* 'side (of a ship)', *ST*, i, 79.4, is the same word.

¹⁷ *ST*, i, 78.3, and C2/51v.15 (= *BST*, ii, 886.15) respectively.

¹⁸ Cl.228 (misprinted in the text, but cf. the facsimile *apud* Hansen, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, xvii, 33-4, 1941, 361a).

¹⁹ Henning *apud* GMS, § 1168¹.

²⁰ See my forthcoming article in *BSOAS*, xlii, 2, 1979.

Iron *k'ūs* 'idem', etc.²¹ A semantic development from 'container' to 'belly' and ultimately to 'flank, side, direction, region' does not seem to present any insuperable problems.

Henning's final example of alternation between *š* and *č*, the verb 'to suspend', differs from the rest in that the form with *č* is not isolated but, on the contrary, widely attested and supported by a past stem in *-xt-*. In addition to Sogd. *ākōč-/ākuyd-* 'to suspend' one may quote the Parth. past stem *āguxt* 'suspended',²² Chor. **kucy-* 'to submerge' and **kuc* 'submersion';²³ with different preverbs, Shughni *angaxs-/angaxt* (and similar forms in related dialects) 'to get stuck (in the throat), be caught in, strike against, hang from' < **ham-kuxsa-* and Bajui *bidgaxe-/bidgixt* 'to entangle, embroil' < **pati-kuxsa-*,²⁴ with which latter the obscure Sogd. *ptkwc-/ptkwyt-* 'to hook(?)' may belong.²⁵ It hardly seems possible to separate these words from the root **kauč-* 'to bend' in MP *ngwc-* 'to bow down', Oroshori *kars-/kaxt* 'to curl up, turn', etc.;²⁶ OInd. *kuc-* 'to bend, contract' seems to have undergone a similar semantic development ('bend' > 'hook' > 'hang'?) in Oriya *ukucibā* 'to spring up, float, be suspended', *uckibā* 'to hang'.²⁷ Even if MP *āgustan* (or *āgōstan*) 'to suspend' belongs here, its *s* cannot be allowed to weigh against the evidence for original *č* in this root. Two possible explanations of the MP *st* come to mind: (i) secondary formation from a present stem **āgōz-* (< **ā-kauča(ya)-*) on the analogy of *abrāz-/abrāst* 'to raise'; (ii) *s*-extension, hence *st* < **št* < **xšt*. In any case, whatever the explanation of the MP form, Sogd. *ākōč-* etc. must be omitted from the list of examples of *č* < *š*.

The most precise formulation of Henning's observation which would be possible on the above evidence would be the statement that in Parthian (*prg'c-*, *'gwc*) and Sogdian (**k'c*) 'the sequence *kVš* sometimes develops to *kVč*'. However, it is likely that this definition of the phonetic environment in which the change occurs is too rigorous, and that one should rather state that '*š* sometimes becomes *č* in the vicinity of a velar' so as to accommodate under the same rule Parth. *cxš'byd*, M Sogd. *cxš'pt*, *cxš'pδ(δ)* < Skt. *sikṣāpada-* 'moral precept'. This extension of an established rule seems preferable to the merely *ad hoc* assumption of a dissimilation of *š*—*š* to *č*—*š*.

Henning has shown that the representation of Indian *kṣ* by *xš* is a peculiarity of Parthian, and that M Sogd. *cxš'pt*, *cxš'pδ(δ)*, which contrasts with the more 'learned' B Sogd. *škš'()**(p(w))t*, must therefore have been borrowed via Parthian.²⁸ However, it cannot be regarded as a recent, purely Manichean borrowing from the liturgical language, but must belong to the older strata of Parth. loan-words in Sogdian. This is indicated, firstly by the spelling of the end of the word; secondly by the adoption of the Sogd. form with *č* in Buddhist as well as in Manichean Turkish;²⁹ and thirdly by the occurrence of *cy(š)[]'pt* in a Sogd. fragment which appears from its writing to belong to a B text.³⁰

It is noteworthy that the only two instances of the development of *š* to *č* which have been noticed in Sogdian are in Indian loan-words, at least one of

²¹ cf. Bailey, *KT*, vi, 52, and Schwartz, *Allorientalische Forschungen*, i, 1974, 260.

²² Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 79; *AION*, Sez. Ling., vi, 1965, p. 32, n. 6.

²³ Schwartz, *ZDMG*, cxx, 2, 1970, 290; MacKenzie, *BSOAS*, xxxiv, 3, 1971, 523.

²⁴ Morgenstierne, *EVSG*, 14b, 18a.

²⁵ See MacKenzie, *SCE*, p. 35; differently Gershevitch, *IF*, lxxv, 1970, 306.

²⁶ Henning, 'Verbum', 182; Morgenstierne, *EVSG*, 42a; cf. also Emmerick, *SGS*, 17, 137.

²⁷ Turner, *CDIAL* 1725, s.v. **ukucyatē*.

²⁸ Henning, *BSOAS*, xii, 1, 1947, p. 51, n. 1.

²⁹ Clauson, *EDPT*, 412b.

³⁰ D. A. Utz, *An unpublished Sogdian version of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra in the German Turfan collection* (unpublished Harvard Ph.D. thesis), 1976, 17, Mainz 185b(1), v(?) 3.

which obtained its *č* as a result of transmission via Parthian. The same may well be true of the other. Although **g'o* 'sky' has not yet been found in Parthian, its existence may be postulated with a considerable degree of historical plausibility in view of the early influx into Parthian of numerous Indian Buddhist terms.³¹ The proposal to regard Parthian as the immediate source of Sogd. **k'o* has the advantage of making it possible to restrict the operation of the unusual sound-change discussed here to a single language.

It goes without saying that not all instances of a *č* appearing in place of an expected or attested *š*, even in the neighbourhood of a velar, can be related to those discussed above. The contrast between the *č* of Syr. *pšgryb* < Parth. **pačāyriw* 'deputy' and the *š* of Sogd. *pšyryw* 'idem', for example, clearly results from two different treatments of OIr. **sč*,³² and a similar explanation has been proposed for Parth., Pahl., and NP *naxčir*, Sogd. *naxšir* 'quarry, game, wild animal'.³³ In a case such as NP *lačča* beside *lačša* 'flame, spark'³⁴ (< *√dag-/daxš-*) the *č* is probably suffixal.

Nevertheless, it is tempting to consider the presence of a velar as relevant in the examples collected by Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, p. 150, § 47, of an occasional use of *č* in Early New Persian where Classical Persian has *š*: *gōčdān* for *gōšdān* 'fleshly' and *kāčki* (also *kāčē*) for *kāški* (etc.) 'would that...!'. Lazard cites also modern Kabuli Persian *kačkōl* for Classical *kaškōl* 'dervish's bowl'. In view of the extensive contribution of Parthian to the ENP 'dari' of Khurāsān and, consequently, to the modern dialects of Afghanistan and Central Asia which derive from it,³⁵ Lazard's material tends rather to support than to controvert the proposal that the development of *š* to *č* in the vicinity of a velar is of Parthian origin.

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

ADDENDUM

Since the publication of my review of *To acquire wisdom* by Julia Ching in *BSOAS*, XL, 2, 1977, 419–20, my attention has been drawn to the fact that the unusual number of printing errors cannot be laid at the door of the author but are, in fact, exclusively the fault of the printers. This has been acknowledged in writing by the publishers.

ROGER T. AMES

³¹ See Henning, *BSOAS*, XII, 1, 1947, 50, and 'Mitteliranisch', 94. 'Sogd. **k'o* is not a purely Buddhist term. Dr. Sundermann has kindly drawn my attention to **g'cy* in an unpublished O Sogd. text, C3 = TiiB57, 4 r4. Also to Parth. **g'o* 'sky' in the unpublished M83, ii, v 1.]

³² Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1954, 3–4, pp. 124–5 (q.v. also on Parth. *kyc* 'someone').

³³ Gershevitch, *Dr. J. M. Unvala memorial volume*, Bombay, 1964, 91–2.

³⁴ Both forms occur in the *Farhang-i Jahāngiri*. For information on this and several similar pairs of NP doublets I am indebted to Mrs. F. Salimi.

³⁵ See, most recently, G. Lazard in the 'Cambridge History of Iran', IV, 601.

OBITUARY

PAUL WITTEK

The death of Professor Paul Wittek on 13 June 1978 must have recalled to the minds of his former colleagues and students an exacting standard of scholarship uncommon in his days and ours. It may well be that his manner and method were those traditionally associated with the continental European academic world, but I venture to guess that even there they constituted something of a rarity. He was fond of invoking the tradition of continental scholarship and of stressing its absence in the Anglo-Saxon world to which he had come as a refugee in his middle years, but it must be remembered that some of his most severe criticism was directed especially at what he regarded as the slovenly and slapdash work of European Orientalists. He was not an easy man, even for his friends, but no one of us could ever have doubted that his attention and concern made for a valuable and rewarding experience.

Wittek was born on 11 January 1894 outside Vienna, the son of a headmaster in a period when the Gymnasium represented academic discipline of the highest order. In his later years he would often recall the lessons of his youth in a way which made quite clear his debt to the earliest environment. I remember well his telling me that he knew best those events of Ottoman history which he had learned as a schoolboy in the last years of the Habsburg empire. Much of that was of course nostalgia, no bad thing perhaps in a man whose approach to scholarship and to life was essentially historical. It was his experience in the first World War which led to an interest in Turkish, his study of that language at the University of Vienna, and his return to Istanbul in 1924 as a member of the German Archaeological Institute. His ten years in Turkey provided the foundation of his scholarship and teaching for the rest of his life, and I was often, in the course of our many conversations, struck by the predominantly (and peculiarly) nostalgic quality of his views on the much earlier period of Ottoman history which he had made his special field of investigation. He was able, not only in conversation but also in those extraordinary evening seminars conducted at the School, to evoke an image of society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at which one might never have guessed from the austere style of his publications.

These were comparatively few in number, but very rich indeed in substance. Of his books, *Das Fürstentum Montesche* (1934) and *The rise of the Ottoman empire* (1938) came closest to the style of his teaching and, with regard especially to the latter, he could be very amusingly indignant about the effect it had *not* had on contemporary Ottoman studies. Of his some 50 articles most were devoted to epigraphy and diplomatic, and these exhibit a quality of meticulous genius not likely to be surpassed in this or any other generation. It was in particular his work on Ottoman chancery practice, e.g. 'The Turkish documents in Hakluyt's "Voyages"' (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 1942), 'Notes sur la tughra ottomane' (*Byzantion*, 1948 and 1950), and the remarkable series 'Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden', I-VII (*WZKM*, 1957-74) which provided the material for postgraduate seminars during his tenure of the Chair of Turkish at the School (1948-61). There we learned not merely what to seek in a chancery document but also how to interpret and assess the individual and social features of what might otherwise have passed for a straightforward unidimensional historical relic. The reading of Hakluyt

was especially instructive, an exercise brought recently by one of our group to superb fruition: Susan Skilliter's study entitled *William Harborne and the trade with Turkey, 1578-1582* (OUP, 1977; reviewed in this issue). It was Wittek's insight and industry in this field which has provided a basis for most subsequent work in Muslim diplomatic, ranging from the rhetorical analysis of structural components to the deciphering of the most intricate registry sigla. But in fact it was much more than that: a sense of immediacy, even of participation in the production of chancery documents, essential to a historical understanding of medieval society. Evidence of his contribution to this subject is attested today not only in Anglo-Saxon and European but also contemporary Turkish scholarship.

My own relation with Wittek was nurtured by a shared affection for German literature. He never ceased of course, even in the most informal circumstances, to be the teacher, and I acknowledge my debt to him for an appreciation of George and Musil, whose works I began twenty years ago to read with fresh and inspired guidance. There was argument, naturally: he could not be persuaded, for example, that Kafka and Hesse deserved their international reputations, and I was, and am, inclined to suppose that his bias as a historian must somehow have prevented his recognizing that even in stylistic innovation a nucleus of tradition is preserved. That may seem unfair, but in dispute with Wittek one had to be fairly assertive. His own view of literature, as of history, was derived from a conviction that the basic criteria of taste and understanding were acquired in one's earliest years, and that the experience of age was one of recasting, not of radical discovery. There is, admittedly, something to be said for the view that there is nothing new under the sun, and his admiration for Stefan George was seldom adduced without reference to the translations from Dante. There was also a kind of mystique: as a young man, in Frankfurt I think it was, he had had an opportunity to meet George and declined, for fear of seeing destroyed his carefully conceived image of the great man. I knew when he told me the story, and know even today, what he meant: Wittek was a Romantic, not quite at ease with the society in which he was compelled to live. Born and educated in the world of central European Catholicism, his religious views were those of the medieval mystic, evident in his affection for, and sympathetic understanding of the *Şüfi* poetry preserved in Turkish and Persian. That literature seldom figured in the formal plan of his teaching, but underlay much of what he had to say about the course of Ottoman history. I think this emerges very clearly from his use of *Ahmedi's Is'ender-nâme* in the hypothesis of a *ghāzī* origin for the Ottoman state (*Rise of the Ottoman empire*, 1-15): 'the Ghāzī is the sword of God, he is the protector and the refuge of the believers. If he becomes a martyr in the ways of God, do not believe that he has died—he lives in beatitude with Allah, he has eternal life'. As a historian Wittek was closer to Dürkheim than to Marx, to Isaiah Berlin than to E. H. Carr: there was always an element of ineffability, of a quality which could be indicated but not explained, which in the end must suffice, not merely as literary motif, but as historical motive. That approach might on occasion have been exasperating, but it was never devoid of imagination and an innate sense of style which was nothing if not persuasive. Wittek could move from the most obscure detail to the grandest theory of historical development and remain convincing. I often thought, and still think, that it was as much the personality of the man as the content of his teaching that bewitched the hour. It was an experience shared by many of us and ought not to go unrecorded. He may not have known that it had been:

Ins offne fenster nickten die hollunder
Die ersten reben standen in der blucht,
Da kam mein sohn zurück vom land der wunder,
Da hat mein sohn an meiner brust geruht.

Ich liess mir allen seinen kummer beichten,
Gekränkten stolz auf seinem erden-zieln,
Ich hätte ihm so gerne meinen leichten
Und sichern frieden hier bei mir verliehn.

Doch anders fügten es der himmel sorgen
Sie nahmen nicht mein reiches lösegeld,
Er ging an einem jungen ruhmes-morgen,
Ich sah nur fern noch seinen schild im feld.

(Stefan George: *Der Einsiedel.*)

JOHN WANSBROUGH

REVIEWS

STEPHEN D. SIMMONS and EDWIN C. KINGSBURY: *Early Old Babylonian documents*. (Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts, Vol. xiv.) xi, 103 pp., 123 plates. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978. \$20, £14.40.

This volume publishes the copies of 350 early Old Babylonian texts now in the Yale (and Morgan) Babylonian Collections. The transcription and translation with discussion formed the basis of S. D. Simmons's doctoral dissertation and these were published by him in the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, xiii, 1959, 71-93, 105-19, xiv, 1960, 23-32, 49-55, 75-87; xv, 1961, 49-58, 81-3. Those included texts which were identified by prosopography, month names, and the study of similar texts in the Iraq Museum originating from Tell Harmal (ancient Šaduppūm, now north-east Baghdad) and others which bore year-formulae naming several early Old Babylonian 'petty' kings hitherto little or not known. The introduction here updates these articles, with the collaboration of Dr. E. C. Kingsbury, and is important for the study of the small city-states contemporary with Babylon, Larsa and Isin, which were locally autonomous following the end of the strong Ur III Dynasty. Dr. Simmons provides new details of the year formulae of this period as well as a comprehensive discussion of the confused evidence for the additional year names of Sumu-el (pp. 16-17). The introduction discusses the texts briefly in chronological order and provides a chart and lists of the texts by dynasties and kings (pp. 26-30).

Texts first published here include 39 dated to the First Dynasty of Babylon whose origins are still shrouded in obscurity and in which later kings traced back their ancestry to Sumu-la-el rather than to Sumu-abum, the first of the dynasty. This book does not help to solve this, but the list of personal names marked to indicate those thought to be of Amorite origin would seem to indicate that their control was only gradually acquired during the Larsa dynasty. As Professor Reiner has said, 'every piece of new evidence can be helpful in restating, if not solving, the questions relating to the early Old Babylonian period' (quoted on p. 12). 148 texts are allocated to the Larsa period by their year dates. The remaining texts, from the Isin Dynasty and the reign of Rīm-Anum, confirm that the forms and subjects conform to the types of economic and administrative texts already well known for the early second millennium B.C. Since most of the documents acquired by the Museum have no provenience other than that which can be deduced from their contents or year formulae, the author usefully tries to distinguish which originate in south, as opposed to north, Babylonia by the varied verbal forms (cf. No. 323, *inandašu*), different clauses for

renunciation of claims and from the deities involved in oath formulae.

The major groups of texts concern loans of barley and silver without or with interest at 20% or 33⅓%. The use of the term *hubullatum* shows that it cannot mean 'interest-free', as has become generally assumed (cf. p. 23, n. 4), but appears to confirm the suggestion of E. Bilgiç, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, v, 1947, 428 ff. that the interest may have been added at the time of the loan to the actual amount of the commodity loaned. To judge from the catalogue (pp. 31-44, in effect a 'hard-list') a group of 70 texts refer to deliveries and expenditure (*ba-zi*) of sesame-oil used for various ritual purposes. Purchases of real estate and legislative action concerning it, including inheritance and division of property (74 texts), and the hiring and listing of workers including *acirum*, here confirmed as 'prisoners of war' (cf. *Sallatum*, 339-40) provide evidence of a widespread social institution of these times. The copies, concordances, and indexes are exemplary. It may, however, be questioned whether the seal inscriptions (plates CXXVIII-CXXXIII) should be published independently of drawings of their related designs from impressions. It is noted that the scribe's seal occurs on 104 texts, but it is impossible to judge from inscriptions alone whether these officials used more than one seal and can be identified as acting for the *šatammu* administrative official responsible for the procedures which gave rise to these texts. Other than administrative texts, truly legislative documents (9), letters (89, 317 previously published), and a votive gift (298) are rare.

D. J. WISEMAN

WILLIAM SCOTT GREEN (ed.): *Persons and institutions in early Rabbinic Judaism*. (Brown Judaic Studies, No. 3.) xvii, 298 pp. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press for Brown University, [c1977].

These further contributions to the form criticism of Rabbinic literature provide a most welcome confirmation of my earlier remarks on the role of Jacob Neusner in the emergence of religious studies from simplistic historiography to sophisticated literary analysis (see *BSOAS*, xxxix, 2, 1976, 438-9; *BSOAS*, xli, 2, 1978, 368-9). This particular anthology, edited with a pleasantly informative introduction by W. S. Green, contains five such exercises *alla maniera di Neusner*, two of which have been previously published: Goldenberg, 'The deposition of Rabban Gamaliel II' (*JJS*, xxiii, 2, 1972); Lightstone, 'Sadoq the Yavnean'; Levine, 'Eleazar Hisma'; Goodblatt, 'The Beruriah traditions' (*JJS*, xxvi, 1-2, 1975); Schiffer, 'The Men of the Great Assembly'. Each is formulated along the lines of Zahavy's *The traditions of Eleazar ben Azariah* (also Brown

Judaic Studies: cf. second *BSOAS* ref. above) and generates some doubt as to whether genuinely historical information can be gleaned from the kind of literature preserved as Rabbinic tradition. At best, this tradition provides indirect notice, e.g. that the conflation of Beruriah traditions (Goodblatt) from second-century Palestine and fifth-century Babylonia exhibit a concern with female education, or that the *anshē ha-keneset ha-gedolah* represent a contrived link between the end of prophecy and incipient Rabbinic authority (Schiffer). Green has put it as clearly and as succinctly as possible: 'It therefore is impossible to begin research into rabbinic Judaism with the presupposition that in their present form rabbinic narratives or legal sayings accurately reflect the original concerns, much less represent the original language, of the authorities who initially told them or the figures to whom they are attributed' (p. 3).

Now, what does all this really mean? It seems to me that the obvious conclusion must be that history is literature, that the documentation of 'fact' is itself a creative process, and that we are there confronted less by eye-witness *testimonia* than by the desire to represent a logical and compelling sequence of 'events'. Not one of these studies has turned up a historical figure; each has revealed a literary *persona*, devised either to argue a polemical point or to fabricate a historical tradition. Zahavy (op. cit.) has illustrated both tendencies from the material eventually crystallized round the figure of Eleazar b. Azariah, though he did not take up in detail the imagery of priestly descent (tenth in line from Ezra, etc.) emphasized by Goldenberg (*JJS*, xxiii, 2, 1972, and in this volume pp. 9-47). That precisely is the kind of evidence which suggests the *Sitz im Leben* of such traditions, whose very artificiality may be inferred from, say, the nature of the legal *dicta* ascribed to the figure in question. For Zahavy it was the polarization of opposition to R. Aqiva, for Goldenberg the more general tension between priestly and scholarly authority: in either case we are confronted not by historical 'documentation' but rather, by literary imagery designed to further a polemical cause. This does not of course diminish the value of such source materials, but it does indicate the need to interpret them in the light of what we know of confessional polemic and its doctrinal precipitate. For the analysis of Islamic tradition I have taken up just such a position in my *Sectarian milieu* (OUP, 1978), and am delighted to acknowledge these similar efforts in a related field.

J. WANSBROUGH

JOSEPH M. BAUMGARTEN: *Studies in Qumran law*. (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, Vol. xxiv.) xiii, 209 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977. Guilders 64.

One of the major seductions of sectarian history must be the abundance of confessional insignia, ubiquitous and timeless, from which

only one or two are likely to constitute the historical circumstances of a particular schism. The accumulation of motives in the average anthology of communal apologetics is normally such as to render virtually futile any effort to recover the original cause of revolt and separation. Nowhere have these common-places been more graphically demonstrated than in the scholarly literature generated by discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In electing to reprint his collected papers (1953-76) Professor Baumgarten can be supposed to have thought that the last word has not yet been uttered. The collection is nicely distributed under the notions of methodology (pp. 3-35), relations to the Temple (pp. 39-87), calendar disputes (pp. 101-42), and legal practice (pp. 145-86: *pace* rubric 'jurisprudence'), together with some textual notes on the Hebrew version of Ben Sira (pp. 187-92). Now, appearance of the collection in the magisterial series edited by Jacob Neusner is not without a trace of irony, in the light of the latter's comments on Baumgarten's view of the Oral Law (see *Early Rabbinic Judaism*, same series, 1975, p. 92, n. 3). One is none the less pleased to re-read these studies, and most especially the two juxtaposed in pp. 39-74, where the evidence for separation of Qumran/Essene from Jerusalem is interpreted first in terms of a dispute about Levitical purity, second in terms of calendar disagreement. The two views are of course not mutually exclusive, and might either have coexisted or exhibit a change of position with the passage of time (cf. refs. to Cross, p. 72, nn. 67-8), the latter representing an apparent historical fact that ought not to be overlooked, but unfortunately often is in the analysis of schismatic movement, namely, that separation takes time and that its literary justification takes even more time (see K. Müller, *apud* J. Schreiner, *Einführung in die Methoden der biblischen Exegese*, Würzburg, 1971, 261-302).

One conspicuous absence is certainly to be lamented here: since Baumgarten's review of Rabin's *Qumran studies* (pp. 3-12) we have L. Schiffman's *The halakhah at Qumran*, Leiden, 1975 (the Neusner series; see *BSOAS*, xl, 1, 1977, 137-9), on which the author's views would be welcome. My guess would be that he rejects the position evolved by Gunzberg-Rabin-Schiffman and opts for the identification of Qumran and Essene. Now, an important point made by Schiffman (op. cit., 135) is the distinction between substance of Qumranic *halakhah* and its method of derivation. The former is admittedly Tannaitic, the latter exclusively exegetical. Though I have some doubts about the real distinction between exegetical derivation and a second source (e.g. Oral Law, *paradosis*, *traditio*, *sunna*, etc.), the halakhic bias of exegetical terminology can hardly be ignored (considered in some detail for Islam in my *Sectarian milieu*, OUP, 1978). The crux of dispute is always the alleged source of prescription, rarely its substance. That exegetical terminology was devised precisely to demonstrate the scriptural origin of *halakhah* has, I think, been shown by Schiffman for CDC, by Wieder for Karaism, by myself and Burton

for Sunni Islam. In none of these instances, however, is the actual existence of a 'second source' precluded, though it is a considerable step from that hypothesis to explicit acknowledgement of an 'oral law', etc. In that respect I must confess to being less impressed by Baumgarten's second essay (pp. 13-35) than by Neusner's argument (op. cit., ch. iv-v) that pre-Rabbinic evidence for acknowledgement [sic] of Oral Torah is anything but persuasive. What perplexes in all of this is that it is more often the derivation than the substance of *halakha* that distinguishes the historical schism. The likelihood of a straightforward solution to the problem of sectarian history is very slim indeed.

J. WANSBROUGH

S. Lowy: *The principles of Samaritan Bible exegesis*. (Studia Post-Biblica, Vol. xxviii.) xiv, 544 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977. Guilders 148.

This remarkable work, an uneasy combination of learning and polemic, requires (and deserves) a careful commentary, which it will undoubtedly receive when the sources upon which it is based are more accessible. Here the presentation is in three parts: I, 'Samaritan studies and exegesis'; II, 'The theories underlying Samaritan exegesis'; III, 'Samaritan hermeneutics'. By means of a good deal of cross-reference and not a little repetition the author has marshalled his evidence to support three principal arguments: that Samaritan 'tradition' is monolithic, immutable, and more or less isolated (pp. 1-74), that the foregoing can be explained by recourse to something called 'the Samaritan mind' (pp. 75-299), and that of a formal Samaritan 'hermeneutics' (viz. *middot*) there is no trace, at least in the extant literature (pp. 300-499). Though there is an abundance of cogent argument throughout the study, it is only in part III that the author, in my opinion at least, comes near to proving his point. But there, too, he is reluctant to admit the impingement of external influence, despite the quite obvious use by Samaritan writers of Islamic exegetical terminology (about the meaning of which there could surely have been no doubt), of Karaite polemical motifs, and of Rabbinic devices.

Now, it seems to me quite extraordinary that a sectarian 'tradition' could persist for over 2,000 years and look at the end of that time more or less as it did at the beginning. Such would require a very small community living in virtual confessional isolation, which, however valid for the present (c. 400 in Nablus and Holon), could hardly have been so for, say, the fourteenth century, when there were besides Shechem diasporan communities in Damascus and Cairo. But even if such were the case, it can certainly not be demonstrated from extant Samaritan sources, which, save three (Pentateuch, Targum, Marqah), are all from the tenth century or later and almost all in Arabic. To extract from these an argument in favour of 'unchanging tradition' is historically impossible. The author is not even prepared to admit

the impingement upon that tradition of the occasional Samaritan 'heterodoxy', as though the formulation of 'orthodoxy' reflected some force other than the expulsion of heretics. Although it may well be that Samaritan sources themselves are reticent and/or confused about 'Dositheans', the recent exposition of Isser can certainly not be ignored (Leiden, 1976; see *BSOAS*, xl, 3, 1977, 604-5), and perhaps especially with regard to the reliability of Marqah recensions. That material, like the contents of the *Asaf* (see Ben-Hayyim, *Tarbis*, xiv-xv, 1943-4), is timeless and of little value in dating the antiquity of 'tradition'.

It is the ancient methodological dilemma: polygenesis or diffusion, which seems to trouble the author. In long and sustained polemic, directed first against Geiger and then Vermes, he denies not merely the existence of a common pool of exegetical traditions, but also that demonstrated 'parallels' could ever indicate more than coincidence (i.e. polygenesis). His argument is, of course, that so long as the base text is uniform this also will be its exegesis. While there is admittedly an element of common sense in that proposition, it does not logically (!) preclude or even diminish the likelihood of extensive borrowing. That possibility is not entirely ignored here (pp. 360 ff.), but neutralized by the statement 'that with the wholesale adaptation of foreign terminology, the content of their own literature hardly changed' (pp. 601-2). Simply from a linguistic point of view I find that an extraordinary conclusion, but am none the less prepared to concede, on the basis of Lowy's analysis, that Samaritan scriptural exegesis is not Rabbinic nor Karaite nor Christian nor Islamic. The extent to which that fact may be ascribed to the persistence of a specifically Samaritan 'tradition' is not clear, at least to me: after all, 'No generation was left without the necessary resources for deriving from the Torah the guidance and the practices which were appropriate to the age' (Saadya paraphrased *apud* J. Goldin, 'Of change and adaptation in Judaism', *History of Religions*, iv, 2, 1965, 294).

J. WANSBROUGH

WERNER STROTHMANN (ed.): *Das Sakrament der Myron-Weihe in der Schrift De ecclesiastica hierarchia des Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita in syrischen Übersetzungen und Kommentaren*. (Göttinger Orientforschungen. I. Reihe: Syriaca, Bd. 15, Teil 1.) xv, 207 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977. DM 38.

This volume, evidently to be accompanied by a companion (presumably with introduction and translation) gives the two Syriac translations (by Sergios and by Phokas) of Ps. Dionysius' 'Ecclesiastical hierarchy', book iv, on the myron, followed by the scholia on this by Theodoros bar Zarudī, Iwannis of Dare, John the Scholastic, and Dionysius bar Salūci (the

order is puzzling). The introduction confines itself to an enumeration of the manuscripts upon which the edition is based. Nearly half the volume is devoted to indexes: Greek-Syriac, Greek loan-words, proper names, and a Syriac word list.

The book is of twofold interest, liturgical and philological, and it is worth drawing out some aspects of the latter here. A large number of Greek patristic writers survive in two Syriac translations, one a fifth- or sixth-century rendering, the other (sometimes a revision of the earlier) almost invariably belonging to the seventh century, when Syriac translators had achieved the ultimate degree of sophistication in the technique of literal translation. The Ps. Dionysian corpus is no exception in this respect: the earlier Syriac translation, by the famous Sergios of Resh'aina, must have been made within decades of the composition of these notorious works (he is *not*, however, likely to be their author, as some have claimed), while Phokas's essentially new translation probably belongs to the late seventh century. The Ps. Areopagite writings, with their convoluted style and vocabulary, offer a real challenge to the skill and ingenuity of the Syriac translators, and now, with the two versions here conveniently laid out on facing pages, one can admire how Sergios and Phokas, each in turn, achieved a veritable *tour de force* of the translator's art. The Greek-Syriac index, likewise, will be of immense value to anyone interested in the history of Syriac translation technique, and here I would just point to a single feature that this index brings to light: that the Greek *ousia* should be translated by Sergios as *kyana* 'nature', but by Phokas as '*usia*' is a matter of no mean significance in the context of the Christological controversies of the time.

Sergios' translation survives in only one manuscript, while that of Phokas in at least nine, of which Strothmann uses five, although, since their text is said to agree (apart from obvious scribal errors), no apparatus at all is printed. Perhaps the promised second volume will provide reasons for Strothmann's particular selection of manuscripts (not at once obvious), and discuss their relationship; it is surprising, for example, that Damascus Patr. 123 is not included as a witness for Phokas' translation, even though this has been used for the scholia of Theodoros. Similarly, with the scholia of Iwannis, two manuscripts are listed, but Vat. syr. 100, 581, and Bodley Or. 264 are passed over in silence. It is intriguing that the precise figure '884' is given for the much disputed date of Dam. Patr. 123 (12/23 in the Arabic catalogue by P. Behnam), and one wonders what is the basis for this statement; on a recent visit to Damascus I took the opportunity to examine the faded colophon on p. 296 and discovered that an exact date is in fact given, 20 Iyyar (not 10), A.G. 1188 or 1198 = May A.D. 877 or 887: in view of the mention of the patriarch Theodosius (887-96), the latter must be the correct reading.

Finally it should be noted that the references in the Greek-Syriac index are not complete: thus, under *myron* there is only a single entry, '*Sg msh qūdā*', Ph *myron*'. Sergios in fact also

uses *mēsha da-mšihuta* (e.g. III. 4), which is the term normally used for the myrron in the oldest Syriac liturgical texts.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

'ABD AR-RAHMAN M. 'ABD AL-TAWAB. *Stèles islamiques de la nécropole d'Assouan. Révision et annotation de Solange Ory. I (Nos. 1-150)*. (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques, Tom. VII/1.) x, 200 pp., 150 plates. [Le Caire]: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1977.

The book under review is the first of 10 volumes projected by 'Abd ar-Rahman M. 'Abd al-Tawab, the whole corpus of which will bring within reach of the scholar information on the approximately 1,600 Arabic inscriptions of the Aswan cemetery. The stelae have now been removed to the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo and were unearthed in Aswan between the years 1960 and 1964.

This first volume contains 150 inscriptions dating from 102/721 to 267/870 and the compiler wisely chooses to present his material in chronological order. The details provided of each stele are as follows: name of deceased and date of death; description and type of stone used (invariably sandstone); number of lines, description of the script employed, including the proportions of the letters; a comment on the workmanship. The dimensions of the stele are given, also those of the surface of the writing and the height of the *alif*. This is followed by the text in Arabic script, notes, and references. After the inscriptions proper, we find a bibliography of sources used, a chronological list of the inscriptions, a list of numbers of the stelae in the Aswan Museum and the corresponding number in this publication, an index of personal names, an index of technical terms referring to the deceased (e.g. *umm walad*, *jāriya*, *mawla*, etc.) and trade names, an index of Qur'anic quotations, and finally a table of contents. Accompanying each page of description of the stele is a full plate photograph (27.5 × 22 cm) of the stone.

Although of course we have no idea of what the compiler of this corpus has in mind in future volumes, the present reviewer must consider faults of omission, as well as those of commission. The former can perhaps be taken in detail first. The preface is a very disappointing 5 pp. It is nothing more than a brief mention of those involved in work at the site at Aswan and of when the work took place. There is nowhere any attempt to describe the site, nor indeed to illustrate it by photographs or plans. What does the discovery of such large numbers of dated tombs in Aswan tell us of its history? What do we know of the history of the area anyway? What other archaeological finds have been made on the site where these stelae were excavated? Do the names of the deceased tell us anything? Is it of any significance that a very high percentage of them are women—even more, one might hazard a guess,

than usual in Arabic epigraphic hoards? Do the many descriptions like *umm walad*, *jariya*, and *maula*, all strongly indicating a slave class, tell us anything of the social history of the area? The same question can be posed for the trade names. If the replies to all the questions above are negative—which would seem to be extremely unlikely—then the compiler should say so. As it is, one is left to wonder if he has pondered such questions at all and what exactly his aim in publishing the inscriptions is. One would have thought that another important omission is that he fails to translate the text, or to discuss stylistic parallels of the scripts.

To turn in detail to criticisms of the material presented, these are fewer, though no less important. A common habit of the compiler which will infuriate the reader is that of giving the finally accepted name of the deceased in transliteration at the head of the entry, a totally different reading in the proposed Arabic text, and then a note providing the correct form of the name once again! P. 2, No. 1, provides an example which represents many others throughout the book. Here the compiler informs us that the stele marks the grave of Fāṭma ibnat al-Ḥasan b. *Bahjal* or *Nahjal* (the reviewer's italics). In the Arabic text we find *Fahd* in the place of the above italicized words and a note on this proceeds to explain why the reading must be *Bahjal* or *Nahjal*, both attested in the *Lisān*. The excellent photograph (plate 1) leaves us in no doubt that the reading must be *Bahjal* or *Nahjal*! One must doubt too that the usual '... écriture anguleuse de facture archaïque' is adequate for such early and palaeographically important inscriptions. What is the significance, if any, of the one and only mention of 'confique' on p. 39, No. 38? Finally—and this is a criticism perhaps to be levelled at Mlle. Ory—the notes often appear not only superfluous, but also on occasions somewhat naïve. The Arabic epigrapher must, it is true, live with works like al-Dhahabī's *Mushkabih* close at hand, but he should beware of wearing out his copy. Is it really necessary to include a note that such names as Ayman (p. 10), Yūnus (p. 49), 'Abd al-Khāliq (p. 50), al-Naṣrī (p. 84), Khalaf and Sa'd (p. 105), Mutahhar (p. 116), Jābir (p. 129), al-Zuhri (p. 135), and Jarir (p. 147) are attested in such works? One or two other points may be raised.

p. 48: why Zabyat for Zabya?

p. 107: line 3 does not read *bi-l-nabi*. Why even the suggestion of such a reading?

p. 118: in the note on *khalawna* (l. 6), one can scarcely say '... on devrait avoir *khalat*', for the fem. plur. is not uncommon in dates in Arabic, particularly, one might add, in Arabic epigraphy.

p. 138: the Abī does exist at the end of l. 2. Why is it thus confined to a note?

p. 139: the text has Nu'ayma, not Nu'aym.

p. 151: the note is here correct and the text incorrect.

To sum up, then. The historian will find nothing to satisfy him here. Arabic epigraphers and palaeographers will find the superb photographs of the inscriptions, taken by M. Jean-François Gout, very much to their

taste! The Institut Français is to be congratulated on the fine form of this publication. It more than matches the scholarship which has gone into it.

G. REX SMITH

DAVID H. BANETH (ed.): *Kitāb al-radd wa-l-dalīl fī 'l-dīn al-dhalīl (al-Kitāb al-Khazari)*, by Judah ha-Levi. Prepared for publication by Haggai Ben-Shammai. xi, 243, 17 pp., 8 plates. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1977. \$30.

This new edition of a celebrated work comes about as close as possible to technical perfection. Originally the product of D. H. Baneth's expertise and brought to final form by J. Blau and H. Ben-Shammai, the critical standard achieved here is hardly surprising. The text itself is contained in pp. 3-230, accompanied by an at times austere critical apparatus (mostly references and reconstruction, little commentary). The rest of the volume consists of eight plates, introductions (Hebrew and English), indexes (of scriptural and other literary references, as well as of rare Arabic words), a collation (very revealing) of Hirschfeld's printed text with the Bodleian manuscript, and a page of additions and corrections. In view of the editorial method here employed it is rather wonderful that the last-mentioned item did not extend to more than a single page. The technique so meticulously applied includes not merely the usual signs for marking Arabic orthography in Hebrew script, but also all manner of diacritical devices appropriate to Classical Arabic (e.g. *hamza*, *shadda*, *tanwin*). Such rigorism can seldom be sustained for long, and while I have found *hamza* to be consistently set, and *shadda* mostly there when required, the appearance of final *tanwin* (*alif*) is quite erratic. The purpose of such devices can only be clarification of possible ambiguities, and from that point of view I should be inclined to regard the *hamza* as a dispensable refinement. The excellence of Judah ha-Levi's Arabic can be adequately assessed from syntax and lexicon alone. With respect to the latter, the list of rare Arabic words (p. 242) might more usefully have been replaced by an index of technical terms (theological, philosophical, grammatical). The *Kuzari* is not exactly easy reading, and a detailed table of contents might also have been useful. One might even go so far as to propose a fresh translation, though it could be that this treatise is of little interest to scholars without Arabic or Hebrew or both. On the other hand, it illustrates an important literary type (*dialogue devant le prince*) in the history of inter-confessional polemic, and contributes more than just incidentally to the history of medieval *Kalām*. It has of course been so employed by Wolfson in his monumental study (Harvard, 1976: see *BSOAS*, xli, 1, 1978, 156-7). The decision of the present editors to retain the Hirschfeld pagination is thus especially welcome, since it will

undoubtedly be some time before this much superior edition becomes the standard reference. It is only then that such items as the identification *mashkā'un*: Peripatetics (Wolfson, op. cit., p. 2, n. 17: ed. Hirschfeld, 328: ed. Baneth, 212) will be found superfluous. The new edition is by design eclectic, and may thus be thought to exhibit the soundest readings at any point, supported of course by a now long and respectable history of textual criticism, acknowledged throughout. It would indeed be ungrateful to expect more.

J. WANSBROUGH

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM: *Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam: a reconsideration of the sources, with special reference to the divine saying or ḥadīth qudsī*. (Religion and Society, 7.) xvii, 266 pp. The Hague, Paris: Mouton, [1977]. DM 68.

The argument of this well-written and attractively produced study is twofold: that the *ḥadīth qudsī* is an earlier form than its normal literary precipitate might suggest, and that a representative collection shows it to be a product of popular piety. The work is conveniently divided into three parts: on Islamic concepts of revelation (pp. 9-48), on the *ḥadīth qudsī* as an object of historical and literary investigation (pp. 51-110), and 90 amply annotated specimens of *h. q.* (pp. 113-224), with three useful appendixes of collections, *isnāds*, and first lines. The author's approach is vaguely phenomenological but not insistently so: the possibility of local Muslim disagreement on basic theological issues is acknowledged. That the *h. q.* is not, or not merely, a late Ṣūfī efflorescence is nicely demonstrated, though I am not quite convinced that appearance of the form in canonical *ḥadīth* collections can be interpreted as documentary proof of its existence as early as the first century of the Islamic era. I have not yet been persuaded to accept the thesis of Abbott and Sezgin (even here, p. 4, characterized as 'occasionally overly sanguine') that we have in the *ḥadīth* literature authentic first-century materials. However that may be, such pious exhortation as we find in these specimens of *h. q.* is more or less timeless and hence susceptible of location almost anywhere along the historical spectrum. The *isnāds* are as problematic as ever, and literary analysis, though productive of some valuable formulaic principles (unfortunately not much exploited by the author: cf. pp. 143-4 to no. 19 and pp. 203-4 to no. 78), is chronologically indifferent.

Rather more important in my opinion is the author's discussion of revelation as a source of authority in the early Muslim community. That revelation was not coextensive with scripture was always acknowledged in the community, at least as far back as the records take us, but in the light of most modern interpretations of Islamic history (both Muslim and Orientalist) it is useful to be reminded of that view. I attempted, in my *Qurānic studies*

(OUP, 1977) to deal with the concept of revelation in terms of 'prophetical logia', and have, in my *Sectarian milieu* (OUP, 1978), advanced analysis a little further in terms of a dichotomy between 'liturgical formulae' and 'apostolic authority'. Despite a pretty conventional notion of just how the Muslim scriptural canon came into being, the author would, I am sure, assent (p. 56) to liturgical use as an operative factor in distinguishing *qur'ān* from other repositories of revelation. Incidentally (p. 76, n. 46) the application of *kalām allāh* is not quite so restricted as he seems to believe (cf. *QS*, 51-2, with reference to *Iqṭān*, I, 127-8, and Peters, *God's created speech*, 330 *et passim*; *BSOAS*, XL, 3, 1977, 613-15). The most important aspect of this study is emphasis upon the 'prophetic-revelatory event' as a generously inclusive concept of authority in the early community. I am myself inclined to qualify that concept as being of literary rather than empirical origin, but that is another matter, as of course, is the question of priority in the juxtaposition of scriptural and apostolic authority. In any case the lines of demarcation were hardly distinct prior to the process of canonization, a dual process which comprehended the *ḥadīth* corpus as well as the text of scripture. Whether canonical collections ever meant in practice that revelation had ceased (p. 38) is a question worth posing, but I doubt if a solution will be forthcoming from the study of Muslim 'schismatic groups' alone. The problem is the more general one of salvation history: is it to be conceived as an ongoing 'process' or as nostalgic depiction of a foundation 'event'? In the forthcoming study alluded to above I have suggested that for Islam it was originally the former, overtaken and truncated by the latter in the third/ninth century, probably coincidental with the fact of canonization.

J. WANSBROUGH

KAMAL S. SALIBI: *Syria under Islam: empire on trial, 634-1097*. [viii], 193 pp. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1977.

Intended as the first of three volumes which will cover the history of geographical Syria from the Arab conquest until the end of the Ottoman empire, the present volume extends to the arrival of the first Crusade in Syria at the end of the fifth/eleventh century. Although the author is concerned to relate political and military events to economic, social, and religious developments, it is the narrative of the political and military events which occupies most of the text. Between a short introductory chapter describing the geography of the region and an equally brief concluding chapter attempting an interpretation of the period as a whole, the history of the period is narrated in four chapters of roughly equal length: ch. ii extends from the Arab conquest until the Carmathian incursions at the end of the third/beginning of the tenth century; ch. iii ends with the imposition of Fātimid control over

southern Syria in 366/977; ch. iv covers the period of Fātimid ascendancy and ends with the coming of the Saljūqs in 463/1071; and ch. v deals with the quarter-century or so of Saljūq control ending with the arrival of the crusaders. Throughout, the text is interspersed with translated fragments (sometimes edited and rearranged) of medieval Arabic sources referring to the events under discussion. Presumably these are intended to enliven the possibly dull and confusing narrative of repeated military and political manoeuvring, although in general Salibi's account is clear enough given the involved nature of much of the material he has to present.

It can be seen from the above summary that the work tends to become more detailed as it progresses. In fact rather more pages are devoted to the quarter-century of Saljūq domination than to the two and a half centuries following the Arab conquest. The difference in the treatment of the earlier and later periods is reflected too in the footnotes: whereas there are hardly any specific references to primary sources in the early pages, most of the statements made in the later chapters are supported by a reference to a source with some claim to be regarded as primary. Furthermore, the earlier period tends to be treated in an episodic manner with an unusual allocation of space to subjects (2½ pp. for the origins of the Maronite Church, ½ p. for the Qays-Kalb feud, no mention of, for example, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Hishām, or al-Ḥajjāj), while the later period is treated more traditionally as a connected narrative of political and military events.

The theme which Salibi sees running through the period as a whole, and which he regards as the justification for treating the years 13–490/634–1097 as a distinct period of Syrian history, is the struggle between the forces of the Syrian countryside (especially the nomads and the 'ashkār peasants) and those of the towns (the imperial régimes and the various urban classes). This struggle, it is argued, resulted in the failure of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphs to maintain their control over Syria and culminated in the Carmathian invasions and the establishment of tribal principalities in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. The book's rather modish sub-title is intended as a reference to this struggle between the forces of order and regular administration and those of anarchy and disruption. The author suggests that the coming of the Franks marks the beginning of a new period of Syrian history since in the struggle against the Crusades the Syrian towns gained a prestige and authority which they did not thereafter lose. In using this theme to provide some unity for the period dealt with in the book the author does achieve some success, although whether the reader would identify the theme for himself if it were not stated explicitly in the conclusion seems doubtful.

While the book may prove useful for its detailed narrative of events between the Carmathian invasions and the coming of the Crusades, for the earlier period it is too lacking in detail and too individual in its selection of

topics for discussion and use of sources to be of much value for students of early Islamic Syria, whether beginners or more advanced. No real attempt is made here to explain the transition from Byzantine to Islamic Syria, Salibi apparently considering the survival of Christianity in Syria under the caliphs more noteworthy than the transformation of a predominantly Christian land into a predominantly Muslim one. For the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, however, the political and military history of Syria is narrated in more detail here than in either of the two other best-known attempts at a history of Syria in Western languages (H. Lammens, *La Syrie. Précis historique*, Beirut, 1921; P. K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, London, 1951). Although scholars such as C. Cahen, M. Canard, and H. A. R. Gibb have together covered aspects of the history of Syria in the 200 years before the Crusades in more depth in publications which are by no means inaccessible, it may, nevertheless, be thought valuable to have a synthesis available in handy form in English.

However, when not simply summarizing the work of earlier writers such as Cahen and Gibb, Salibi seems to have used a very limited range of sources and there are some indications that the details given here may not be completely reliable. For the battle of Manzikert in 464/1071, for example, he relies on a date 'derivable from' Ibn al-'Adīm, a seventh/thirteenth century Aleppo historian and says, without any caution to the reader or indication that other scholars have preferred other dates, that the battle occurred on 6 August 1071. The date usually preferred is 19 or 26 August and without further justification there does not seem to be any reason to give priority to Ibn al-'Adīm's evidence. Another unusual date is that given here for the meeting of the arbitration court to settle the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya: A.D. 660. The chronology of the Fitna is, of course, notoriously difficult, but this date finds no justification in the sources and, indeed, Salibi does not attempt to justify it.

Unfortunately too the bibliography is completely inadequate. No attempt has been made to provide a list of even the most important works. Instead there is a list of 'works cited', but as a bibliography for the period of Syrian history treated here it is virtually useless. So many fundamental works are not mentioned in this book that it is hardly worth mentioning some of them now but, just for example, no reference is made to any of the works of M. Canard while C. Cahen is represented only by his chapter 'The Turkish invasion' in the Pennsylvania history of the Crusades. The partial nature of this bibliography seriously weakens the value of the work and is not redeemed by the excellent index. Mention should also be made of some oddities of transliteration: Mu'tā for Mu'ta and al-'Ūzā'ī for the more usual al-'Awzā'ī.

In general, the author seems to have been unsure whether he was attempting an essay in interpretation or a more customary narrative history and consequently the work is not really successful as either. It may be that Salibi's special knowledge and interests will be more

evident in the two further volumes which are projected.

G. R. HAWTING

P. M. HOLT (ed.): *The eastern Mediterranean lands in the period of the Crusades*. xii, 112 pp. Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., [1978]. £5.95.

The seven articles in this volume were among the papers originally presented to a seminar held in 1975 at the School of Oriental and African Studies with the aim of bringing scholars working on the Islamic Near East together with historians of the Crusades whose point of view is essentially Western. Four of the articles are by 'Westerners'. In a characteristically charming piece Rosalind Hill discusses 'The Christian view of the Muslims at the time of the first Crusade', though she is perhaps inclined to exaggerate the differences in outlook between the author of the *Gesta Francorum* and clerical writers like Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Agiles. 'The survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim administration' by Jonathan Riley-Smith is a convenient summary of three or four of his earlier pieces of work. The lack of evidence for fifth/eleventh-century Muslim administration means that his main thesis, though entirely plausible, is difficult to prove. R. C. Smail, in 'The international status of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1150-1192', has shown that it was 'a land in which no Christian could be a foreigner' and that, for this reason, Western princes could intervene—often indeed were expected to intervene—in its internal affairs without having to justify their actions in terms of constitutional law. P. W. Edbury argues that 'The Crusading policy of King Peter I of Cyprus, 1359-1369' was aimed at reversing a decline in the Cypriot share of Oriental trade. To see Peter as a political realist with some understanding of economic forces, worried about the effects of Alexandrian competition on the port of Famagusta, is a far cry from the traditional image of a religious enthusiast obsessed with the idea of recovering the Holy Land. As a thought-provoking hypothesis it is undoubtedly attractive, though it may well underestimate both the extent to which the founder of the Order of the Sword shared the views of his propagandists and the extent to which war of raid and counter-raid between Christian and Muslim was sufficiently the local norm for Peter's campaigns to need no special explanation, particularly since the alleged decline in Cypriot trade is difficult to pin down—both Leontios Makhairas and Philippe de Mézières seem to have believed that the decline in prosperity came after Peter's reign.

Of the three articles on Mamlūk society, one is a note by Duncan Haldane on 'Scenes of daily life from Mamlūk miniatures', but the other two are substantial contributions. The editor's own piece on 'The structure of government in the Mamlūk sultanate' continues the work of reinterpretation which he began in this journal (xxxviii, 2, 1975, 237-49). In his hands the conventional picture of a

static system is replaced by a much more complex and convincing account of a flexible, and therefore durable, polity. In particular the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1310-41) comes across as a period of vital development. In his article on 'Iqṭā' and the end of the Crusader states', Robert Irwin, as well as looking closely at Syria and Palestine in the later thirteenth century—a place and time of crucial importance in the history of the Mamlūk iḡṭā—proposes a set of a dozen, highly concrete questions which comparative historians might well find it useful to adopt in order to give some reality to their occasionally all too schematic discussions of feudal institutions.

In his introduction to the volume, P. M. Holt points out that 'the modern historiography of the Islamic Near East in this period is markedly smaller in quantity than (and sometimes also inferior in quality to) the modern historiography of medieval Europe from which writing on the crusades has largely developed'. In terms of quantity this collection has done little to shift that balance, but happily, so far as quality is concerned, there is a very different tale to tell.

JOHN GILLINGHAM

H. T. NORRIS (tr.): *The pilgrimage of Ahmad, son of the Little Bird of Paradise: an account of a 19th century pilgrimage from Mauritania to Mecca*. xxi, 138 pp., 8 plates, map [on endpapers] + errata slip. Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., [1977]. £6. (Distributed in U.S.A. and Canada by International Scholarly Book Services, Forest Grove, Oregon.)

The pilgrimage of Ahmad is the account of a pilgrimage from the western Sahara to Mecca and Medina by the pilgrim himself, the scholar and saint Ahmad ibn Tuwayr al-Janna, 'son of the Little Bird of Paradise'. The journey lasted five years, from 1829 to 1834. Ahmad travelled northwards to Morocco, thence by sea from Larache to Leghorn and from Leghorn to Alexandria. Passing through Cairo, he sailed once again from Suez down the Red Sea to the Ḥijāz, presumably returning to Egypt the same way. From Egypt he travelled overland to Benghazi, then by sea to Tripoli, Tunisia, Algiers, Gibraltar, and Tangier. After a long stay in Morocco, he eventually made his way home.

Written from the standpoint of a Muslim man of God and a Muslim man of letters, the account spans the great divide between the world of Islam and that of Western Europe at a critical moment, the French capture of Algiers in 1830. Ahmad sailed in the Mediterranean for the most part in European vessels, very well treated, as it transpires, because of the exceptional favour shown towards him by the sultan of Morocco. Of this hospitality he was appreciative, much less so of the quarantine regulations he experienced at Leghorn and Alexandria. It was a time of

plague in the Mediterranean and the Hijaz, but sickness came by the will of God, and it was idle folly to pretend that it could be averted in this way. It was alarming to see such ideas put into practice by Christians in the Muslim countries of Egypt and Libya. The toleration, freedom, and power which they enjoyed were in contrast to the ideal status of *dhimmi* imposed upon them in Morocco. The capture of Algiers, on the other hand, was like all the historic conquests of Muslim territory in Spain and North Africa, a punishment for sin. No great bitterness affects the tone; such great events are largely matters of legend. It is the personal encounter which causes surprise and sharp comment.

Surprise was in order, for at Algiers Ahmad was himself an object of wonder and incomprehension. Misled by his evident standing with the Moroccan sultan, the French authorities in their new possession of Algiers mistook him for the king of Changuiti (Shinqit), a Saharan monarch to be officially entertained at a time when the interior was unknown, and anything was possible. Passed on to Gibraltar in a French warship, whose chief delight was freshly baked bread, Ahmad was received there with royal honours, fascinated by the drill of the troops and by the official reception. The divine providence which attended his pilgrimage had indeed provided the little man from the desert with clear signs of grace.

After this little comedy, Ahmad was on familiar ground in Morocco, in the land of Islam beneath a true Muslim ruler. The politics behind his reception by Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān are not clear, and certainly not described by the author, but were undoubtedly concerned with Moroccan interests and influence as far as Timbuctu. Taking the oath of allegiance to the sultan, received by his family, and lodged at his expense, Ahmad does indeed appear to have been the recipient of signal favour as he prayed for the monarch, bought books in Fās, and founded a *zāwiya* near Marrākush before his return to his home in Wadan. The pilgrimage of Ahmad must be accounted an event of some importance in its time.

For Ahmad himself the foundation of the *zāwiya* was the final fruit of his journey. It was with poise and confidence that he made the necessary dispositions, his trust in God abundantly rewarded by the evident signs of His favour at the end of his pilgrimage. On the outward journey he had been assailed by constant fear, sustained only by the voices which reminded him to fear nothing; on his return, he knew for himself. The proofs had multiplied as the Lord had promised, for no other reason than the Lord's will. It is this saintly certainty which governs the entire narrative, giving it its strong character. Ahmad moves easily between the living and the dead, those near and those far, the past, the present, and the future. His voices and his visitations are part of his everyday experience, the far end of a spectrum in which material existence is transformed by symbolic significance until the truths of the spirit appear directly. It is good to be able to gauge him as another person from the *Gibraltar Chronicle* of

14 January 1833, where we are told that 'Sidi Ahmad is of small stature, has a good-humoured expression of countenance with much acuteness and intelligence, reads much, and has brought 400 volumes from the city of the Prophet'.

It is perhaps as an anthology of its author's mind that the book will chiefly commend itself. The book is full of asides, with stories and verses interrupting the narrative. It would bear the weight of a much longer commentary. The translator has produced a fairly readable version of a text whose syntax obviously made it difficult to render into fluent English. Comments and notes are helpful, although short. One or two corrections might be made, e.g., p. 61, the *ribāt* of Sūs was not built by Ziyādat Allāh in 205/821, but 30 to 40 years earlier; it is most unlikely that al-Balawī is in fact buried at Qayrawān. Sidi Muhriz ibn Khalaf, p. 69, was not a 'ruler of Tunis who rebuilt the city in the tenth century', but yet another saint and scholar, Sidi Muhriz, cousin of the jurist Ibn Abi Zayd, who dedicated to him his *Risāla*. He died in 413/1022. It does not seem appropriate, p. 109, to quote Le Tourneau's *Fez in the age of the Merinids* on the subject of Sūfism in Morocco in the nineteenth century. The picture it presents of a clear distinction between the saints and the scholars is very doubtful even for the fourteenth century. By Ahmad's time most scholars were Sūfis of one kind or another; Ahmad himself was a case in point, and his text does not seem to bear out the observation that 'Moroccan Sūfism increasingly influenced (his) ideas during his stay'. He seems to have been from the outset familiar with its notions, although it is certainly true that the whole experience of the pilgrimage greatly broadened his outlook.

MICHAEL BRETT

LUCKETTE VALENSI: *Fellahs tunisiens: l'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes aux 18^e et 19^e siècles*. (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisations et Sociétés, 45.) 421 pp. Paris, La Haye: Mouton, [1977].

This is a book which goes a long way to correct the description by L. C. Brown in *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey* (reviewed in *BEOAS*, XL, 1, 1977), of the state of Tunisian society in the first half of the nineteenth century as one of 'stability-in-stagnation', and to show the changes which were taking place. It does so partly by shifting the starting-point of the story back to a golden age in the eighteenth century. Tunisia would indeed seem to have enjoyed at the time a remarkably long period of prosperity. A more basic reason is that the eighteenth century is the age when records begin with the establishment of the Husaynid dynasty in 1710. The growing body of archival material is supplemented on the one hand by European statistics, on the other by the tribal histories recorded by the French in the early days of the Protectorate. These need to be

interpreted as statements of the relationship of groups to each other and to the land, rather than accepted as accurate accounts of past events. They do, however, enable the author to make extensive use of oral tradition as a welcome addition to the standard range of sources for North African history. Upon them is based the first section of the book, which deals with social organization. The second, relying more upon written documentation, demonstrates the various patterns of settlement and tenure. Not strictly relevant, but nevertheless very welcome, are the details of individual plants, of eating habits, and of popular beliefs. Only in the last 100 pp. does the author gather together the material in a final section, 'Une société en voie de sous-développement'. In it she paints a picture of a period of about 50 years from 1780 to 1830 in which the population was assailed by epidemics and the harvest by repeated failures. These factors combined in a vicious circle to reduce the land under cultivation and the level of production. As the surpluses of grain for export became rarer and rarer, Tunisia being in many years an importer of cereals, olive oil became the principal Tunisian product for the overseas market. Producers were squeezed by the Bey, who demanded the newly profitable commodity in payment of taxes, and by the foreign buyers, who advanced money on the harvest. Meanwhile taxation in general increased as the government began the expensive process of modernization. The corruption and extortion which were the concomitants of this process eventually drove the countryside to the futile revolt of 1864, with which the book concludes.

The Beylical registers of property and fiscal dues, a sampling of the documents relating to landownership collected by the French in the early years of the Protectorate, and European trade figures yield more statistical information than might have been expected. It must nevertheless be recognized that this information is still the barest minimum for an argument of this kind. For that reason the timeless description of the society and the economy in the century before the revolt of 1864, which occupies the first two-thirds of the book, is more convincing than the final attempt to show the changes which took place during that period. While insisting quite rightly on the fact of change, Valensi acknowledges the difficulty, and is content in this last section to present her evidence without forcing a conclusion. It would indeed be hard to make a judgement without some appreciation of the ways in which the wealth which was extracted from the countryside was employed by the minority of the rich and well-to-do, something beyond the scope of the work. Instead, we are left with the inference that the peasant society of Tunisia and its economy, becoming increasingly dependent upon Western Europe in various ways from the beginning of the nineteenth century, was already showing the signs of under-development, conceived as an unequal relationship with the industrialized world.

Modesty of this kind enhances the value of the book, which presents clearly and methodically a quantity of information hitherto

lacking. The work will be indispensable for subsequent students, who may revise its hypothesis, but will be obliged to take account of its findings. As the pre-colonial history of Tunisia at last begins to take shape, another important area has been blocked in, making possible for the first time a real appreciation of its fundamental character.

MICHAEL BRETT

ARMIN SCHOPEN: *Das Qāt: Geschichte und Gebrauch des Genussmittels Catha edulis Forsk. in der Arabischen Republik Jemen*. (Arbeiten aus dem Seminar für Volkerkunde der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, Bd. 8.) [iv], 290 pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1978. DM 28.

Catha edulis Forsk., *qāt*, the plant habitually chewed by countless numbers in south-western Arabia, has always been the centre of controversy. For some the plant is a great social evil and time-waster, the cultivation of which deprives the Yemeni of much-needed agricultural land on which to grow his basic grain crops. Others would regard it as a harmless relaxant and ideal catalyst in the practice of the art of good conversation and even that of extempore poetry. The controversy will doubtless continue; we have not seen, to be sure, the last banning order on the plant, total or partial, though history tells us that the habit will live on.

It is difficult to envisage how the chewing of *qāt* ever became addictive, for with its appearance and taste not unlike privet, it is not at first an enjoyable experience. Its effects on the human constitution too would appear to be far from pleasant. One finds some sympathy with the Rasūlid sultan of Yemen, al-Mu'ayyad Dāwud who, on learning from an Abyssinian that the plant destroys the appetite for food and sexual intercourse is supposed to have exclaimed, 'What other pleasures are there in this lower world? By God, I shall never chew it!' (Quoted on p. 49 by Schopen in the French translation by Gaudesfroy-Demombynes of al-'Umari's *Masālik al-abqār*). The chewing of the leaves produces insomnia also.

Herr Schopen's book on the history and use of *qāt* may well help the reader to decide on its pros and cons for himself, for this is an academic study of both breadth and depth, dealing with every facet of the subject. The author begins the work with a brief description of the Yemen Arab Republic, a useful introduction to the geography and climate of the land. Agriculture is next discussed in particular the terracing of much agricultural land, irrigation, land ownership, etc. The next section provides an account of the people of the Yemen and their religious and social groups. We now arrive at the subject proper, *qāt*, a description of the plant, its origin, its dissemination among the people, its cultivation, the numerous different species of the plant, its harvest, its sale and use, and its properties. The reader is

then introduced to the subject of the chewing of *qat*, with a discussion of the rooms in the house where the afternoon's session takes place, the *majraj* and the *manzar*, and the furnishing of these rooms. Of the *qat*-sitting itself, Schopen describes its preparations, the gathering of the participants, how the session proceeds, and the significance and function of the gathering. But *qat* chewing is also associated with certain social events: an engagement, marriage, birth, circumcision, illness and death, and the return from the pilgrimage. The work ends with the original Arabic and translations of certain texts, mostly poetic, concerning *qat*, the former occasionally facsimiles of the scribbles of local informants. The reader should perhaps be informed that *qat* literature from south-western Arabia is legion and Schopen's selection a random one of only a minute fraction of the whole.

This is a very workmanlike piece of research, thoroughly competent and of great value in attempting to understand this important Yemeni social phenomenon. It is immensely readable too—a vast change, let it be frankly said, from so much academic material written in German in the past. All this augurs well for the future of the young scholar who composed the book.

At the risk, however, of his being accused of pedantry, the reviewer finds it necessary to make mention of a number of errors which have crept into this otherwise splendid work and which will annoy the Arabist and those who know the country.

Map (*et passim*): for Hais read Hais.

p. 15 (also map *et passim*): Šabr should read Šabir (see my *Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids* (GMS, xxvi), 1978, geographical index, 196, for full references).

p. 16: Nukūm is presumably Jabal Nuqum. Ma'abār (and Ma'abar on p. 21) should read Ma'bar.

p. 35: the Zaydis in the Yemen are generally reckoned to inhabit Dhamār and north, not Yarim.

p. 38: Schopen's note on *fallāhin*, 'Im Dialekt von Šan'a' lautet die Endung des "gesunden" Plurals -In (m.) und -āt (f.) ...' appears naïve to say the least!

p. 66: 'Volksrepublik Südjemen' is surely incorrect for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

p. 109: Tu'abāt is not, I think, possible, though Tha'bāt, Tha'abāt, or Thu'bāt are.

But one cannot end on a critical note. The study under review will be of interest and value to many scholars and one must hope that Schopen will be encouraged to attempt other researches in the area.

G. REX SMITH

ROBERT UNDERHILL: *Turkish grammar*. xix, 474 pp. Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, [1976]. \$20, £14.

This is 'a basic teaching grammar of Turkish for speakers of English', arranged in 'lessons', each having a vocabulary, a section on usage, and exercises (but without key).

The claims made for it are great; it is 'the best basic text of Turkish for beginners available, in both scholarly and pedagogic respects', 'it gives full coverage of syntax and usage as well as of traditional grammar', and, being provided with an index, is 'also ... suitable for use as a reference grammar', while its object 'is not only to provide a comprehensive grammar for teaching Turkish but also to demonstrate the relevance of modern linguistics, particularly generative grammar, to language teaching'. Can any one book do or be all of these things? The author's assurance that 'in most areas, the presentation here rests on a thorough reanalysis of Turkish grammar' is similarly hard to swallow. In fact, a large part of the book is taken up with a mere re-listing of selected suffixes with a few of their uses, in a manner indistinguishable from the 'traditional' one, but lacking the detail, depth, and degree of completeness of some previous grammars; hardly any of the word-building suffixes are mentioned, and sentences which lack segmental markers of subordination receive no comment. Further, although some sections on sentence structure do contain interesting propositions not previously seen in a Turkish teaching grammar, the high proportion of factual error which the book contains raises doubts as to whether these can be founded upon a thorough investigation of the language or indeed upon a real understanding of it.

Confidence is first shaken by the many errors that could have been corrected merely by reference to a good dictionary: e.g.

yapı does not mean 'activity' as stated on p. 350; it means 'building', 'edifice', as one would expect knowing that 'build' is as basic a meaning of *yap-* as 'do' is.

ıktı "drink" is not used with *ıkmek* 'when no more specific object is to be expressed' (p. 118); nothing could be more specific than *ıktı*, which means 'alcoholic drink', not 'normally' when used separately as a noun, as asserted here, but invariably, in every context.

The sections on 'usage' likewise contain much that is false, or at best only half true: e.g. '*öğrenci* is a primary school student or a "pupil"; *talebe* is a student at any level, from grammar school to university' (p. 189) does not represent current usage.

Even many of the labels misrepresent the facts: the tense which the Turks perceptively call *geniş zaman* 'broad time' is labelled here 'present tense', which it certainly is not; we are given 'narrative past' for a tense not used for narration and 'the dubitative auxiliary' for a form not concerned with doubt; while labelling *-ki* as 'the relative suffix *-ki*' in a book where grammatical terms—well-worn and therefore capable of many interpretations—are liberally used but not defined is singularly unfortunate since 'relative' is often applied to the conjunctive *ki*, a very different morpheme indeed.

Imprecision in the exposition often makes reference to the Turkish example—not available to the learner, of course—the only way of arriving at any meaning. What benefit can the student derive from statements such

as this, for example (p. 382): ‘-(y)EH. This suffix means “since”; it is considerably less common than the others [i.e. other “adverbial suffixes”] since there are more common ways of saying “since” (with *beri*)’. As often happens in this book, clear practical guidance (e.g. as to which English ‘since’ he has in mind) is replaced by a space-filling assertion of frequency of occurrence that cannot be substantiated—and is surely irrelevant? And what is the student to do when presented with directives such as that concerning ‘-(y)EHil- (pp. 403–4) where consecutive sentences tell him that ‘The tense that is almost always used with this suffix [sic] is the present’ and ‘sometimes this suffix is used with tenses other than the present’?

Unfortunately for the student, the large numbers of errors in the book do not usually proclaim themselves so obviously. Here is a small sample of the others.

The ‘impersonal’ is used only with the present or definite past tenses’ (p. 335). (Wrong.)

‘In Turkish a transitive verb must always have an object, except in colloquial speech’ (p. 52). (If ‘expressed’ object is what is meant, this is not true.)

‘*Kimin için* is “correct” but colloquially *kim için* is also possible’ (p. 158). (*Kim için* is the ‘quotation’ form only; in all other contexts *kimin için* is required.)

“Neither-nor” constructions are made with *ne* for “neither”, *ne* or *ne de* for “nor”. The important thing to remember about this construction is that it requires a *positive* [sic] verb’ (p. 267). (On the contrary, the important thing to remember is that it can have an affirmative or a negative verb; the student has to learn which is correct for each context.)

‘The suffix of the future participle is ‘-(y)EHcEH and forms of this participle are identical with those of the future tense’ (p. 280). (The same assertion is made of the -*r* and -*mlş* tenses/participles.) (The forms of the tense and the participle are *not* identical; they bear personal markers of different types.)

Of ‘-(y)EHn, ‘Although it is usually called the “present participle”, it actually does not denote action in the present but denotes action more or less at the same time as the main verb’ (p. 279). (It does not denote the time of the action at all.)

‘The suffix -*ki* is also added to a noun in the genitive to produce, for example, *benimki* “that which is mine” or simply “mine”. A construction of this sort is not normally used to modify another noun (*benimki kitap* would mean the same thing as *benim kitabım*) but is usually used alone’ (p. 210). (In fact, **benimki kitap* is impossible: words of the form *benimki* are *never* used to ‘modify another noun’—except on the lips of children still learning to speak, whose English peers would produce ‘mine book’.)

‘The suffix -*mlş* [of the “verb auxiliary”] may be added to any nonverbal predicate or to any tense. This means that grammatically it could be added to the definite past -*DI* or the narrative past -*mlş*. *geldiymiş* or *geldi imiş*, *gelmişmiş* or *gelmiş imiş*. Both of these forms, however, would be rare’ (p. 198).

(‘Rare’? ‘Grammatically possible’? The second pair certainly occur; whether they are rare or not is immaterial. The first two, however, are not ‘rare’; they are impossible, since -*DI* and -*mlş* are semantically incompatible. So, although it is *theoretically* possible to add -*mlş* to any tense base, in this case incompatibility of meaning precludes the combination; any ‘rule’ must therefore exclude it.)

This is surely sufficient evidence of inadequate examination of the data and of an over-hasty acceptance of hypotheses.

As to the translations of the examples: these are in many cases too far from the literal meaning to serve either as a check on the exposition of grammar or as an insight into what the Turkish is actually saying: e.g. rendering *Çocuk uyumayabilir* simply as ‘The child may not be asleep’ (p. 404) without further elucidation, or *var* and *yok* as ‘it exists’ and ‘it does not exist’ (p. 101) without pointing out that a nominal predicate has been replaced in translation by a verbal one, is not helpful. Nor are the renderings ‘The fruit is on the table’ for *Meyvalar masada* (p. 80) (instead of ‘The fruits (of various sorts) are on the table’), or ‘We are butchers’ for *Biz kasabız*, using it to illustrate the startling assertion that ‘A noun phrase as predicate is always singular even if the subject is plural’ (p. 40); there is no hint that the Turkish understanding of ‘number’ is not the same as that of English and that *kasab* is not in fact ‘singular’ here. To equate a Turkish structure with what an English speaker would probably say, in English, in the same situation may be admissible at the level of a phrase-book for tourists; it is surely not permissible in a teaching grammar for university students. What right has a language teacher to impose upon the target language the limitations of his own?

The matter is a serious one: here rules are proposed which bear scant relation to Turkish practice yet are illustrated by English renderings which appear to support those ‘rules’. Upon what are the ‘rules’ in fact based? For example, on p. 301 *üstünde şarap olan masa* is rendered as ‘the table with wine on it’ and *üstünde şarabın olduğu masa* as ‘the table with wine on it’, the point being to demonstrate that ‘the choice between a subject or object participle [he means ‘-(y)EHn or -*DI*EH] corresponds to a distinction between an indefinite or definite subject in the basic simple sentence’. This is quite untenable. If the full range of possible English equivalents had been taken into consideration, it would have been apparent that both *şarap olan* and *şarabın olduğu* can be ‘definite’ or ‘indefinite’ according to context: the first can be ‘(the) table with wine on it’ or ‘(the) table with the wine on it’ (though literally it is neither but ‘(the) on-it-being-(the)-wine table’); the second can be ‘(the) table on which wine is/was/has been/had been’ or ‘(the) table on which the wine is/was/has been/ had been’ (the version given, ‘the table with the wine on it’, being too far from the meaning of the Turkish to be of any value). Whatever the difference between these structures is, it is not

a difference of definiteness in the 'basic simple sentence'.

Again (p. 72), 'An indefinite subject of a verb comes immediately before the verb; a definite subject does not'. The meaning of this is unfathomable, since definiteness and indefiniteness are distinguished (marked) in Turkish only in the grammatical object and in the possessor relationship. The only explanation for the assertion seems to be that these concepts are being transferred from the English and that this 'rule' should read: 'When translating from English into Turkish put the subject when definite in English immediately before the verb in Turkish, when indefinite in English put it elsewhere in Turkish'. Even this does not truly represent Turkish practice, however.

Lack of space does not permit comment upon other postulations in which the author seems to use a series of deep structures familiar from English without, however, attempting to justify their use for Turkish, or upon the inaccuracies and omissions in the treatment of pronunciation and phonology. However, even without taking into account its inadequacies in that direction, it is clear that this book falls far short of the claims made for it. It is difficult to see how any student, whether of language or of linguistics, could even approach an understanding of Turkish by using it.

MARGARET BAINBRIDGE

S. A. SKILLITER: *William Harborne and the trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: a documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations*. xxiii, 291 pp., 8 plates. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977. £16.

In her elegantly produced monograph Dr. Skilliter has, and it is not the least of its virtues, rendered fine tribute to the memory of Professor Paul Wittek. Thirty-five years after his publication of 'The Turkish documents in Hakluyt's "Voyages"' (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xix, 57, 1942, 121-39) the genesis of English-Ottoman trade has found expression in a form which combines a fascinating historical narrative with astute and painstaking documentary analysis. One can hardly doubt that the originator of this project was gratified. The study consists of seven chapters describing pretty well exhaustively the stages of diplomatic negotiations which culminated in the appointment of an English ambassador to the Porte and the chartering of the Turkey Company, together with an appendix containing 29 of the 34 documents analysed. Especially for the history of the period 1578-82, but also for the study of Ottoman chancery procedure, the importance of this work will certainly be acknowledged.

It is in respect of the latter that the following observations are made. The evolution of Ottoman diplomatic, indebted to more than one imperial tradition, naturally owed a good

deal to earlier Muslim chancery practice. The references here (pp. 102-3) to Mas Latrîe, Belin, and Heffening are almost arbitrary, and I attempted in my study of the safe-conduct (*BSOAS*, xxxiv, 1, 1971, 20-35: a synopsis appears in *EI* second ed., III, 1178-9; mentioned by the author p. 2, n. 5) to illustrate the late medieval state of affairs precisely by means of a 'safe-conduct in form of capitulations' (here, pp. 3, 9). It is not quite necessary to call that form an 'unconventional document' (p. 3) and it is certainly true that "safe-conduct" as a term might embrace more than the idea of a simple "passport" (p. 9). The important feature of the Genoese-Tunisian treaty published by Mas Latrîe (II, 116-18) is that it, like most of those produced in North African chanceries, specifies the duration of its terms (*BSOAS*, 1971, p. 32, n. 50). A more likely model for Ottoman practice is the chancery of Mamlûk Egypt, and it is in fact precisely there that a link can be identified. In 1915 Bernhard Moritz (in G. Weil (ed.), *Festschrift E. Sachau*, Berlin) published the text of commercial privileges granted by Selim I to Venice, not surprisingly a replica of the Mamlûk format. Incidentally, whatever may have been the popular Ottoman Turkish usage, the proposition (p. 2) that should a *musta'min* remain longer than one year in *dâr al-harb* he became a *dhimmi*, is not juridically valid. It was, indeed, the very purpose of the treaties to ensure that such did not occur (cf. e.g. p. 98 bottom, on 'status').

I share the author's bewilderment at art. VI of the 'Giacomo' document (pp. 16-19, 206, l. 19, and plate 1): the locution *akchelerile gemi satın almaq* ought really to refer to the acquisition of materials for ship repairs (cf. *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford, 1965, p. 66, art. XVI and p. 76, n. 18), and I suspect here a *lapsus calami*. The discussion of contraband (pp. 22-7, 56) is useful, but the prohibition was I think in practice only applied to exports (*pace* p. 106). There is a celebrated letter from Saladin to the 'Abbâsîd caliph in 1183 dealing with this problem of war materials from the enemy (*apud* al-Qalqashandî, *Subh al-a'shâ*, XIII, 81-93), from which it is quite clear that circumvention was of common occurrence. It may well be that the 'directives' (cf. *BSOAS*, xxviii, 3, 1965, p. 494, n. 35) mentioned by the author (p. 58) are in fact rare for Ottoman commerce, but I have found quite a number for the Mamlûk trade, often filed in the private papers of retired consuls. In this connexion it might be mentioned that referral of mixed litigation to the sultan (p. 194) need hardly be related to Harborne's personal distress: the right was as old as that of extraterritoriality/consular jurisdiction and a fixed component of the chancery safe-conduct (*BSOAS*, xxxiv, 1, 1971, 32-5).

Now, research into Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic and commercial relations has been considerable during the past three or four decades (see bibliography, e.g. Burian, Horniker, Kurat, Kütükoğlu, Meram, Vella), and with the potential wealth of archival material still to be tapped, a number of details may be modified or at least amplified. But the essential elements have been set out by Dr. Skilliter,

and it seems unlikely that a major reassessment will be required.

J. WANSBROUGH

B. W. ROBINSON (ed.): *Islamic painting and the arts of the book*. [By] B. W. Robinson, Ernst J. Grube, G. M. Meredith-Owens, R. W. Skelton. (The Keir Collection.) 322 pp., 201 plates. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1976. £50.

This, the second of four works devoted to the Keir (= de Unger) collection of Islamic art (volumes on its pottery, by Grube, and its metalwork, by G. Fehérvári, have already appeared), is described everywhere but on its title-page as a catalogue. The eight parts into which the catalogue is divided are contributed by four internationally recognized experts, of whom B. W. Robinson acts also as general editor of the volume. There is in addition a preface by Mr. de Unger explaining his enthusiasm for Islamic art, and a general introduction by the late Ivan Stchoukine; with all respect to this great scholar, one does wonder why an introduction was thought to be necessary to the purposes of a catalogue—and, if it were, why the editor himself could not have produced an exordium of no less authority.

Part I of the catalogue (Grube) describes 35 fragments of illustrations, some of which are no more than exiguous, from Fustāt, mostly dating from before A.D. 1200; 25 further fragments, acquired as the catalogue was going to press, are listed, and the author promises that 'the objects will be fully discussed in a forthcoming corpus of Fostat fragments'. If such a work were already in contemplation—and in spite of the fact that the Keir collection 'comprises entirely new, unpublished material which adds considerably to our understanding of the development of the graphic arts in the pre-Mongol period'—it seems strange that what purports to be a catalogue should subsume a paragon of specialist scholarship; for Dr. Grube supports his 35 fragments with over 300 footnotes.

Part II, 'Pre-Mongol and Mamluk painting', is also by Grube, again with a formidable *apparatus criticus*; and he further adds a separate bibliography for parts I and II. The remainder of the work conforms much more closely to what is normally thought of as a catalogue. Part III, 'Persian and pre-Mughal Indian painting', divided chronologically into five periods, is by Robinson. Part IV, 'Ottoman Turkish painting', comparatively brief, is by Meredith-Owens. Part V, 'Indian painting of the Mughal period', is a major contribution by Skelton. Robinson contributes the remaining parts: VI, 'Illumination and calligraphy'; VII, 'Unillustrated manuscripts'; and VIII, 'Book-covers and lacquer'. The four authors share in 44 colour and 157 black-and-white plates, excellently reproduced; from the reviewer's recollection of the originals, the colour values are reliable. This generous scale of illustration will provide a

most useful tool for those who are unable to view the objects directly, and it is appropriate to express our gratitude to Mr. de Unger and all others who were responsible for this publication.

As a catalogue the work will be of major importance and authority; the standing of the contributors alone guarantees that. There may well be the occasional disagreement over dating or attribution of some works; but there must always be room for this in works of scholarship. What leaves this reviewer a little uneasy is the lack of balance between parts I/II and the rest. Grube's two parts are undoubtedly a major contribution to the knowledge of a recondite subject; but is such specialist treatment really called for in a catalogue?

I must record, with sadness, that my copy is loose in its case, in spite of careful treatment. It would not seem capable of standing up to the rougher treatment of the average library—where, in view of the work's high cost, most scholars will perforce have to use it. My copy does not seem to be exceptional in this respect. It is peculiarly poignant that such should have to be recorded of a work which treats of 'the arts of the book'.

J. BURTON-PAGE

MARIE-ROSE SÉGUY: *The miraculous journey of Mahomet: Mir'āj nāmeḥ, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Manuscript Supplément Turc 190) . . . translated by Richard Pevsner*. 158 pp. + addenda sheet. London: Scolar Press, 1977. £25.

The Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript of the *Mir'āj nāme*, part of a Chaghatay text written in Uyghur script together with a translation of Farid al-Din 'Attār's *Tadhkirāt al-awliyā* dated 1436 is one of the most remarkable products of the Harāt Royal Library. It was acquired in Constantinople in 1672-3 by Antoine Galland (cf. *Journal* ed. C. Schéfer, Paris, 1881, I, 29) as a manuscript of 'the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* with 66 illustrations' and ultimately found its way to the library of Louis XV. Its miniatures have never been reproduced in their entirety and the Scolar Press has shown enterprise in undertaking this task.

Praise must, however, be qualified. The translated introduction and notes are remarkable for their numerous and misleading infelicities—to cite but a few: 'as a great prophet of the biblical line, Muhammad . . .' (p. 9), 'artists who painted [Burāq] made use of pumiced [read *pounced*] patterns' (p. 26), 'Gabriel (shown here encircled by a fiery nimbus) . . .' (plate 26) when only the head, as usual, has the nimbus; or references to 'hyacinth' for English 'jasmin' (in fact read ruby/*yāqūt*). Translator and author appear, moreover, to have worked not only separately, but in isolation from the manuscript: many misunderstandings could have been eliminated by inspection of the miniatures. The text poses great problems. The Chaghatay version is accompanied by a (contemporary [cf.

plate 3J) Arabic résumé and by later Western Turkish glosses, some pages even having glosses in Persian, these last not legibly reproduced. A general check suggests that the Arabic and Turkish are fairly close, but divergences are not all to be explained by reference to the Chaghatay version (in Pavet de Courteille's translation) and it is unclear how far they reflect different textual traditions or are merely misunderstandings by the painter(s). The Soolar Press does not pretend to provide critical texts. However, some allusion to the problem would have been appropriate. The linguistic complication, however, explains other misunderstandings, including misleading emphasis upon Mongolia, the customs of the Altay peoples, and shamanism which must result from confusion between the Uyghur script (e.g. plate 20) and Uyghur history and religion, for which this *Mi'rāj nāme* provides no evidence whatsoever.

Even the supplementary English bibliography fails to include Cerulli's fundamental work on the Western versions of the Ascension of Muhammad; while other works cited are dubiously relevant or out of date. These weaknesses could well have been eliminated in translation or at the editorial stage.

The commentaries show other weaknesses, including a surprising unfamiliarity with the Qur'ān: (plate 16) '...Sura XII tells [Joseph's] story at length involving prophets, angels, the devil, djinns, men and animals.' The description of houris, as 'purified wives', though certainly backed by the Qur'ān, is *obscure per obscurius*. There are odd linguistic errors: for example the point at which Muhammad leaves Buraq (plate 32), the 'Maqam Zaribet', is clearly *al-qurba/qurbet* in the Arabic and Turkish glosses. Nor does history fare better: Timūr, a descendant of Genghis Khān, (p. 23) created Persian painting; paper (p. 28) was made in Khurāsān using linen fibres; and the 'historical clarification' (plate 3) regarding the Aqsā Mosque misleads on the Dome of the Rock and altogether ignores the Aqsā, the second state of which, Croswell showed, is datable by the Aphrodisias papyrus (Nos. 1403, 1414, 1435) (715-16) to the reign of al-Walīd.

The *Mi'rāj nāme* is, admittedly, difficult to present. The subject is so unfamiliar that much straightforward narrative and some account of its evolution are necessary. The *Sūra al-Isrā'* (Qur'ān XVII), the basic source for the ascension of Muhammad, is barely narrative at all but for verses 1 and indirectly 60 and the evolution of the account owes most to *hadīth*, *tafsīr*, particularly al-Tabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Rāzī, and to the *Sūra* of Ibn Ishāq. One would naturally suppose the Chaghatay text to contain quotations from other *sūras* of the Qur'ān, yet although certain words or pairs of words are regularly rubricated or gilt, there is not even an Arabic *basmala*; while (non-Qur'ānic) Arabic occurs on only two folios (36v, 45v)—written in a rather incompetent hand evidently by the Uyghur calligrapher. The absence of Arabic is interesting evidence for the existence of a Turkish Vulgate by 1436 in Chaghatay. The illustrated version, moreover, demonstrates that, as with the romance of Yūsuf and

Zulaykhā, regularly illustrated with all the details referred to in Qur'ān XII, there was a tacit but clear distinction between the illustration of *qisas* material in written Qur'āns and pious poetical or imaginative compositions.

The immediate provenance of the MS before it came into Galland's possession is unclear, but it must have come ultimately from the Saray. Much could have been clarified, however, by even a succinct description of the MS including consideration of the (unillustrated) *Tadhkirāt al-awliyā'* which bears the colophon. But the present volume stops short without explanation. No attempt has been made to reconcile the number of illustrations (61 with that given by Galland (66) or that given in 1739 (64). There is no reference to sigillography nor has the evident overpainting e.g. on fol. 51 (plate 53) and fol. 420 (plate 37) evoked comment, which is unfortunate since there must be further overpainting which does not show up in reproduction. It is very probably more difficult to describe Islamic than Western MSS particularly when they are in outlandish tongues. However, if the Soolar Press wishes to preserve its reputation as a publisher of manuscripts in reproduction it must do better.

Discussion of the many linguistic, textual, and iconographic problems raised by the Bibliothèque Nationale *Mi'rāj nāme* has so far been hampered by the lack of published illustrations. It would have been desirable to have had a complete facsimile and it is regrettable that so much of the commentary to the plates reproduced should be otiose or of dubious relevance. However, the present volume does provide a basis for a deeper study of painting at the Timūrid courts and an analysis of the, evidently divergent, textual and illustrative traditions.

J. M. ROGERS

MARY BOYCE: *A Persian stronghold of Zoroastrianism: based on the Ratanbai Katrak lectures*, 1975. xv, 284 pp., 8 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977. £8.50.

This book is based on the Ratanbai Katrak lectures, 1975, which in turn were based on eight months (*pace* the blurb on the dust-jacket) spent by the author during 1964 in Sharifābād, a village situated to the north-west of Yazd, and distinguished as the home of two of the 'cathedral' fires of Irani Zoroastrianism. During her stay, Professor Boyce acquired a considerable body of material concerning the present-day beliefs and practices of the people of Sharifābād which were not directly relevant to her *magnum opus*, *A history of Zoroastrianism*, of which the first of four volumes has recently appeared (*The early period*, Leiden, 1975). The result is the present work, more popular in tone and more narrative in style; however, such explanatory context as is provided remains primarily historical.

Thus in the first chapter we are introduced to the earlier history of the village, and also the geographical background and the personalities involved; in the second we learn of the

basic religious framework—the daily prayers, the *gahambars*, the main services, and the associated secular gatherings. As they appear in the text, the main technical terms of Zoroastrianism are defined and explained, though not always very fully (e.g. *payvand*); it would have helped the layman, for whom the book is presumably intended, if a glossary had been provided. In the ensuing chapters we are given, in no very logical order, an account of the three main aspects of the religion of the village. On the one hand, we have individual acts of piety and charity, pilgrimage and personal offerings—what Spooner¹ has rather narrowly characterized as 'the religion of the shrine'. On the other, we have the public occasions, funerary rites and the great festivals of the Zoroastrian year, in particular the two New Years. Here the author does her best to explain the complex historical changes which have produced the present religious calendar (and incidentally makes it clear that no mere 'synchroic' explanation would have been enough); but once again the layman would have been assisted by a more formal tabulation, at least of the *status quo*; and if those individual acts of piety which were observed during the author's stay had been similarly recorded we would have been able to acquire a rather clearer picture of the relative importance of the public and the private elements of the religion. Between these two elements lies a third (neglected by the Spooner scheme): rites of purity and pollution, which seek to adjust the errant individual to what his religion requires of him. Man, in the Zoroastrian view, is engaged in a perpetual struggle against the forces of evil, of Ahriman. He is in constant danger of pollution by blood, death, bodily excretions, non-Zoroastrians, and, above all, women.

Perhaps the most fascinating parts of this book are those concerned with the role of women in the religion; although they are nominally admitted as full members, yet they are excluded from the priesthood and, to a large extent, from direct participation in public ritual. In the old days they were incarcerated in a tiny room during their menstruation. It is therefore hardly surprising that rites have emerged such as the *Sopra-ye Sabzi*, where the traditional elements of Zoroastrianism are inverted. Here Boyce has uncovered material inaccessible to a male ethnographer, yet without elsewhere surrendering her status as an honorary man. It is only regrettable that she still retains her outlook of orthodox Zoroastrianism, and, seeing such practices as irreligious, fails for instance to tell us the 'rambling folk-tale' which legitimates the *Sopra-ye Shāh Parsi*, on the grounds that it lacks obvious relevance or 'marked ethical content, Shāh Parsi appearing in it as a strange, capricious being'.

But above all the author is to be congratulated on producing a most readable but scholarly account of Persian religion, truly the first of its kind: for what emerges is the

striking similarity of all denominations of Persian religion, Sunni, Shi'i, Zoroastrian, and Ahl-i Haqq. Where they differ in deliberate detail at the public pole (the benevolent Zoroastrian attitude to the dog is a striking example), they are almost identical at the private. The personal offerings, and both personal and collective pilgrimages, can be found throughout Iran: the Muslims have their Bibi Shahrbanū, the Zoroastrians their Bānū-Pārs, and, below the great shrine of Bābā Yādgar, the Ahl-i Haqq their Shārewān-i Khātūn. But there is one great difference: the Zoroastrian priesthood is much more restricted and exclusive than that of the other religions of Iran, and as such is declining rapidly. For this reason, unless there is further substantial support from the Parsis, the future of the religion in Iran must be doubtful. The present work is therefore most timely.

Some readers will wish for a greater provision of non-historical context: the sociologist will be frustrated by the mention of personalities, but without sufficient detail of the social structure of the village; the structural anthropologist will regret the omitted folk-tales and rituals and beliefs marginal to Zoroastrianism proper (there is almost nothing on the evil eye), not to mention accounts of secular ritual. The primary idiom of Zoroastrian ritual, it seems, is food, and much space is devoted to *bōy-o-brang* and the like; yet we are told little of everyday meals, the contrast with which endows their religious counterpart with meaning. We are told who sits on the carpet for *Ayāthrim*; but who does in secular life? We learn how the gift to God the Creator becomes also a gift to fellow-man; but what of the traveller's gift, the official's bribe?

Professor Boyce has already shown that her interests range to agriculture: let us hope that in the future she may fill the gaps in these other subjects.

ROBERT RICE

EUGÈNE DENIS: *La Lokapaññatti et les idées cosmologiques du bouddhisme ancien*. 2 vols.: [iv], 229, lxxvii, 191; [iii], iv, xlv, 329 pp. Lille: Atelier Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III; Paris: Honoré Champion, 1977. Fr. 100.

Although the existence of the *Lokapaññatti* (LP) has been known since 1904, when the discovery of a MS in Burma was announced, no complete edition has hitherto appeared. Would-be editors have doubtless been discouraged by the corrupt state of the few MSS available. The present edition, accompanied by a translation into French and extensive notes, is based upon two twentieth-century MSS, one from the National Library in Bangkok and the other from the collection of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Both often agree in their errors. A third, nineteenth-century, MS from Mandalay arrived too late to be used for establishing the text, but the variant readings worth mention are listed in

¹ 'The function of religion in Persian society', *Iran*, I, 1963, 83-95.

an appendix. None of them seems to help with difficulties.

In the introduction, the editor considers the identity of the author of the *LP*, and its date and provenance. He concludes that it is the work of an unknown author writing in Burma, probably at Thaton, in the eleventh or twelfth centuries A.D. Despite its late date, the *LP* is important because it seems to be the oldest Pali cosmological text extant. Although the Northern Buddhists, writing in Sanskrit, produced descriptions of the world, the Theravādins seem to have been too busy trying to escape from the world to describe it. When they began to do so in medieval times, they were content to borrow from earlier writers on the subject. To call the *LP* a treatise upon cosmology is misleading, since it is by no means a systematic study of the subject, but rather a compilation of information about the nature of the world, collected from many sources, and put together in a haphazard way. Into the descriptions of the various parts of the world are inserted narrative stories, e.g. the section on the *devaloka* includes a long story about Aśoka and robbers (*bhūta-vāhana-yanta*) from the kingdom of Roma.

It is only the identification of the texts upon which the *LP* is based which has made the production of an edition possible, for the state of the MSS is such that, where no parallel text has been found, restoration of the text is frequently impossible. The greater part of the *LP* is based upon the *Lokaprajñapti*, of which the Sanskrit original is lost but a Chinese translation dating from A.D. 558 is available. A concordance between the *LP* and the *Lokaprajñapti* is given in an appendix, and summaries of other source texts are supplied.

Not all the emendations made when restoring the text seem necessary, e.g. *sampannāni* (p. 10, l. 8), describing *haritaka* 'yellow myrobalan', is changed to *sampakkāni* 'ripe', but no change is needed since *sampanna* means 'of perfect or correct flavour, palatable' in Sanskrit, and 'sweet' (especially of honey) in Pali. Elsewhere the editor has not always emended when he should perhaps have done so, e.g. he translates *anopannaṃ udakam ahoṣi* (p. 8, l. 14) as 'L'eau ne cédait pas', relying on the erroneous suggestion made in the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English dictionary* that *panna*, *unna*, and *ninna* are all derived from *-nata*. It seems much more likely that *anopanna* is a scribal error, showing the *p/s* alternation of which the editor gives several other examples, for *anosanna* < Sanskrit *an-avāsanna* 'not sunk down'.

One emendation which is made seems to offend against the basic principles to be adopted when editing a text. At p. 92, l. 2, the two MSS read *āvajjham*. In the corresponding passage in the *Mahāvastu* (I, 9, 4), Senart noted that his MSS read *avadyanto*, *avadyantā*, or *avadyantā*, which he emended to *āvajjanto*. The present editor similarly emends to *āvajjanto*, although the fact that the MSS of the *LP* read *āvajjham* shows clearly that the version of the *Mahāvastu* which the author was following had the reading *avadyanto*, not *āvajjanto*. Since it is the function of an editor to establish a text which is as close as possible

to that which the author actually wrote, it is quite clearly incorrect to introduce an emendation based upon an emendation made by another editor in a source text.

This edition with annotated translation of the *LP* is reproduced photographically from the original typescript of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Paris. Although a number of handwritten insertions and corrections have been made, nevertheless several errors still remain, e.g. p. 1, l. 7 *bhikkhāve* (for *bhikkhave*); 1, l. 12 *adhiitā* (for *adhiitā*); 1, l. 16 *vāya* (for *vāvā*); p. 2, l. 5 *samatālam* (but *-talam* at 2, l. 10); 2, l. 16 *aharatā* (for *arahatā*). Much more reprehensible is the poor quality of the reprinting. Several pages are almost entirely illegible, e.g. p. 49 of the text and p. lxxi of the introduction, while elsewhere many individual words and even lines are impossible to read.

The *LP* is an important text, because of the light it sheds on the development of Buddhist cosmology, and also because of the information it gives about the texts which were known in Burma in medieval times. Not only can it be corrected by reference to other texts, but it can be used, in turn, to correct those texts. As the editor shows, the form of the *Mahāvastu* which the author was following differed slightly from Senart's edition, so that we can use the *LP* to fill some of Senart's lacunae.

This edition of the *LP* is valuable enough to merit publication in a more satisfactory form. This would give an opportunity for the removal of some of the errors and defects mentioned above.

K. E. NORMAN

S. AGESTHIALINGOM and K. KUSHALAPPA GOWDA (ed.): *Dravidian case system*. (Department of Linguistics. Publication No. 39.) [i], vii, 519 pp. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1976. Rs. 25.

S. SAKTHIVEL: *Phonology of Toda with vocabulary*. (Department of Linguistics. Publication No. 41.) [ix], 365 pp. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1976. Rs. 15.

In recent years there has been in South India a remarkable development of studies in Dravidian linguistics, and strong and active departments devoted to these studies have been established, notably at Annamalai and Trivandrum. The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics in Annamalai University has been particularly active, and many young scholars have been trained there. The major languages and their dialects, as well as the minor languages of the South, have been the subject of intensive study. The Department has more than 40 publications to its credit, and more are on the way.

In addition to research work in the field, the Department has been active in organizing seminars, colloquia, and conferences where scholars can get together and discuss selected

topics to which each can contribute from his own specialty. From 2 to 4 March 1974, one such seminar was held at Annamalai to discuss the Dravidian case system, and 29 scholars took part. The book edited by S. Agesthalingom and K. Kushalappa Govda contains the papers dealing with this subject which were read at this seminar. The major languages Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Tulu are covered together with a selection of their dialects. The material is drawn from the spoken languages and their dialects, and the study of classical texts and their usages in respect of the case-system are not included. In spite of this omission a great deal of useful material has been presented and analysed, and students of Dravidian will find in it a useful work of reference.

Among the minor Dravidian languages of the South there are essays on the case-systems of Koḍagu, Kota, Toda, Beṭṭa Kurumba, Kasava, and Iruḷa. It is good to know that active work has been done in these fields, and further publications on the minor languages are looked forward to. In the case of some of the languages mentioned there is doubt as to whether they should be classed as independent South Dravidian languages or aberrant dialects of Tamil. The case for independent status would seem to be strongest in the case of Beṭṭa Kurumba (Kurumba). Doubts still persist about Iruḷa and Kasava, but the authors of the essays here dealing with those languages incline to the view that they should be treated as independent. Only full publication of the material collected will settle the matter.

Of all the minor languages of the South the most interesting is Toda. This was thoroughly investigated by Professor Emeneau in the early 1930's, and the full publication of his work is now under preparation. In the meantime the language remains easily accessible to younger Dravidian scholars who wish to familiarize themselves with it. The one scholar to undertake this work so far to any serious degree is S. Sakthivel, who collected extensive material during a field trip to the Nilgiris, which was first written up by him in a thesis presented in 1974. The present work on the Toda language is based on part of that thesis which has now been prepared for publication. It consists of two parts, a detailed study of the rather complicated phonology of the language, and a quite extensive vocabulary. The phonetic units correspond exactly with those established by Emeneau, and detailed lists are given of all the vocables in which these phonemes occur together with an analysis of their phonetic environment.

The vocabulary is based on a detailed questionnaire prepared for the purpose, and as most Todas are bilingual in Tamil (as well as Baḍaga) the Tamil language was used for the interviews. At the same time the published work of Emeneau was drawn upon, and its influence is seen particularly in the formulation of the meanings.

Sakthivel's vocabulary turns out to contain quite a number of items which are not to be found in *DED* or its supplements. Some of these have to be excluded, since they are nothing more than Tamil words which his

bilingual informants gave him from time to time. Such are *adimiy* 'slave', *arifu* 'knowledge', *kalymon* 'clay', and so forth, which though partially adapted to Toda phonology, seem to have their origin in the language of the questionnaire. There is a larger list of additional items which may be regarded as genuine loan-words from Tamil, even though in some cases their origin may be quite recent. Such are the following to which the *DED* references are added: *arm* 'file' (191, Ta. *aram*), *aly* 'wave' (203, Ta. *alai*), *a-py* 'cow-dung' (283, Ta. *āppi*), *a-l-men* 'banyan' (324, Ta. *āl*), *itti* 'idly' (385, Ta. *ittali*), *umy* 'husk' (548, Ta. *umi*), *eli* 'letter, writing' (725, Ta. *erutti*), *ono-y* 'wolf' (863, Ta. *ōṇāy*), *oly* 'palmyra leaf' (903, Ta. *ōlai*), *koby* 'wire' (1038, Ta. *kambi*), *kud* 'cannon-ball' (1414, Ta. *kuntu*), *kumy* 'a play' (1464, Ta. *kummi*), *kori-d* 'tongs' (1529, Ta. *kuratu*), *kwado rm* 'tent' (1561, Ta. *kūlāram*), *kosf* 'mosquito' (1736, Ta. *kocu*, *kocuku*), *suly* 'small hammer' (2197, Ta. *cutti*), *tud-goy* 'trunk (of elephant)' (2713, Ta. *tuṇṇam*, *tonlai*), *te-k-men* 'teak tree' (2842, Ta. *tāṅku*), *toly* 'bucket' (2868, Ta. *totti*), *twitil* 'cradle' (2870, Ta. *tottil*), *twi-ty* 'scavenger' (2924, Ta. *tōṭṭi*), *pan-men* 'palmyra tree' (3324, Ta. *paṇai*), *mutaly* 'crocodile' (4055, Ta. *mutalai*), *murngo-y* 'drumstick (vegetable)' (4085, Ta. *murunkai*), *mutm* 'totality' (4203, Ta. *mottam*), *a my* 'tortoise' (4232, Ta. *yāmai*, *āmai*), *pary* 'tax' (4307, Ta. *vari*), *pici-r* 'fan' (4479, Ta. *vicir*).

These loans from Tamil account for the greater part of the additional vocabulary recorded by Sakthivel. Beside them there is a much smaller number of words, also not registered in *DED*, which are derived from Kannada, presumably through Baḍaga. Such are *ud* 'black gram' (595, Ka. *urdu*, *uddu*), *kady* 'cultivable paddy land' (1141, Ka. *garde*, *gadde*), *aty* 'cotton' (3280, Ka. *parti*, *patti*, *hatti*).

When these loan-words have been separated out, there remain a number of items in Sakthivel's vocabulary which are probably to be regarded as genuine Toda words, and which supplement the Toda entries in *DED*. Such are: *amn* 'smallpox' (154, Ta. *ammā*, *amman*), *afn* 'mother' (232, Ta. *avvai*; *DED* has *af* and *afuf*), *eli* 'sesame plant', *eno-y* 'oil' (726, Ta. *eli*, *en ney*), *ki-s* 'handle' (of pot, etc.) (S 164, Ma. *kayyil*), *ti-ḷ* 'scorpion' (2855, Ta. *tēḷ*), *nerk* 'to press' (2387, Ta. *nerukku*), *parp* 'gram, pulse' (3282, Ta. *paruppu*), *pvs* 'to be demolished' (3615, Ta. *peruku*), *pe-f* 'mistake' (3443, Ta. *piraippu*), *mul-y* 'brain' (4146, Ta. *mūḷai*), *mot* 'not sharp' (4199, Ta. *mottai*), *melys* 'soft' (4167, Ta. *mel*), *podo-ḷ* 'guest' (4442, Ta. *viruntu*, Ko. *vid a-l*).

In *DED* 1345 (Ta. *kirai* 'greens, etc.') To. *ki-ry* appears with the unexpected meaning 'sp. grain'; in this vocabulary *ki-ry* appears with the expected meaning 'greens'. The homonym *ki-ry* 'mongoose', which is also not in *DED*, appears with a variant *ki-rṇan*, having a second element which is not elsewhere recorded for this word (cf. *DED* 1344). It may be the same as that which appears in Ka. *peggana*, *heggana* 'bandicoot' (To. *egan*). For 'fire-wood' (4467, Ta. *viraku*, etc.) *DED* could quote only a form *berkh* given by Metz,

with a suggestion that this should stand for *perz*; this latter form is given by Sakthivel. The word *kwi* 'horse gram', also not in *DED*, appears in Sakthivel's vocabulary in the combination *kwal kwi* of which the first member is obscure. Beside *par* 'drum' he also has *parn* 'pariah man', fem. *pare*, which could of course be loan-words from Tamil. The word *per* 'rock' (2392, Ta. *pāras*) has an irregular vowel development, which shows that it is no loan-word. The verb *piy-* (*pis-*) (homonymous with *piy-* (*pis-*) 'to beat') is the only South Dravidian word belonging to the entry *DED* 3686, Kui *poja*. To. *pu-ly* 'good-for-nothing fellow' is connected with Ka. *pōli* 'profligateness, prodigality' (and further with 3736, Ta. *pōkkiri*, etc.) and the preserved *p-* is against it being a loan-word.

Thus it can be seen that Sakthivel's book contains a fair number of useful new contributions to Dravidian etymology, and he is to be congratulated on having done a workmanlike job on the language.

T. BURROW

C. H. PHILIPS (ed.): *The correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India, 1828-1835*. (School of Oriental and African Studies). 2 vols.: xlix, 740; [iv], 741-1483 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977. £55.

No one who has not read these two enormous and fascinating volumes should presume to pontificate upon Britain's role in India. Having read them, the desire to make any *ex cathedra* pronouncement on the subject would be stifled completely. The variety and complexity of the subject-matter contained in this selection of documents challenge alike uncritical approval and unsympathetic denunciation—indeed any of the reassuring generalizations to which commentators on empire frequently resort. Here are aired the resolutions and recantations, the proposals and reconsiderations, the reflections and hesitations of a man of liberal intent who sought, in his own words, to establish 'British greatness upon Indian happiness'.

The use of the word 'happiness', affirming Lord William Bentinck's links with the Utilitarians, might stir up a measure of cynicism in the modern reader. Bentinck himself was not blind to the difficulty not only of implementing his plans but even of determining where happiness lay for such a varied society. The fact that he even contemplated such a policy should not, however, be overlooked by those who see in the East India Company's activities, only and inevitably, rapacity and ruthlessness, and in the activities of their servants only greed and self-seeking. These qualities are indeed evident in the correspondence between the Court of Directors and their Governor-General in India and between the Company's officials themselves, and ignorance and lethargy too. But also a genuine uncertainty among the British in India about how to act in the best interests of

the Indian population, together with confusion both of aims and motives among the different sections of Indian opinion.

What emerges from this correspondence is the wide gap between ideals and their realization, a gap created not only by the dominant economic interests of the East India Company which encouraged caution and the desire for a narrower commitment while the wider problems of India cried out for boldness and understanding. It was reinforced by the sheer limitation of human capacity when faced by the task of effecting simultaneously a diachronic and synchronic analysis of India's problems. There was, too, a need to estimate the reaction of the Court of Directors and of the British government to any new proposals which the Governor-General might put forward. That reaction, because of the slowness of communications, could not be confirmed for at least a year. It was impossible to isolate individual issues or for the Governor-General to concentrate the whole of his attention upon their solution. The role of the Sultan of Muscat in East African affairs jostled for his attention with complaints from dismissed military officers and consideration of the merits of introducing tea-growing into India: advice from the Company's servants on the question of whether it was safe to abolish *sati*, the practice of self-immolation by high-caste Hindu widows, ran parallel with the more philosophical, but also in some respects practical, debate upon whether it was desirable to promote Western-style education in preference to the traditional Hindu and Muslim systems which the Company had formerly supported. Underlining these varied considerations there was to be taken constantly into account the strict injunction of the Court of Directors to balance the budget. This latter ruling Bentinck tried sincerely to put into effect. Meanwhile the Company's detailed and well-intentioned but scarcely practical advice on how to cut the 'hard living' allowance to soldiers serving in garrison stations, and their lack of appreciation of the important financial role of the private agency houses, created serious problems for him. Yet he continued to investigate a vast range of possibilities for reform and to evolve plans for putting them into effect. Particularly strong was his concern for education. Setting out with the confidence of the enthusiast, and in spite of the swing in favour of Westernization among the Company's officials and among many important Indians, Bentinck discovered as he probed more deeply that the issue was far more complicated than at first seemed to be the case. By contrast he came to recognize the wisdom of his officials who said that the apparently dangerous question of abolishing *sati* might be resolved by firm judicial action provided it was done without too much of a fanfare.

One cannot, after reading this correspondence, escape a feeling of regret for what might have been, for Bentinck's achievements in India seem to have been far less than he was capable of. His radicalism, criticized in his earlier career, might well in other circumstances have made an important contribution to the problem of Anglo-Indian relations. Sir

Cyril Philips, in a brief but effective introduction, admits that it is difficult to decide how clearly Bentinck realized that what he planned could not be put into effect in the foreseeable future and whether, if he did realize it, he thought it nevertheless important to put his ideas forward so they should not be overlooked, because in the long run they would certainly have to be taken into account. Had they been, British rule in India might, *pace* the historical determinists, have produced very different results.

One is tempted to ask what are the merits of such a collection of documents as opposed to those of a good biography. Although one does not know if important issues have been omitted from the selection or whether the choice of documents for publication provides an unbalanced view of Bentinck's attitudes or areas of concern, it is nevertheless a singular advantage to be brought into direct contact with the ideas of the writers themselves rather than having their opinions mediated through and placed into an unnatural order by the author. One can, too, appreciate more fully the range of questions Bentinck covered and the zeal with which he approached them, recognizing more poignantly from the tone of the letters he received and his reactions to them the limit which circumstances imposed upon the fulfilment of his dreams. Sir Cyril himself is too modest in expressing the hope that his selection of documents will encourage others to write about Bentinck's governor-generalship. It is of value for everyone who is interested in Indian affairs, but also for those whose concern is with the whole problem of government, whether of one race by another or of one person by another person. The detailed issues relate primarily to one period. The general questions are eternal.

KENNETH INGHAM

MIREILLE HELFFER (ed. and tr.): *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Ge-sar d'après le livre de La Course de cheval. Version chantée de Blo-bzan bstan-'jin*. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. II. Hautes Études Orientales, 9.) [xiii], 573 pp. Genève, Paris: Librairie Droz, 1977.

Some two-thirds of the work under review is an edition and translation of a section of the Tibetan Gesar epic, the 'Dzam-gling seng-chen *skyes-bu's* 'ia-rgyug-gi rtogs-pa brjod-pa or 'horse-race' chapter, taken from a manuscript used by a Tibetan bard, Blo-bzan bstan-'dzin and compared with the manuscript published in résumé by Stein in 1956 and with a recent reprint of a xylograph. Tape recordings by a bard of the whole section make possible a pioneering study of the musical aspects of Tibetan epic chant (part II, ch. iii).

The remainder includes an inventory of other tape recordings and of the names and brief biographical details of seven other

accessible bards (none of whose performances were used for the present work except now and then in the musical section); description of the poetic techniques and language of the genre; and explanation of the cultural world revealed by the epic.

The text of the manuscript is in a good state and has wisely been left as it is, the few variants being noted. The transliteration seems to have been carefully done, though the drawbacks of the Pelliot system with all its diacritics are apparent from such discrepancies in cross-reference as *gdon/gdong* (p. 390), *tshums-chen/chum-chen* (p. 388), and *mnam/mnyam* (p. 450). (Incidentally, the absence of the song numbers at the top of the pages, and the placing of the textual notes after groups of songs, make cross-checking unnecessarily tedious.)

On p. 8 we are told that the hyphen is used to link the elements of a 'composé' or 'jointure un mot-racine à une particule casuelle'. In the absence of a systematic formal grammar of this style of Tibetan that statement is not very helpful; moreover the second of the two uses mentioned is not observed here with any consistency. Thus in the first two pages of the text we have *ci-la*, *brgyan-la* and *yi-la* versus *Khro-thung la*, *snon-pa la*, and *sa-cha la*, and *khrod-na* and *mnyes-na* versus *re'u-mig na*, *gur-khang na*, and *ma-byas na*, also 'khyag-gis versus *yong-bas kyis*. One might also mention *ngag-gi* versus *nam gyi* on p. 30. Further examples might be cited to show that it is not just a matter of the number of syllables. In the first-named use the inconsistencies are not so glaring, but the 'composé' still seems to be defined intuitively, giving rise to contrasts such as *de-'dra* versus *snying 'dra's* (p. 72) and *nyal-'dra* (p. 136). *Thabs-she's*, a well-known word, is unhyphenated on p. 138 but not in the note on p. 165. *Kha 'dre* and *ru nga* on p. 40 should surely be hyphenated. Such criticisms are not entirely trivial since the author uses arguments allegedly derived from grammar to support conclusions in the poetic and musical spheres, and yet the grammar is neither explicitly stated nor discernible through any consistent use of hyphenation.

The translation generally gives a fairly good to good idea of the matter of the text, but could often be tightened up by stricter attention to the grammatical functions of particles. Here again the author does not follow her own scanty explanations, for example those on p. 385. 'Le passé des verbes est indiqué par la particule *le*'; but on p. 14 we have '*grigs-le* translated by a French present indicative, also *god-le* on the same page, and *mithun-le* on p. 52. On p. 14, *byed-le* is translated by a French future! (I have a suspicion that *le* is used in this text rather like *mkhan*, which indeed is often how Mme. Helffer translates it.) 'Le cas correspondant au locatif est marqué par la particule *na*'; the locative case is nowhere defined, but surely *gdan-rab la* 'sur les meilleurs sièges' (p. 36) and many other examples are as much locative as any instances where *na* is used? As examples of translations which depart from literalness without any particular gain we have, again on the first page of the text, *tshig-gis brjod-lugs 'ed* 'c'est la façon d'exprimer un mot', where

ishig has been transformed from instrumental in Tibetan to object in French; and *Jo-rus sprul-baggyur sna-ishogs des* 'Jo-ru a produit des émanations de toutes sortes', where a verb has been 'produit' from nowhere and the last word, which implies some causal relation with what follows, is ignored.

Having made these points, I feel I must now congratulate the author on a valiant and largely successful attempt at translation of a considerable volume of often difficult material. Names, metaphors, and obscure references have been tracked down and documented with thoroughness and zeal. Seldom indeed does Helffer concede defeat and leave a word or expression untranslated. Seldom either can it be claimed that she has actually misunderstood the text. On the first two pages, again, I would take issue only with *Jo-rus 'gro-don nam-zig* [sic, probably *zhig*] 'ong' ('when will he come?') rather than 'viendra-t-il un jour?' and *sgug-mi* ('those waiting' rather than 'attente'). This text should be seen as a significant addition to our knowledge of Tibetan literature and a major step forward in the study of the epic genre.

The chapter on 'stylistique' contains interesting material on epithets, names, techniques of narration, and figures of speech. The examples collected under 'vocabulary', however, are in no way peculiar to the epic, while the section on diminutives is puzzling. *Gzhon-nu*, for example, is a perfectly ordinary Tibetan word for 'young'. In the case of *yag* we seem to be dealing with pet names rather than diminutives, and yet *amar-yag* is translated as 'cruel' (p. 214). *Lu*, again, seems to be a pet-name element. The statement 'La racine verbale *yod* est généralement remplacée par *gda*/Yi' is quite baffling. Instances of *yod* must outnumber those of *gda* by at least a hundred to one in this text. And what is Yi? Perhaps the author means that the bard reads *yod* as *gda* or *yi* when reciting?

In the chapter on 'versification' the author claims to demonstrate that the great majority of lines have a caesura after the fourth syllable (in seven-syllabled lines) or fifth syllable (in eight-syllabled lines), with a small minority having a caesura after the second or third syllable. The evidence for this is said to be 'syntactic'. It rests ultimately on several assumptions, stated on pp. 427-8. One of these is that 'le vers tibétain est marqué par la présence d'accent portants sur les mots-racines et non sur les particules... il peut donc être considéré comme un vers accentuel'. In my view this is quite unproven and could only be tested by analysis of spoken verse. Particles can certainly take as much stress as non-particles, if indeed stress is the crucial contrast. As an example taken almost at random, consider the line *dma'-ba bas-kyang mtho-na bzang* which occurs twice on p. 148 (characteristically, once hyphenated, once without hyphens). On Helffer's analysis, *bas-kyang* must be a foot, and must presumably have a stressed syllable; yet both syllables are particles! Such examples are far from rare.

The examples analysed to show the caesura give the appearance at first sight of a statistical analysis of lines of the text according to their

different syntactic breakdown. But in fact they are nothing of the sort; they are just examples of certain types of grammatical construction, the grammatical principles involved being nowhere stated. Nor is it always obvious where the caesura should fall. In the line *e-zin lha dang srung-mus dgongce*, for example (p. 441), it could equally well fall after any pair of syllables, or even after *lha*. There are plenty of other examples of this phenomenon in the text, and in a line with several syntactic breaks there seems to me no way of knowing which one is more significant than the others. A caesura after the fourth (fifth) syllable as the norm is certainly not supported by the chart of intercalary syllables, and to me the caesura in this poetry remains an entirely vacuous concept.

In part II, ch. iii, we have what is to this non-musical reviewer a solid and impressive analysis of the 13 'timbres ou airs-types' (tunes?), their peculiarities and use, and the basic pentatonic anhemitonic system from which they derive. Due acknowledgement is made to the prior work of Crossley-Holland on this type of music. His material, however, shows some differences from that under discussion here. As I am quite incompetent to evaluate this chapter I merely commend it to all students of Tibetan musicology as essential reading, simply because of its obviously systematic and detailed approach.

The final chapter on the cultural world of the epic is most informative and will be especially useful to musicologists and students of the epic coming from outside the Tibetological field.

In conclusion, this is a generally admirable work, which presents much new material and breaks new ground in literary and musical analysis. Most of my criticisms are really of the rudimentary state of Tibetology, particularly its linguistic side, rather than of the work under review, which should prove of great value to Tibetologists, musicologists, and students of epic literature alike.

PHILIP DENWOOD

NIK DOUGLAS and MERYL WHITE (comp.): *Karmapa: the Black Hat lama of Tibet*. xvi, 248 pp., front., 16 plates, 2 maps. London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1976. £8.50.

Among several books written by, or related to, escaped Tibetan Hierarchs this one is particularly interesting, for it treats in the simplest, almost documentary way, the most complicated and intricate problems concerning the teaching of the sect of Black Hat Karmapas belonging to the New Tibetan Spiritual Lineage of Karma-Kargyudpas.

Three conceptual features mark the so-called New Tantras, the most powerful movement of Buddhist Yoga which began in about the eleventh century A.D. They are: (1) the idea that the mind as such (i.e. by its own nature) is as supernaturally hard, solid, and immutable as the Vajra (the symbol of the highest solidity) and possessing such a nature that it cannot be treated in terms of either subjectivity

or objectivity; (2) the idea of transformability of all natural bodily and psychical functions of a man into their supernatural correlates (also called the Vajra-correlates—this idea was particularly strongly stressed in the teaching of Guhya-Samāja-Tantra); (3) the idea that the individual conscious principle of a man could be deliberately and purposefully transferred from one body to another, from one place to another, from one time to another. But here I should have emphasized that the very term 'idea' as it had been understood throughout the Buddhist Tantras means first of all the capability to do 'it' rather than think 'it'. And this last feature was particularly characteristic of the Karmapa Sect, whose present reincarnated Head stepped out of Chinese-occupied Tibet (as had been predicted), and appeared before naïvely self-indulgent Western eyes.

This book gives us the description of the lives of the 16 Karmapas based upon a few Tibetan sources, the chief of which is the 'Blue Annals' by Go Lotsawa Zhonu Pal, and orally commented on by the present Karmapa himself. Yet, to put it more exactly we have here the history of *one* life of one Bearer of Consciousness, whose limits of existence are rather difficult to ascertain because, dogmatically speaking, we can hardly imagine a time when he was not existing. I will try to explain this point.

Karmapa (= *las-chen*) literally means 'the Possessor of Karma', which in its turn signifies that he is not subject to the Law of Karma but, on the contrary, he masters it, and goes from reincarnation to reincarnation choosing the place and time where and when to be reincarnated. The present Karmapa is said to have been an Emanation (*sprul-pa*) of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the highest spiritual patron of Tibet. The 'Blue Annals' (BA) state that previous to becoming the Karmapa he was a Bodhisattva of the Blessed Period (*bakal bzun*), then after achieving the Highest Complete Awakening he underwent five reincarnations, in one of which he became a disciple of the greatest Buddhist philosopher and yogi, Nāgārjuna (c. second century A.D.), until in his sixth rebirth he became reincarnated as the first Karmapa under the name of 'the Knower of the Three Times' (1110-93). Now he is living as the sixteenth Karmapa at Rumtek in Sikkim and according to the Prediction in due time he will become one of the Buddhas of the Future, namely—Buddha Lion (*sen-ge*), the Buddha listed after Maitreya (BA, 412-13; see *Bhadra-kalpa sūtra*, Buddha 6).

But how did he continue his existence from the time when there was no time up to the time when it will be quite distinct from ours? This Yogic process of the Transference (*gron hjug hpho-ba*) of one's conscious principle (*rnamshe*) into another body is described in the book and corresponding sources with a great deal of clarity, though without too many technical details. So, we read that the second Karmapa (1204-83) performed the action of transferring his conscious principle into the body (corresponding to Skt. *parakāyapraveśa*) of a boy who had just passed the point of death (i.e., whose own conscious principle had

already left him, but whose life principle was not altogether extinct). However, when the boy's parents saw him returning to life again, being terribly afraid therewith, they pierced the child's eye with a needle so that the conditions were not suitable. And after that, the second Karmapa withdrew his conscious principle from the boy's dead body and, after assuming the form of a Being of the Intermediate State (one that is between death and rebirth, *bardo-ba*) entered the womb of his future mother (BA, 425).

In almost all cases of the 16 Karmapas, including the present one, we have one and the same 'pattern of becoming': (a) the Karmapa predicts, either by sealed letter or, much less often, orally, where his conscious principle is going to be transferred; (b) he performs such a transference; (c) the child born thereafter is recognized, usually by Reincarnated Lamas of some other Tantrist lineages, as the *same* Karmapa. It does not mean, however, that we have literally the same 'man' (not to speak about 'person' or 'I') but rather, *individual structure of consciousness* (primarily emanated from the timeless Bodhisattva). This idea, if regarded phenomenologically, could have led us to the triple (if not trinitarian) interpretation of the conscious principle: as (a) a quasi-ontological category related to that of Buddhahood; (b) a psychical fact or event related to the conception of the Body of Transformation (*sprul-bai sku, nirmāna kāya*), according to which each conscious principle is individual (yet from that nothing could be deduced about individuality thought of as a person); (c) a mental entity of 'mindness' (*sems-ñid*) to be yogically meditated upon and concentrated on. The last one is referred to as one of the main objects of yogic activity but by no means affected or changed by it or by any other act, fact, or event (BA, 422).

Seeing that, we can speak of all 16 Karmapas living from 1110 up till now as *one* in the sense of one *consciousness*, but not in the sense of one *man*. This might be confirmed by many passages in the 'Blue Annals' and many other sources. So the second Karmapa was said to have seen the appearance of the first Karmapa (BA, 423) and quite obviously they were different men whose conscious identity was maintained by an especial yogic recollection (*dran-pa*) permitting all of them to see in each other one and the same conscious core (BA, 284, 425).

The book is a very good example of a genuine, clear, and sober account of the first historically traceable succession of Reincarnated Lamas in Tibet. I would permit myself to make only two minor remarks. I am rather doubtful about whether it is really necessary to connect the name of Karmapa tradition with the concept of Karma. All Karmapa reincarnations have nothing to do with Karma because of their not being subject to its law and, in this sense, even the term 'reincarnation' sounds rather conventional. Besides that, we have many suggestions that the name they had assumed was that of a monastery in Kham region, founded in 1147 by the first Karmapa (H. E. Richardson, *JRAS*, 1953, 3-4, p. 139; BA, 427). And secondly, it

would have been better to have rendered all Tibetan names and terms in transliteration while in fact about half of them are given in transcription only.

A. PIATIGORSKY

HANS-RAINER KÄMPFE (ed.): *Ōi ma'i 'od zer / Naran-u gerel. Die Biographie des 2. Pekinger Ōan skya-Qutuytu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786)*. (Monumenta Tibetica Historica. Abt. II: Vitae, Bd. 1.) [v], 111 pp. + 181 pp. facsim. St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1976.

This work is in part a revision of the author's doctoral dissertation, *Die soziale Rolle des 2. Pekinger Ōan skya-Qutuytu Rol pa'i rdo rje*, which was accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Bonn in 1974. That dissertation consisted essentially of two parts: a factual analysis of the Mongolian and Tibetan versions of the biography of the subject was followed by a sociological interpretation of his position and the role he played. As could be anticipated from the title, it was the sociological theme which dominated the dissertation, and to which the factual analysis was subordinate. Dr. Kämpfe opened his dissertation with a welcome to the penetration of the older humane disciplines by the spirit and methodology of more modern sciences, though he agreed that the new standards were not universally accepted. His thinking at that time seems to have been primarily politically orientated. To conceive of learning as existing for its own sake, he considered, prevented it from contributing towards the solution of one of the most pressing problems of our age, that of the 'third world'. He also felt that an increasingly powerful 'democratic socialism' was at work, posing problems of social relevance in fields which up to then had been the purview of bourgeois culture. Asiatic studies, however, had not kept up with this trend, preferring a self-chosen isolation from it. However, pioneers in the process of altering the traditional horizon were already at work, and Kämpfe cited, as representative examples of what they were doing, an article by Walther Heissig entitled 'Mongolistik—ein Beispiel angewandter Philologie', and the same author's *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*. At the same time, he admitted, though with regret, that the realization of this new concept remained a programme rather than fact. (The reviewer recalls that, in noticing Heissig's truly monumental history of Mongolian literature for *BSOAS* (xxxvi, 2, 1973, 483-6), the one aspect of it which caused him real disquiet was precisely the apparent tendency to try to extract social significance from almost every piece of writing. Not only did this tendency appear at times to be a forced one, but it also showed signs of deriving too closely from the Mongolian and Soviet critics whose works Heissig was bound to include in his secondary source material.)

Be that as it may, Kämpfe's present work omits the sociological discussion, and limits

itself, as befits the title of the series which it opens, to the presentation and analysis of the texts with which he is concerned. These are the Mongolian and Tibetan versions of the biography of the second *Ōan skya Qutuytu*, written, only a year after the death of the subject, by his own younger brother. The first useful description of this work was given by Heissig in an article entitled 'Zur Bestandesaufnahme und Katalogisierung mongolischer Handschriften und Blockdrucke in Japan', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxxviii, 1966, 44-91, a description much enlarged by Kämpfe's researches. The present work is divided into four parts. An introduction provides, in four sections, bibliographical data, information concerning the author, a description of further Tibetan and Mongolian sources for the life of the subject, and a historical sketch of his life. The second part consists of a very full summary of the contents of the biography. The significance of this part is enhanced by the fact that Kämpfe does not offer a full translation. The third part contains the necessary technical apparatus of notes, glossary, bibliography, and index of names, and the fourth part, in quantity half the book, consists of facsimile reproductions of the two texts.

With this volume, Sagaster's edition of the life of the first Qutuytu (*Subud erike*, reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxxii, 2, 1969, 419-20), and Kämpfe's own text edition of the biography of the third, which appeared in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, x, 1976, 225-85, our colleagues in Bonn have performed a signal service in the furtherance of Mongolian historical studies. Kämpfe rightly refers, in his last-mentioned essay, to the dearth of published raw material in this field, and it is a pleasure to congratulate him on helping to supply the want he has mentioned, and also on presenting such an admirable first volume in a new series.

O. R. BAWDEN

GOMBOJAB HANGIN (ed.): *Kōke sudur nova (Injannasi's manuscript of the expanded version of his Blue chronicle)*. Part 1. (Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 58.) xxxiii pp. + 239 pp. facsim. Wiesbaden; Otto Harrassowitz, 1978. DM 68.

The existence of a variant version of part at least of the great historical romance *Kōke sudur*, written by the Inner Mongolian nobleman Injannasi (1837-92), has been known since 1943 when Walther Heissig described a manuscript which had been shown to him in 1942 in Hsinking by the scholar Keshinga, and which he had photographed. As Professor Hangin has shown in succeeding publications, the Tümed manuscript, so-called, is part of a revised and much expanded version of Injannasi's original work, but we know of only 28 chapters, compared with the 69 of the latter. The present publication consists of a short introduction by the editor, and facsimile reproductions of chapters 43 to 61, contained in books 15, 16, and 17.

When this text edition is completed, we shall have access to the greater part of Injannasi's known work, that is, to two versions of *Köke sudur*, and to the two novels *Nigen dabqur asar* and *Ulayan-a ukilaqu tingkim*. Even now we have enough primary material to attempt a reassessment of Injannasi's personality and his literary achievement. Not that this will be an easy task. Injannasi's oeuvre runs into some thousands of pages. He uses a variety of styles, from a simple narrative Mongolian to a sophisticated counterpart to classical Chinese adopted for passages translated from that idiom. He uses many Chinese words which, even when uncorrupted by the printer, can be difficult to assign to their original characters. His personality and outlook are as yet ambivalent. At one time, as in the introductory chapters to *Köke sudur*, he presents himself as an enthusiast for everything Mongol, almost as a forerunner of Mongolian political nationalism. As Hangin writes: 'Did the author foresee the independence of Outer Mongolia only twenty years after his death? ... In any event, the ardent desire of the author was the revival of the Great Mongol Empire, and he took upon himself the great mission of awakening the greatness and self-esteem of his people' (p. xx). Heissig develops even further the idea of the social and political commitment of Injannasi when he writes: 'Somit muss *Nigen dabqur asar* als eines der ersten Zeugnisse von "Anti"-Literatur im mongolischen Raume gesehen werden' and again 'Wie sehr Injannasi's Anliegen revolutionär war ...' (*Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, 206). Yet on the other hand, Injannasi's two novels appear so centrally fixed in the Chinese literary tradition of *Hung lou meng* and its continuations and imitations that one is inclined to view them as merely two more of the many pastiches of that great work of imagination, with the added curiosity of being in Mongol rather than in Chinese. To do so would, however, be premature, before further study of the literary connexions of Injannasi's work is made.

Examination of the type of Chinese book which Injannasi exploited in writing his novels, and of his techniques of borrowing, translating, and rearranging, may assist in reconsidering his literary status. It is a commonplace that *Nigen dabqur asar* bears a certain relationship to *Hung lou meng*. So apparent is this relationship that Heissig, for one, warns that the Mongol novel is not a plagiarism, but the re-elaboration of a realistic and urgent theme, which arises from the adoption of Chinese lifestyles in Inner Mongolia. But what sort of a relationship is it in fact, and what other relationships exist? In a review one can do no more than suggest lines of approach. Heissig sees the similarities between the two works as emerging from the sociological theme. But much more immediately striking are the obvious literary connexions. The episode of the visit of the old woman Pai Lao-kua to the aristocratic Chung-hsin-fu, the home of the youthful hero P'u Yu, can only have been modelled on the similar episode in chapter 8 of *Hung lou meng*. It cannot be an independent creation, and its only significance can be in the special use, if any, which

Injannasi may have intended to make of it. Does it have any such significance, or is it merely a literary *tour de force*, a clever Mongol adaptation of a well-known incident from the older novel, used to mark, as it does, the beginning of the action in the real world after the prologue in fairyland? This is one of many instances of close, even literal adaptation of Chinese sources. In chapter 17 of *Nigen dabqur asar* there is an ironical description of a visit to a broken-down country *yamen*, occupied by an inept magistrate, together with the amusing text of a proclamation he has issued concerning the theft from his premises, while he was lying drunk, of various items including two large pigs, one ham, three salted fowls, and a card-case containing 15 pawn tickets. This comic proclamation is not, however, the invention of Injannasi, but can be found, not identical in all details, but substantially the same, in chapter 12 of the much earlier Chinese novel *Hung lou fu meng*. Chapter 14 of the latter contains the incident of the discovery, in the supposed tomb of Lin Tai-yü, of a stone box containing a wooden box of hers. This episode is recounted also in chapter 6 of *Ulayan-a ukilaqu tingkim*. A third source of inspiration was the novel *Ching hua yuan*. The first two chapters of *Nigen dabqur asar* are based almost literally upon the first two chapters of the Chinese novel, and as early as chapter 1 we are introduced to the Weep-for-red pavilion, *Ch'i hung t'ing*, which figures in chapter 48 of *Ching hua yuan*, and, in its Mongol version, *Ulayan-a ukilaqu tingkim*, provides Injannasi with the title of his second novel. It is apparent even from this, though there is more evidence, that he conceived his two novels as a whole, drawing material for both from the same Chinese sources. One important task will be to identify what is original in Injannasi's work, and what is translated or adapted from Chinese sources. This done, it may be possible to discern characteristic differences in tone between what is borrowed and what is original, to judge if any new significance has arisen from the manner of presentation and collocation of the borrowed passages, and to decide whether there is a consistent social or political attitude inherent in Injannasi's original contributions to his books. Only when the literary origins and the technical structure of Injannasi's work have been thoroughly studied will it be possible to speak with any assurance of any social or political purpose in it, for only then will it be possible to separate what is personal and vital from what is traditional and conventional.

All this may seem to have diverged too far from the subject of this review, Hangin's edition of the Tumed manuscript of *Köke sudur*, but this is not really so, for similar problems face us in evaluating *Köke sudur* itself. Hangin provokes the same line of inquiry when he writes: 'We find many examples in the 69-chapter version where the author adapts some well known episodes from such works as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*' (p. xvi). He refers back at this point to his monograph on *Köke sudur* (reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 2, 1974, 483-5), where he writes: 'Moquli, the famed Mon-

golian general, was to the author like Chu-ko Liang, the great commander in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Much of Injannasi's descriptions, especially of his wars and battles, was inspired by this famed Chinese novel' (p. 40). As with Injannasi's two novels, the search for the sources of his historical romance represents a task to be undertaken systematically.

None of what has been said is intended in any way to belittle the achievement of Injannasi, but rather to suggest new lines of inquiry into his methods of authorship and his aims. Injannasi is a significant and fascinating figure in Mongolian literary and intellectual history, and it would be a pity if the evaluation of his work were to be prejudiced by overstressing the social and political aspect of it before a thorough examination of it has been made from an unbiased literary-historical standpoint.

C. B. BAWDEN

HENRY HENNE and others: *A handbook on Chinese language structure*, by Henry Henne, Ole Bjørn Rongen, Lars Jul Hansen. (Scandinavian University Books.) [xiv], 293 pp. Oslo, etc.: Universitetsforlaget, [1977]. (Distributed in G.B. by Global Book Resources, London, W.C.1. £11.)

The only work which students of Chinese have hitherto been able to use as a reference grammar is Yuan Ren Chao's *A grammar of spoken Chinese*, a volume which is somewhat ill-suited to the purpose, since it is often difficult to find in it information on a particular point. Though less comprehensive, this *Handbook* is more clearly organized and has a better index: the authors, however, acknowledge their debt to Chao, and hope that their work will serve as an introduction to his grammar. The framework of immediate constituent analysis is employed here, as by Chao, and much of the description is parallel to Chao's—e.g. the notion of minor sentences (those with a predicate and no subject) and of subject and predicate being equivalent to topic and comment—but the remarks in the *Handbook* tend to be systematic rather than discursive in Chao's manner. There are, however, a number of differences from the *Grammar*; for instance, a separate category of relational verbs—which includes *shì*, *yǒu*, modal verbs and the so-called coverbs—is distinguished, and the category of quality verbs is wider than Chao's, since it also includes his class of status verbs (e.g. *bìng* 'to be ill').¹

There is much here that those learning the language will find useful, such as the discussion of the conditions for the use of the *bā*-construction (though a similar study of the passive would have been a good idea). There are helpful sections on, for example, the meanings of the aspect markers, on measures,

on the numeral system, and on stress and intonation—this last is particularly welcome, since beginning students often find this a baffling topic. Anyone wanting information on a particular aspect of Chinese grammar will probably find much of what they want in these pages, together with plenty of examples. Of course there are omissions; for instance, what is said about double-object constructions is quite inadequate, and the relationship between definiteness/givenness and position *vis-à-vis* the verb is not dealt with systematically. It is unfortunate, too, that some of the terminology used is likely to confuse: there seems no valid reason to make readers stumble over the distinction between negatable, negated, and negative centrals (p. 6), or to talk of the objects of intransitive verbs (p. 85).

Moreover, some aspects of the book's linguistic analysis are untenable and confusing. To some extent the grammar suffers from a lack of attention to recent linguistic work on Chinese (the preface is dated March 1977, so one assumes that this work could have been taken into account). This failing is most glaring in the authors' treatment of coverbs, which they unequivocally regard as verbs. But their analysis here is quite contradictory: on p. 111 they state that verbs occur as sentence centrals, but on p. 150 admit that coverbs never occur as centrals. On the following page they say: 'Coverbal phrases indicate the circumstances under which the action of the central occurs', a characterization quite inappropriate for *bā*, *bèi*, and *bǐ*. Reference to the article by Charles Li and Sandra Thompson (*JCL*, II, 3, 1974, 257–78) or Claude Hagege's lengthy book might have shown the advisability of distinguishing a class of prepositions with specific syntactic and semantic properties, and the lack of motivation for a special subclass of verbs called coverbs. But while the linguist may object, the student of Chinese is likely to appreciate the discussion of the functions and meanings of the various classes of 'coverb'.

One last point has to do with how example sentences are glossed. Too many examples have no word-for-word gloss at all, while those that have use a numbering system to relate words in the Chinese original and the English translation. I for one found this hard to follow, and it sometimes leads to downright absurdities, as when *le* is shown as equivalent to 'was' (p. 158).

But on the whole this is a most useful aid to learning Chinese, one which all students should be encouraged to possess, if they can afford it. It was presumably considerations of cost which prevented the appearance of a single Chinese character on these pages.

PAUL BENNETT

MARTINA DEUCHLER: *Confucian gentlemen and barbarian envoys: the opening of Korea, 1875–1885*. xiv, 310 pp., 4 plates, map [on endpapers]. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press for the Royal Asiatic

¹ The Pinyin romanization employed in the *Handbook* is preserved in this review.

Society, Korea Branch, [c1977]. £12.25.

This study begins with the Japanese attempts, especially from 1874 on, to establish a new relationship with Korea after the Meiji Restoration, and ends with the uneasy truce over Korea reached by Japan and China in the Convention of Tientsin in 1885. It is a diplomatic history of that period, but with emphasis on the domestic background to the Korean response to the changing world. This background is described in terms of the intellectual attitudes held by Koreans and of the economic and technological stage on which the intellectual roles were played. The details are derived from contemporary sources, and the whole story is told clearly and objectively.

One important difference between the opening and modernization of Korea and the similar processes in China and Japan was that China and Japan (in the following period also Korea's other neighbour, Russia) played a far larger role in the process in Korea than did the West. Dr. Deuchler in fact writes of Korean 'fear of her neighbours', and she therefore examines Chinese and Japanese policies. Many of Korea's difficulties during this period arose fairly directly from China's ambivalent attitude towards her. This comes out most clearly in the description of Li Hung-chang's persistent attempts after the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1871 to gain for China the best of both the old and the new worlds, culminating in the 'Regulations for ... trade between Chinese and Korean subjects' of October 1882 (pp. 140 ff.). The ambiguity of Chinese statements on Korea is fully explored, and it is made clear that China and Korea shared a 'deep distrust of their aggressive and incomprehensible neighbour', Japan (p. 28). The preface warns that, in seeing 'an undeviating, inevitable process that climaxed in Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910 ... hindsight at times replaces factual analysis', yet the factual analysis presented later never quite dispels the feeling that Korea at least was justified in her distrust of Japan, and it perhaps pin-points the reason for that distrust in: 'Outside the government [in Japan], the clamour for active intervention in the peninsula never stopped, but it was an emotional call for expansion to which the Japanese government could not respond. *Japan's priorities during these ten years* did not and could not include the annexation of Korea' (p. 219, italics added).

Ultimately, however, it was Korea's own 'Confucian heritage as well as her age-old reliance on her tributary relations with China that conditioned Korea's response to the outside world. Korea tried to resolve the problem of preserving the traditional order and also devise a way of adjusting herself to the exigencies of the modern world' (p. xi). The Confucian state, it is suggested, may not have been susceptible of innovation: 'In [the] Confucian view, innovation was the enemy of the system itself' (p. 222), or of reform. The reformers failed, in 1884, because 'they tried to work within the traditional government, but they did not make it to the echelons of

power ... They unrealistically aimed at reforms, the need for which could not be grasped by those who would have been their principal beneficiaries—the general populace. ... The reformers did not want to begin with popular support: this would have been the method of rebels. They wanted to work down from the top: this was the method of Confucian gentlemen' (p. 223).

This book fills a gap in Western knowledge of international relations in the Far East towards the end of the nineteenth century by describing so fully and accurately the Korean response to the call for modernization.

W. E. SKILLEND

TREVOR LEGGETT. *Zen and the Ways*. xiii, 258 pp. London, etc.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978. £5.95.

In the midst of the world-wide popularity of Japanese martial arts, or 'Ways' as they are called, this new book is welcomed as an exploration of their spiritual background. It traces their Zen origin in the Kamakura period and gives a full explanation of the subtle elements in those Ways. No one is better qualified for the task than Mr. Leggett, an adept in both Zen and Judo. The text makes pleasant reading, and with the inclusion of fine line drawings and illustrations providing visual aids to the reader, an artistic flavour is added.

In the academic sense, too, this is a significant addition to Zen literature in Western languages. It contains a translation of records and articles relevant to the subject, some being rare and inaccessible and most of them being the first ever published in an English translation. Although excessively critical eyes should not be cast on a book of this kind which places the spiritual aspect before the literal, readers who might, nevertheless, be interested in tracing the language ought to be cautioned about accepting the translation at its face value in all cases. The following few mistakes which have crept into the translation will suffice as an example.

'A man already great in his root and in his action' (p. 44, l. 20) does not appear to be a sensible translation of 大機根人, which means rather 'a man of great spiritual capacity'. 'How is it to be done when the heart is at rest, and how when the heart is active?' (ll. 21-2) should be corrected to something like, 'How should I establish the heart in firm belief (安心) and how should I employ the mind (用心)?'. 'Sitting in meditation is the true form of thought' (ll. 26-7) for 端坐思實相 should read, 'sitting in the proper way meditating on the true form (of existences)'. 'See everything of cause and effect as a bubble of dream illusion ...' (ll. 33-4) should read, 'See every conditioned thing as a dream, illusion, bubble or shadow ...'.

Similarly, as we turn to p. 48, we find the following mistakes. 'The Buddhas of the three worlds' (l. 2) should read 'the Buddhas

of the three periods (i.e. present, past, and future). 'The ordinary man with his idea of greater and less' (ll. 4-5) is a mistake for 'ordinary men and followers of the Two Vehicles (i.e. the path of Śrāvakas and that of Pratyekabuddhas)'. After 'Bodhisattvas' (l. 21) one should supply the missing part, 'who are incarnations of Buddhas or higher stage Bodhisattvas'. 'The second path being so difficult' (ll. 13-14) should read 'since it was difficult for followers of the Two Vehicles to comprehend'. Further, 'Kegon sutra' (l. 15) is a mistake for 'Lotus Sutra'.

Skipping intervening errors, on p. 187 we come upon 'He earns his salary' (l. 13), which should read 'he does not wastefully receive his stipend from the state'. 'All of which ... the arts of the heart' (ll. 13-15) should be corrected to 'all of this (i.e. the practice of the six arts) becomes an aid in achieving the Great Way when he reaches perfection and realizes the arts of the heart'. For 'If one sets one's heart on forcing things, it makes no impression and it is a weakness' (ll. 24-5), we suggest 'If one guards and strengthens one's heart, it becomes empty and weak afterwards'. Further, 'it is like blowing on a fire when the fuel runs out' (ll. 26-7) should read 'it is like blowing on a fire to star it up, causing the fire-wood to run out'. Lastly, 'it freezes up' (l. 28) should read 'it congeals'.

In spite of inadequacies in the translation as shown above, the author's contribution, by referring to a number of writings, towards making clear how the Zen spirit formed the martial arts cannot be overestimated. This will be long esteemed as a classic by those who wish to cultivate the Zen spirit through the Ways or learn the Ways with a Zen spirit.

H. INAGAKI

WALTER LIEBENTHAL (tr.): *Wu-men Hui-k'ai: Ch'an-tsung wu-men kuan, Zutritt nur durch die Wand*. (Sammlung Weltliteratur.) 142 pp., 2 plates. Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1977. DM 34.

In his previous works, such as *Chao-lun, the Treatises of Seng-chao*, Professor Liebenenthal has already displayed his outstanding linguistic ability and unique philosophical insight which have edified and sometimes dismayed scholars working in the same field. His characteristically nonchalant attitude towards the traditional canons of interpretation has often led to what amounts to wild speculation and resulted in versions of the originals that are strained and forced.

The text he has laid his hand on this time is the classic of all classics in Zen literature. The *Wu-men-kuan* has already been translated into English and German seven times: (1) *Mumon-kuan*, in *Zen: der lebendige Buddhismus in Japan* by A. Faust, Gotha and Stuttgart, 1925, and Darmstadt, 1976 (only 17 of the 48 cases are translated), (2) 'The gateless gate' in *Zen flesh, Zen bones*, by N. Senzaki and P. Reys, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo,

1957, (3) *Mumonkan, die Schranke ohne Tor* by H. Dumoulin, Mainz, 1976 (previously published as *Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 13*, 1953), (4) 'The *Mu mon kuan*, the gateless barrier to Zen experience', in *Zen for the West* by S. Ogata, New York, 1959, (5) *Mumonkan, Zen and Zen classics*, iv, by R. H. Blyth, Tokyo, 1936, (6) *Zen comments on the Mumonkan* by Z. Shibayama, tr. by S. Kudo, New York, 1974, and (7) '*Mumonkan*' in *Two Zen classics: Mumonkan and Hekiganroku*, by K. Sekida, New York and Tokyo, 1977. Liebenenthal knew of the first five translations, which are mentioned in the foreword (pp. 14-15), and particularly refers to Dumoulin's and Blyth's translations in the notes.

The translation of the title as *Zutritt nur durch die Wand* appears strange. Compared to this, literal translations of it, such as *die Schranke ohne Tor* (Dumoulin) and *the gateless barrier* (Blyth and Ogata), are more acceptable. Liebenenthal's explanation for giving this translation (pp. 37-8) does not sound very convincing. The very first phrase in the preface, 佛語心爲宗, does not seem to be translated correctly. 'In der Sprache des Buddhismus ist die Doktrin ersetzt durch das Erlebnis' (p. 40) is as unwarranted as the previous translations: '(Die Zen-Schule) macht den Geist des Buddha-Wortes zum Grund' (Dumoulin, 35), 'Buddhism makes mind its foundation' (Blyth, 14) and 'Buddha Mind (Zen) takes nothing as its source' (Ogata, 91). As Chinese and Japanese commentaries invariably point out, the phrase 佛語心 comes from the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* (*Taiśho Tripitaka*, xvi, 480, etc.), where it appears as part of the phrase 一切佛語心 (Sung version), and it exactly corresponds to *sarvabuddha-pravacana-hrdaya* in the Sanskrit text. The phrase in the Sung version, which means 'the heart expounded by all Buddhas', has its corresponding phrases in the Wei and T'ang versions, namely, 一切諸佛所說法心 'the heart which is the Dharma expounded by all Buddhas' and 諸佛教心 'the heart taught by all Buddhas', respectively. The whole phrase at the beginning of the preface should, therefore, be translated as 'the heart (or mind) taught by the Buddha(s) is made the essence (in Zen)'.

As we read on, we find that 從門入者不是家珍 is erroneously translated as 'Wer durch das grosse Tor kommt, ist nicht geliebt wie ein zur Familie Gehöriger' (p. 40). As Dumoulin translates, this sentence should read 'Was durch das Tor eingeht, ist nicht der Schatz des Hauses' (p. 35). Still on the same page, 慈悲說話 simply means 'dieses Sprechen ist ...' (Dumoulin, 35) but Liebenenthal is obviously confused by this idiom. He takes this as an interrogative sentence and translates it as 'Was lässt sich weiter dazu sagen?'. Next, 心路 may very well be translated as 'die Regungen des Bewusstseins' (Dumoulin, 37) or 'the workings of the ordinary mind' (Blyth, 31), whereas Lieben-

that unnecessarily construes it as 'das Interesse am Gegenständlichen' (p. 42).

'Ganz allmählich mache dich los davon, werde reif' (p. 43) is not quite what 久久純熟 is supposed to mean: 'after a long time it becomes fully ripe'. Although it is well established that 維那 (a senior monk in charge of various affairs) is equivalent to the Sanskrit *karmadāna*, Liebenthal gives *vaināyika* (p. 45), which is untenable, though closer to the Chinese in sound. It is explained in commentaries and dictionaries that 維 stands for 綱維 'supervise and maintain' (hence 'senior monks in supervisory offices'). 'Ein personlicher Gott' (p. 64) is an impossible translation of 識神, which in a Buddhist context means 'relative consciousness' ('das relative Bewusstsein' by Dumoulin, 66) or 'the relative mind' (Blyth, 111). 休去 does not mean 'sich beruhigen' (p. 67); it means 'remained silent' or 'made no reply' (Ogata, 103). On p. 71 one finds a paragraph completely misconstrued: 'Damals (als er ihn ausfragte) ... zur vollkommenen Ruhe'. Blyth's translation, which follows the orthodox interpretation and is considered appropriate to the context, reads: 'If Ummon at that time, by giving him the fodder of the sect, had shown that One Way of Living Activity, it would not have become extinct' (p. 129). There could be no logical explanation of how 生氣一路 could be rendered as 'einen unorthodoxen Weg, der den Keim in ihm zur Reife bringen sollte'. The Way here referred to is unmistakably the Right Way.

As a full review of this translation would require a great deal of space, this task will have to be left to critical readers. It is regretted, however, that this great Zen classic has not been dealt with in the proper Zen context and that due attention has not been paid to Chinese and Japanese commentaries. As we have seen above, Dumoulin's and Blyth's translations remain more reliable than the present one, although there is room for improvement in each of them.

H. INAGAKI

RYOICHI HAYASHI: *The Silk Road and the Shoso-in*. Translated by Robert Ricketts. (The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, Vol. 6.) 181 pp. New York: Weatherhill; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975. \$12.50. (Distributed in G.B. by Phaidon Press. £8.50.)

This is the sixth volume in the series of over 30 titles, all notable for clarity of language and fullness of illustration, which constitutes the best popular introduction to the Japanese arts available. Professor Hayashi makes the most of the what-it-was-really-like approach afforded by the light which his material casts on court manners and Buddhist ceremonial of the earlier eighth century, but he does not fail to make the main art-historical points. In time

past there was something like a conspiracy of silence over the Chinese origin of the finer contents of the Shōsōin treasure house of the Tōdai-ji, as if all might conceivably be the work of Japanese craftsmen inspired from China; but now the plain truth is stated, that the majority of the things are imports from the mainland, of Chinese, or, in a few cases, of Persian origin. The problem surrounding the integrity of the treasure as it was (for the most part) sealed in A.D. 756 by the empress Kōmyō in memory of her late husband the abdicated emperor Shōmu is stated clearly as far as it goes, though an unsuspecting reader might not gather how little it is possible to relate the surviving contents exactly to the near-contemporary inventories, the *Kommotō-chō* and the *Kokka Chinpō-chō*. But the general character of the collection as by far the most important body of Chinese craftwork surviving from the T'ang period is beyond question. The pieces came in increasing quantity to Nara after the year A.D. 735, when an embassy to the T'ang court was embarked on four ships. Under such heads as the introduction of continental culture, the recounting of motifs and ornamental devices, comment on temple paraphernalia, etc., description contributes to the historical picture, rather than conforming to the usual technical categories. Some of the final sections of the text take up technique for itself, with perhaps less of explanation than the uninitiated Occidental reader would desire. The author writes very much on his own ground as a specialist in Japanese artistic relations with foreign nations, touching deftly on a number of themes which he would certainly elaborate in a more exacting context, his passing mention vouching for the authenticity of the general account. Such is the architectural history of storehouses: *shōsōin* was a common term in the eighth century, many temples boasting one; and the Shōsōin, the only such edifice which has survived to the present day, was the treasure-house of the temple in the first place—hence the large place given in it to temple furnishings—and only by chance became the repository of Shōmu's collection of Chinese exotica. The Buddhist contents of the Shōsōin were enlarged moreover in A.D. 950, when the material hitherto kept in the temple's Amida-dō was placed with the more important collection. Initially these added things occupied the *nansō*, or southern third of the building, but too much disturbance and reordering took place later for any conclusion to be safely based on this segregation. The student of calligraphy will be pleased, possibly amused, to be reminded that Shōmu owned over 20 scrolls of writing which he believed to be the work of the fourth-century master Wang Hsi-chih and his son Wang Hsien-chih; and no special knowledge of Chinese writing is necessary to appreciate the difference between Shōmu's nervous style and the commanding rhythm of his wife's hand—one of Shōmu's first decrees upon accession had been to the effect that his wife must be attended to in government business as much as himself. On some formerly debated points the author gives the modern, and correct, view: that the three-colour pottery is indeed of Japanese manu-

facture; that the T'ang-style mirrors were similarly a native product, more closely imitated than the pottery, which sometimes substituted silver-coated copper for the Chinese tin-rich bronze; that the famous mirror decorated with cloisonné enamel is a T'ang piece, for all its astonishing precocity; that the ink figure-drawings so providentially preserved in the Shōsōin are not the fruit of an untutored native naturalism but reflect the mannered realism of the contemporary Chinese portrait, secular and ecclesiastic. The references to Persian art are well put, the Shōsōin material contributing to the evidence for a 'Sasanian' style still flourishing long after the Muslim conquest of Iran. The list of gifts made by the Chinese emperor to An Lu-shan in A.D. 750 reads like an extract from the Shōsōin inventory. The romance of China's liberal half-century in Ch'ang-an is evoked as, visually, only the Shōsōin permits and we are reminded with the Chinese poet of the taverns 'where Persian waitresses beckon with white hands'. The translation of the Japanese text is excellent.

WILLIAM WATSON

G. F. MININA and KYAW ZĀW (ed.); *Birmansko-russkiy slovar'*.—V. B. KASEVICH: *Kratkiy ocherk grammatiki birmanskogo yazyka*. 783 pp. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Russkiy Yazyk', 1976. Rbls. 2.44.

ANNEMARIE ESCHÉ: *Wörterbuch Burmesisch-Deutsch*. 546 pp. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1976. M 65.

The only complete Burmese-English dictionary available at present is the 1953 centenary reprint of Judson's pioneer work, the first full edition of which was published posthumously in 1852. As the most recent revision and re-editing of the work was done by F. H. Eveleth in 1918, the English-speaking student is obliged to work with a book that is 60 years out of date. Several projects have been undertaken to produce a successor to Judson's great work, but none has so far reached completion. In the meantime the Soviet scholar, G. F. Minina, has produced, with the help of Ü Kyaw Zāw, a comprehensive up-to-date Burmese-Russian dictionary of some 29,000 words which almost completely answers the student's needs, provided he reads Russian. And the German-speaking foreigner wishing to learn Burmese will be able to get considerable help from the first Burmese-German dictionary, a less comprehensive work of about 17,000 words, compiled by the East German scholar, Dr. Annemarie Esche. Both books were printed in Moscow but the German one has clear well-printed type on excellent paper, firmly bound, whereas the Soviet work, which is poorly printed on inferior paper, is unlikely to stand up well to the heavy use which its valuable contents merit.

The Soviet work is intended primarily for Russian students of Burmese, though all

Russian glosses are accented for the benefit of the Burmese user; the German dictionary seems to have been written with the Burmese learner in mind as well as the German student of Burmese. The genders of all German nouns have been given, and a very large number of Burmese verbal nouns included, useful only to a Burmese user. Both works most usefully indicate the pronunciation of the Burmese head-word in phonemic transcription, using diacritics to mark the tones; unhappily there are many inaccuracies in the B-G dictionary, and a fair number in the B-R one, e.g. in the latter /pi/ for /pyi/ on p. 329, /e/ for /é/ etc. 'guest', /ei/ for /èi/ 'old' throughout p. 693. Both works also give a short account of pronunciation, which in the Russian dictionary forms part of a 50 pp. outline of Burmese grammar, contributed by V. B. Kasevich. The categories established in this outline are used in the dictionary glosses. This description of the grammar merits a separate review, as much for its interesting approach to the morphology of the verb as for its failure to distinguish clearly the formal and colloquial styles of the language.

At the end of the Soviet work there are several useful appendices: firstly, an 11 pp. list of Burmese and foreign place-names together with their pronunciations (a few of these such as Pegu, Mergui, Amarapura are wrong); then follow lists of various political and social organizations in Burma, the Burmese names of international organizations, and abbreviations occurring frequently in the press and radio. Many of these entries here listed, or placed within the main body of the Burmese-German work, being merely Burmese spellings of Western words, would be redundant in a Burmese-English dictionary but are included here as they need to be explained to non-English speakers. The same could be said of the English loan-words, of which there seem to be an unnecessarily large number in the German dictionary. The Soviet work, though identifying words of Pali origin, does not give the origin of English loans, so it is possible that a Russian might ask himself what Burmese morphemes made up the word /sakò-là-shi/ 'stipendium', or /zi/ 'lightning fastener'. The Russian dictionary provides further valuable lists including weights and measures, monetary units, the calendar and dates, feast days and national holidays, decorations and honours, titles and forms of address, educational degrees, cardinal and ordinal numbers, and classifiers. The author is particularly to be congratulated on these extras.

The first question asked about any dictionary is how good a general coverage will it provide; of the Russian dictionary, the reply is 'excellent', of the German one 'reasonable'. In fact the longer work provides, proportionately, a fuller and more precise coverage than the shorter one. As stated in the introduction, the Soviet work presents the lexicon of the contemporary literary and socio-political language of Burma as well as the general vocabulary of science, technology, agriculture, medicine, the arts, and sport. The material was gathered largely from printed sources. Dr. Esche's dictionary on the other hand was quite clearly

prepared while she was living in Burma, as its vocabulary reflects a familiarity with daily life and a preference for the spoken idiom (the examples are nearly all in the colloquial style), as well as including a wide range of modern technical and political terms. In the Russian dictionary the glosses, especially of verbs, are more detailed and informative; there are more numerous examples, including a wealth of proverbs and idiomatic sayings; grammatical particles and structure are more fully defined and illustrated; for example, the B-G dictionary gives two meanings for the verb *kyā* /cā/ (herab) fallen, sunken; *Zeit* da sein; the B-R dictionary gives 12 meanings and two illustrative phrases. Likewise, the word *pūn* /poun/ has two entries, 1 (a) form, model, (b) story; 2 to heap, be heaped, whilst in the Russian dictionary *pūn* has four entries, with eight meanings under 1, not a mere two. On the other hand the German dictionary is often very wide in its coverage of compounds, as under the word for cooked rice, *thaman*: /htamln/, where it lists 17 entries compared to the Russian's 18. Surprisingly, only five of these are common to both dictionaries, which illustrates well the difficulty facing the lexicographer in selecting which compounds to include. It would seem obvious to prefer those that are not readily deducible from the sum of their parts, yet the five compounds in common are easily deducible ones, viz. 'to cook, a cook, eat food, rice-water, cooking pot'. An examination of three other bilingual dictionaries reveals a total of 45 compounds with only the five above in common. Clearly a compiler's choice of compounds must tend to be determined by their chance occurrence in the corpus of material available to him. It will be interesting to see how many are included in the new concise Burmese dictionary due to be published in Rangoon in 1978.

Two problems which faced Judson in the 1840's and which are only now in the process of being settled by an official body, the Burmese Language Commission, were alphabetical order and spelling. The spelling of many words fluctuates, so that the lexicographer can either choose what he thinks is the preferred form, and ignore the others, or, preferably, include both, with cross-references. Neither dictionary is satisfactory in this respect. The B-R one includes important variants, though not always, of the type *thā.pra*, *dhā.pra*, *damra* /damyá/ 'dacoit', but does not indicate the existence of numerous variant spellings with *kr* and *ky*. In some cases variant spellings have even been given a different gloss, as if unrecognized by the compiler, e.g. *kye-kwai* 'be saddened' and *kre-kwai* 'experience suffering'. The German dictionary gives even fewer variant spellings. Even though the official Burmese Government spelling book has at last been published, to the relief of printers and schoolteachers, it will still be necessary to give common variant spellings in any future Burmese-English dictionary to help students.

The alphabetical order of initial consonants in Burmese follows that of Sanskrit and Pali, but the ordering of syllable rhymes has varied considerably. The Soviet compilers have

followed the order of rhymes adopted by the monolingual 'University Burmese dictionary', edited by U Wun (the first part of which appeared in 1952), and also have placed the vowels at the end—Judson had placed them first. The German dictionary also places the vowels last, but adheres to Judson's system of ordering syllable rhymes. No system is inherently superior but it could be argued that foreign bilingual dictionaries ought to follow the system of indigenous monolingual ones. Both dictionaries, abandoning Judson's principle of grouping compounds lexically, have listed all compounds in alphabetical order, thus making them much easier to find. However at this point Esche's adherence to Judson's alphabetical order, which fails to distinguish between syllable final and syllable initial consonants, produces an unexpected and unsatisfactory separation of related compounds, e.g. *kyachun*: 'fall, die' is followed by entries such as *kyāñ-čan* 'bullet', *kyan-mā* 'be healthy', and *kyā-rok* 'fall, arrive' comes four columns later. The Russian dictionary follows U Wun in listing all open syllables first before starting on closed ones; the result is a more convenient grouping of compounds. A further problem is connected with the initial atonal syllable *a*; its function as a formative of nouns derived from verbs, and its optional occurrence with many original nouns, mean that many entries under *a*-repeat part or all of entries elsewhere. Esche has taken a bold step towards reducing the number of cross-references by placing all forms with *a*-immediately before those without *a*, though some Burmese users find the innovation disconcerting.

In conclusion, while congratulating the compilers of the Russian dictionary on their achievement, I must point out that they are inaccurate in claiming that theirs is the first modern Burmese-foreign language dictionary to have appeared in Burma. In 1962 a Sino-Burmese scholar, Chen Yi-sein, working on his own, published *A model Burmese-Chinese dictionary*, a comprehensive and accurate work containing some 30,000 entries. Due credit should be given to the Chinese for being the first in the field.

ANNA J. ALLOTT

ROBERT K. HEADLEY, Jr., and others: *Cambodian-English dictionary*. [By] Robert K. Headley, Jr., Kylin Chhor, Lam Kheng Lim, Lim Hak Kheang, Chen Chum. (Publications in the Languages of Asia, III.) 2 vols.: xxvii, 708 pp.; [iv], 709-1495 pp. + [13] pp. figs. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1977. (Distributed by International Scholarly Book Services Inc., Forest Grove, Oregon. \$49.)

This eagerly awaited dictionary will be very warmly welcomed, filling as it does a serious gap in the equipment for the study of Khmer.

The need for a comprehensive dictionary from Khmer into some well-known European language has been felt increasingly as the dictionaries of Guesdon and Tandart, which in any case were out of date and full of unfamiliar spellings, have become almost unobtainable. This work consists of two sizeable volumes resembling in scope the works of Guesdon and Tandart but based primarily on the all-Khmer *Vacananukram khmer*. The compilers have carefully given most of the entries, definitions, and examples of the *Vacananukram khmer* omitting for the most part only the rather unnecessary and rambling material to be found in some of the articles in the Khmer dictionary. They have made additions from other sources, in particular from the dictionaries of Tandart and Sam Thang. The publication has been carried out by photographic methods direct from typescript and consequently does not seem, under present conditions, too expensive.

The dictionary proper is preceded by introductory notes on the Khmer phonology, word-categories, and orthography; by a table showing the Mon-Khmer language family, and by a bibliography. It is followed by 13 very useful pages of labelled drawings of objects such as agricultural or weaving implements, parts of a cart, etc., which are common in Cambodia but quite unfamiliar and difficult to imagine in the West. The authors modestly admit that there are faults and shortcomings in the work and, as is to be expected in so large an undertaking, it is not difficult to find points to criticize. However, let it first be said that the general aim of Mr. Headley and his team of Cambodian assistants has been admirably carried out and that the result is a really useful aid to the understanding of modern Khmer.

The defect which the present writer finds the most serious is the following. The use of typescript for the Khmer orthography, which has probably contributed more than any other feature towards keeping down the cost of the publication, greatly detracts from the helpfulness of the finished work to non-Khmer users. The characters, in particular the subscript consonant and superscript vowel symbols, are so small that they tax the eyesight and cause confusion. It would of course have been very useful to have had a transliteration for each entry as an aid to those more familiar with the Sanskrit script order than with the Khmer orthography and as corroboration of the small Khmer characters but it is appreciated that the cost in time of preparation and in the reproduction of such additions has to be considered. Smaller imperfections are as follows. First, the compilers have disregarded the syllabary order followed in the *Vacananukram khmer* and in Guesdon and Tandart and have placed short vowels with final aspirate after all the other vowels. This has the disadvantage that it will be unfamiliar to most users of the dictionary, even though it was practised in Cambodian schools. Second, they have used a phonological transcription which simplifies the vowel system to the point perhaps of confusing those who look for help with pronunciation. Footnotes were therefore added on p. xvi. They warn, for example,

that *œ* is phonetically /*uo*/ but no mention is made of the diphthong *œ*, which in fact moves to a closer, not a more open articulation point. Third, the practice was followed of grouping in one paragraph the meanings of one form even when they are entirely different and probably involve different words: e.g. *rust* 1. *p.* to constrict . . . 2. *n.* floor, level. Citations of both meanings are then given together, in alphabetical order. Separate paragraphs for each meaning, which would admittedly have increased costs, would have speeded up the search for information.

It seems that this dictionary was in the hands of the publishers for a long time. This would account for the authors' apparent ignorance of certain works which appeared quite a few years before 1977. The 'Lexique des noms d'arbres et d'arbustes du Cambodge' by S. Lewitz and E. Rollet, which was published in *BEFEO* in 1973, would have been of great assistance to the team in translating names of plants but was not used, as may be seen by consulting entries. The Khmer-Russian dictionary by Gorgoniyev which appeared as one large volume in 1975 was very similar in aim to that of Headley, being comprehensive and based on the *Vacananukram khmer*. This would no doubt have been consulted and mentioned in the bibliography (together perhaps with the present writer's concise Khmer-English dictionary of 1974?) if the compilers had still had access to their manuscript. The latest date cited in their bibliography is in fact 1970. However, there were published in the *Journal Asiatique* as early as 1967 the first three of a series of articles by S. Lewitz with the title 'Recherches sur le vocabulaire cambodgien' which would have provided material for the etymologies of some words. These articles, which were not used by Headley, corrected certain falsely based ideas, held by the Khmer lexicographers of the *Vacananukram khmer* among others, and demonstrated, for example, that *krayaa* is a Sanskrit loan and *prathap* is not after all a Thai borrowing.

Finally there is a matter which is of supreme importance: the extent to which the English translations are dependable. Concerning definitions, the *Vacananukram khmer* is not very helpful. The meanings given in many of its articles are inadequate. Sometimes a string of synonyms recur as definitions of each other without any examples being given to illustrate slight differences of usage. To deal satisfactorily with such nuances requires much consultation and study of linguistic material. After using this dictionary for two months the present writer has confidence that Headley and his team have carried out the necessary research and collaborated to produce a reliable work. They should be congratulated on a most worthwhile achievement.

JUDITH M. JACOB

B. J. TERWIEL: *Monks and magic: an analysis of religious ceremonies in central Thailand*. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph

Series, No. 24.) [u], viii, 296 pp.
Lund: Studentlitteratur; London:
Curzon Press Ltd., 1975. £4.

This book deserves a welcome from both sides of academic life, teaching and research. Teachers of subjects dealing with Thai language and culture will welcome a clear account of the religious preoccupations (together with special terminology) of country people in the central region. The author has chosen to treat what is normal and respectable there, leaving out possession cults at one extreme—the non-Buddhist one—and intense, solitary meditations of Buddhist adepts at the other. The hope is thereby to emphasize the main thesis, viz. that there is such a thing as 'animistic Buddhism'; that it is a whole—i.e. it is either a religion in itself (a sort of animism—see p. 4) or, at the very least, a fundamental remotivation of Buddhism; and that it is common, especially in rural areas, though the correlation is claimed to be with lack of sophistication (notably, lack of exegetical skill) wherever this is found. Ch. i and xi, the first and last, take pains to state this view. The contrast is with 'compartmentalized Buddhism', a property of the sophisticated, who see themselves as refiners, alone able to win the pure gold of Buddhism from the dross with which they see it commingled. Teachers would do well to reflect on this contrast. Promoting the views of sophisticated people is not the same thing as sophisticated teaching. Nor do the sophisticated provide the only guarantee of analytical sensitivity appropriate to research. In the case of Thai rural Buddhism there has indeed been the danger of a double standard and the implied condescension that goes with it: 'Those who understand Pali really *know* . . .', as though thereby they were above depending on mere beliefs. This book sets the record straight. And it does so with evidence afforded by an adequate grasp of Pali too. (See, in particular, ch. viii.)

Most of the data were collected by the author at first hand during a period of six months in the *sangha* at a *wād* near Rajburi, followed by a further five months as a layman in the same area. Two processes are followed and commented on as one chapter succeeds another. One is developmental: from childhood, through adolescence (tattooing and amulets figure prominently here), through entry into the *sangha*, then return into the lay world, courtship (love-charms figure here), marriage, house-building, and so to old age and death. This sequence is marked off along a male life-span. The other process is presented *pari passu*, but it relates to a female life-span in contrast. One further kind of contrast crops up here and there. This is between what is accepted as seemly conduct for *bhikkhus* nowadays and what was accepted in former times. Such matters tie in with observations on state control and centralization. (See, for instance, pp. 22, 121–31, and 270.) The initiative, then, appears to lie with the sophisticated urban bureaucracy, who administer what they feel to be reforms. The author does not challenge their right to do this.

He does reveal, however, how great the initiative of the abbot, the senior *bhikkhus*, and the elder laymen of the community is too. Indeed, Buddhist animism flourishes because of this fact. The *krom* proposes but the *wād* disposes.

The confidence of readers grows by the occasional meetings with the author within the pages of the book. Without obtruding, he makes his claims and admits his limitations. Half of ch. ii is devoted to statements about field-work and research attitudes. A table (p. 44) lists eight personality tests taken before and after research to prompt more self-awareness ('values and attitudes', p. 43) and to measure the impact of his Thai experiences (very slight). This may raise a smile but, whilst it is somewhat naïve, it is also very honest. So much of the book, not merely the content but also these *aperçus* of what might be called serious simplicity, remind the reviewer of the work of Phraya Anuman Rajadon. I hope it is a compliment the author will appreciate to say that this reviewer intends to put the book forward as recommended reading hand in hand with Phraya Anuman's *Life and ritual in old Siam* in Gedney's translation.

There are a few misprints and some infelicities in English. The glossary is helpful though not exhaustive. It is wayward in its application of the Haas transcription. Furthermore, the lack of an index makes it advisable for page references to be included in the glossary for all key entries and proper names.

P. J. BEE

RAINER CARLE: *Rendras Gedichtsammlungen (1957–1972): ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der zeugenössischen indonesischen Literatur*. (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, Bd. 11.) [j], iv, 385 pp. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1977. DM 29.

Rendra is one of the best-known present-day Indonesian poets and dramatists. In fact he has for various reasons made a name for himself ever since the 1950's. Among other things, his charisma as a declaimer of poetry and actor is almost unrivalled. Although Rendra's popularity with the Indonesian public in general is mostly founded on his extra-literary activities, such as his political outspokenness or the intricacies of his marital life, it remains a fact that he is one of the more sincere (*otentik* as Rendra himself would say) and spiritually and intellectually consistent artists. Yet, like many of his Indonesian colleagues so far, he and his work have not been studied seriously in detail from a literary point of view—Pramoedya Ananta Toer's work probably being the most striking example of this kind of neglect.

This Ph.D. thesis by Rainer Carle endeavours to change this unsatisfactory state of affairs and to bring the development of Rendra's lyrical work, as being representative for modern Indonesian poetry in general, to

attention. As Carle himself mentions repeatedly, however, the work presented here is not yet finished and only forms the first part of a larger study. In this part Carle concentrates on the thematic analysis and interpretation of the poet's work published in collections between 1957 and 1972. Since then Rendra has not published poems in the form of collections, and one gains the impression that of late he has preferred to publish his poems in newspapers with a mass circulation and not as books. (These poems are mentioned but not discussed by Carle.) Of Rendra's other work Carle occasionally refers to his essays if they seem relevant to the poetical work.

By studying the poems in chronological order Carle intends to trace the development of Rendra's main literary themes and motifs. Although in this discussion Carle follows broadly the edited collections the question why these poems and collections were arranged and published in a particular non-chronological order is not discussed in detail. Broadly speaking Carle identifies three main issues which appear with varying emphasis and which culminate and come together in *Blues untuk Bonnie*. These themes are his coming of age, parting from his parents, and the quest for a partner; his religious convictions; and finally his social commitment, which most obviously of the three leads him to protest and rebellion. A special chapter is devoted to this 'Philosophie der Rebellion'.

When analysing Rendra's collected poems linguistically Carle does not go very much beyond the little that has been said elsewhere about Indonesian poetry in general, although he employs a number of criteria developed in European criticism to point in detail to special features of rhyme, rhythm, and intonation, which show Rendra's lyrics as the work of a skilful master of the potentials of Bahasa Indonesia.

The discussion of Rendra's application of various forms of European poetry like the ballade, stanza, and sonnet is rather brief, whilst on the other hand the influence of traditional Javanese elements is emphasized so much that one wonders if an analysis of the poems of Rendra is representative and relevant for the analysis of poetry in Bahasa Indonesia in general. Carle mentions that a more detailed linguistic analysis will be the subject of his larger study, and, as he has shown elsewhere, this analysis can be very interesting indeed.

Carle's main interest is to trace the relation between form and content and the occurrence of interconnected changes in both. He definitely succeeds in showing this coherence. Roughly Rendra's poems have changed from the rather formal, literary reflections of a romantic soul to the increasingly colloquial statements of a 'rebel' against established religious and secular institutions and against established society at large.

The study is not easy to read, especially since its author in many cases refers to poems without actually quoting the original. Only some of the poems discussed are translated in part or as a whole and Carle says that: 'Die von mir gegebenen Übersetzungen stellen einen Versuch dar, die korrekte Wiedergabe des

Originaltextes mit seinem lyrischen Charakter zu verbinden. Wo das nicht überzeugend möglich ist, wird einer mehr prosaischen Lösung der Vorzug gegeben' (p. 283). While this principle deserves full support, it has to be noted that his translations at times sound rather awkward. On the other hand Carle should not be made responsible for what especially in the case of the essays is clearly recognizable as Rendra's own bad style and sloppiness.

setiap makhluk yang dijumpai si penyair—jedes Geschöpf, das dem Dichter begegnet (p. 8) I would translate as *jedes Geschöpf, dem der Dichter begegnet*. If one believes that *mamma* has to be translated by the far more respectful *Mutter* (p. 73), then *bunda*, one of Rendra's early key words, has to become *verehrte Mutter*. *menolak—abweisen* (p. 90) does seem less to the point than the *zurückweisen* of l. 53. Equally for *betrogen—dikhianati* (p. 91) I would prefer *verraten*. *remaja in permainan dan semangat remaja* (p. 123) probably refers to both *jugendlichem Spiel und Lebensfreude* and not just to *semangat* only. For *menggapai sia-sia—sucht vergebens Halt* (p. 118) I would support the interpretation by Raffel and translate: *Ihr Turm ist ausreichend hoch, aber streckt sich vergebens ... leidend am Staube kauend. memasuki surga Musi* (p. 119) describes clearly how the poet enters the river by boat and it should be translated accordingly *in den Musi einfahrend*. Correspondingly *melewati jalan yang baru* becomes *den neuen Weg befahrend*. As *er* of l. 9, p. 121, should refer to the rain and not to the forest I would prefer the translation *Regen fällt im Kanari-Wald. Anfangs ist er sichtlich angenehm* to *es regnet im Kanari-Wald. Anfangs sieht er lieblich aus*. Referring to *memberontak dalam genggam sedikit lupa* (l. 35, p. 135) Carle writes: 'Die Bedeutung von Z. 35 ist nur spekulativ zu klären' (p. 136). And he translates */Zum/ Rebellieren im Griff, /um/ ein wenig zu vergessen?* I cannot quite follow his ensuing speculations and my suggestion is simply to translate the passage as *Rebellieren im Griff des Ein-bisschen Vergessens?* For *yang belum pernah dikenalnya—den sie noch niemals kannte* (p. 148) I suggest *den sie noch überhaupt nicht kannte*. The quotation on p. 148 is not complete and makes it difficult to understand this text both in its Indonesian and German version. Similarly I do not understand the meaning of the quotation on p. 241 in its context. The comma after *menekankan* (p. 162) I would regard as confusing and misleading. Omitting it would make the understanding of this passage easier and I would translate *In der javanischen Philosophie gibt es etwas, das die Bedeutung von Mandiri, d.h. Persönlichkeit besitzen betont. Nun, es ist wahr dass dies keinen warmen Empfang im Katholizismus bekommt. Schon gar nicht in der Erziehung in den katholischen Instituten, die meistens vom Jesuitenorden geleitet werden, dessen Struktur recht feudal ist, keine horizontale Demokratie besitzt, sondern dessen Macht vertikal verläuft.*

lambang-lambang (p. 185) could have been translated *Gruben* to avoid misunderstanding when using *Minen*. And on the same page, for

dunia yang kita injak—die Welt die wir betreten I propose *die Welt auf der wir schreiten*. *bupati angkatan* (p. 189) is an appointed functionary and not a *Militärregent*; I suggest *ernannter Regent*. To translate *priyayi*, one of the much discussed key terms of Javanese society, as */Hof-/beamter* seems too narrow. *der* (p. 191, l. 10) should read *die* and the *orang tak dibiasakan* on the same page certainly could be translated as *der Mensch ist ...* instead of *man ist ...* without violating the rules of grammar. On the same page still *hasil cetakan—Druckerzeugnisse* simply means *Erzeugnisse, Produkte* (vide Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Umum*, Jakarta, 1976, *sub cetakan. Barang apa yang sudah jadi*) just as *cetakan ITB* might refer to a graduate of this institute and not to one of its publications. In the case of *elaborasi* (p. 223) I would try to avoid the negative connotation of the German *Elaborat* since the English *elaboration* comes closer to the German *Ausarbeitung*.

A number of very useful appendixes complete the book, among them various lists of Rendra's poems, a bibliography of his writings, and highly important extracts from a larger word-concordance which again is to be published in full later.

The book is only the second full-scale literary study of the works of an Indonesian poet published so far in a Western language and it is the first study of its kind in German. It deserves our attention as a serious effort to analyse the work of a poet solely on literary grounds. Considering that Rendra is still very much alive and a public figure of renown it seems regrettable that Carle has restricted himself so much to a purely literary analysis, worthy as it may be. Especially in tracing the development of Rendra's literary themes he would have had a chance, if he had wished to do so, to make Rendra and his intellectual and spiritual concepts appear less remote and distant and thus have added to our limited understanding of some of the problems faced by Indonesian intellectuals. Even the interesting chapter on Rendra's 'philosophy of rebellion' cannot dispel this impression of a certain lack of reality. After all, Carle has had the privilege of communicating closely with Rendra over a period of time.

We await eagerly the promised sequel to this book.

E. U. KRATZ

KOENTJARANINGRAT: *Anthropology in Indonesia: a bibliographical review*. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Bibliographical Series, 8.) viii, 343 pp. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975 Guilders 45.

One of the least-known traditions in anthropological studies must be the Dutch scholarship on Indonesia. Despite the effort made in translating at least the major monographs, their work has, sadly, remained somewhat inaccessible to the general reader because of the difficulties with language, and few

anthropologists working outside the area are acquainted properly, if at all, with their often distinguished writing. So the publication of a review of the development of social anthropological studies on Indonesia has been sorely needed. In this scholarly and readable book, Professor Koentjaraningrat has written an essential work for all, whether anthropologists or not, who have an interest in either Indonesian societies or the development of Dutch social anthropology.

Anthropology in Indonesia discusses the documentation of Indonesian societies from the first contacts with sailors through to the post-war period and concludes with an account of the research and teaching at Indonesian universities and the possible application of anthropology to the problems of contemporary society. From the first chapters, the author moves to the distinctive developments of the Dutch academic tradition in the region. Appropriately, he does not confine himself to the relatively new discipline of social anthropology in the strict sense—as he points out in the introduction, such a book 'would amount to no more than a discussion of the works of seven or eight persons'—but extends to include the field of Dutch Indonesian studies, or *indologie*. Of particular importance in this was the growth of studies on customary law, *adatrecht*, which has since fallen into a degree of disrepute, but from which the Dutch form of structuralism emerged by way of van Ossenbruggen, to be expanded in the classic work of W. H. Rassers, and later by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (not to be confused with P. E. de Josselin de Jong as the author wryly notes that Marvin Harris recently did). This important but little acclaimed development predated the later celebrated work in a similar direction by Lévi-Strauss in France. The last two chapters are an outline, one feels perhaps regrettably brief, of post-war studies, which are available for the most part in English, and a discussion of the place of anthropology in Indonesia in the present.

The work contains a clear, concise discussion of the writings and arguments of the main scholars in the growth of Indonesian social studies and an outline of some of the major criticisms, with bibliographical reference to others. There is an appraisal of the early sources (often cited enthusiastically by anthropologists for their supposedly pristine observations) which ignores the often heavy ethnocentrism, or downright vulgar chauvinism, and worse the apparently serious deliberations which are more subtly skewed. Sometimes, however, from strange beginnings such great works grew as Schärer's *Die Götteridee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo* (translated by Needham in 1963), which Koentjaraningrat mentions only in passing. The detailed review of the various scholarly contributions contains items of general anthropological interest in the application of the theories of Durkheim and Lévi-Bruhl, and in the criticism, both theoretical and ethnographic, of the contemporary American writer, Professor Clifford Geertz, by Indonesian scholars, and also of the now notorious arguments by Rassers and subsequent authors about the putatively original

moiety systems upon which conceptual dualism was said to be founded. Finally, the author turns to examine the fields in which anthropology may have application to Indonesian social problems. Recent experience in this country of the problems encountered in the application of sociology makes one hope that the Indonesians will have more success.

The book is subtitled a *bibliographical review*, but this does not really do justice to its scope, which offers not only an overview, but also a reasoned argument about the growth of a tradition of social anthropology in Indonesia. One striking feature is Koentjaraningrat's scrupulously fair presentation of views, marked by a pleasantly controlled, perhaps Javanese, sense of irony. As an instance, after a not ungenerous review of the contribution of Geertz who attempted to break with and supersede the Dutch tradition, the author remarks that by 1972 'Geertz came to the conclusion, as Dutch philologists had four decades earlier, that a tendency towards mysticism was the main continuous underlying theme of Javanese culture' (p. 216). Professor Koentjaraningrat on the history of Indonesian anthropology makes interesting and enjoyable reading.

MARK HOBART

LIM TECK GHEE: *Peasants and their agricultural economy in colonial Malaya, 1874-1941*. (East Asian Historical Monographs.) xiv, 291 pp. Kuala Lumpur, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1977. £17.50.

The majority of historical studies of the colonial period in South-East Asia available in Western languages remain those compiled by members of the ruling European élites of the time. As such, they tend to be focused upon policies and events as these have affected only a limited group of the population of the countries of the region within their respective periods of study. The few studies of indigenous peasant communities that exist have been limited in time or in space. The understandable bias of the majority of such studies contrasts fundamentally with a rapidly growing body of literature, originating mainly from Latin America and the Caribbean, which, in a mixture of research and Neo-Marxist polemic, has emphasized Western colonial exploitation of the indigenous rural populations of Third World nations which may be as much a caricature of the truth as were the early pseudo-histories of European powers 'civilizing' the native population. Happily, in recent years, there has been the growth of a series of scholarly, detailed research studies, mainly by indigenous historians, which promise to set the record straight, at least for the South-East Asian region.

Dr. Lim Teck Ghee's monograph, revised from his Ph.D. thesis, on the peasant economy of the Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang in the British colonial period prior to the second

World War is particularly welcome in this respect in giving a balanced view of the development of what might be regarded as the archetypal 'dual economy' and 'plural society' with its distinct upper and lower economic circuits, so beloved of the 'centre-periphery' theorists. Delving deeply into the archives, particularly the files of district offices relating to the agricultural sector, Lim uncovers a rich lode of material demonstrating the real attitudes of the British colonial administration to the indigenous peasantry. On the basis of this evidence, he paints a picture of that administration which is not virginal white, but which is certainly not a black catalogue of colonial exploitation.

The effects of certain policies on the Malay peasantry are, of course, less than admirable. The operation of the Stevenson rubber restriction scheme after November 1922, for example, is exposed as deliberately discriminatory towards the peasant sector and leading to considerable hardship, both in its conception—'The scheme was introduced for the purpose of saving the extremely valuable position in the plantation rubber industry built up by British enterprise in the East' (p. 143)—and its execution, whereby the very persons with most to gain from restricting the production of the peasant sector, the local planters' associations, were given the task of inspecting peasant holdings to assess their allowances under the scheme. On the other hand, Lim submits that '... the low assessments were believed by many inspectors to be what the peasant holdings were entitled to. Many inspectors had fixed notions that smallholdings were (reviewer's stress) relatively unproductive and the assessments had been made strictly according to European standards of planting, cultivating and tapping' (p. 49).

If Lim presents some evidence of a deliberate policy of 'underdevelopment' of the peasant sector, then he also demonstrates that there was much in the British administration's policy that was the result of the general ignorance or lack of understanding of the way in which the peasant sector's system of agriculture was organized. The perception of the need to provide padi land for the 'indigenous' Malay community, because rice cultivation, on a subsistence basis, was the preferred way of life for such people, at a time when the Malays themselves were striving to obtain land for commercial rubber cultivation, may be seen as truly misguided paternalism. The government in short subscribed to the myth of the 'ignorant peasant', when it may be suggested, albeit with hindsight, that it was the government that was the ignorant party. In the presence of an Agricultural Department whose share of the colonial budget was pitifully small and that destined for the peasant sector even smaller, and in the absence of a Department of Drainage and Irrigation until 1932, the assumption that the lowlands of the Federated Malay States were well suited to padi rice cultivation was often erroneous and the reaction to a temporary shortage in British territories with a comparative advantage in rice production was extreme. As Lim makes clear, if Malay farmers did not react favourably to

the way of life chosen for them, '... the real causes were the cheapness of imported rice, the higher returns from other activities (especially rubber) and the relatively low yields obtained from the Malayan padi fields' (p. 186).

Such a policy, born of misunderstanding and self-interest, Lim goes on to stress, is at the heart of some of Malaysia's problems today. He makes the valuable point that the economic imbalance between the Malay and Chinese communities that exists today and necessitates the readjustments incorporated in the pro-Bumiputra policies of the present was not predestined. It was fostered rather by the restrictions placed on the respective communities in terms of land holding and economic opportunity by such policies as the Malay Reservations Enactment and the constraints placed in the path of expansion of Malay rubber holdings.

If Lim's admirable exposition is to be criticized in any respect, it is on two minor grounds. First, it may be said that the title misleads somewhat, in that the main focus is not on the Malay peasantry as such, but rather on the way in which the policies of the British administration affected that peasantry. Indeed the views and conditions of that peasantry could scarcely be given in the absence of coherent contemporary surveys of the group. Second, one could criticize from a geographical standpoint. In the early chapters of the book, the differences between the various states' administrations in relation to the development of the peasant sector are highlighted, whereas later chapters, albeit dealing with a period in which the administration of the Federated Malay States was more centralized, rather gloss over this aspect. Moreover, one feels that a wider perspective might have been obtained if some comparison had been made with the sort of changes which were taking place at the time in the non-federated Malay States. In asking for such details, however, one is calling for a major expansion of an already substantial contribution to the understanding of colonial Malaya. Lim's thesis provides an excellent start and should guide the way to further work from both the historian and the historical geographer.

HARVEY DENMAINE

DAVID L. SNELGROVE (ed.): *The image of the Buddha*. 482 pp. London: Serindia Publications/UNESCO, 1978. £25.

One imagines the choice of theme for a UNESCO book to be so hedged about with shibboleths that nothing feasible could ever stand up, least of all cosmopolitan aspects of history. But the present subject is exceptional, and by editorial strokes approaching genius the various contributions, disparate enough in tone and approach, are sewn into a whole that is original and scholastically most valuable. Responsibility for sections of the text is only generally indicated: Alexander C. Soper, Su-yong Hwang, and Osamu Takata for East

Asia, Jean Boisselier for South-East Asia, Maurizio Taddei for Central Asia, Dietrich Seckel on questions of symbolism, and Ahmad Hasan Dani, Niharranjan Ray, and the editor for India, and the editor for Kashmir, Nepal, and Tibet. The particular usefulness of the book (apart from its excellent illustrations, tables, etc.) lies simply in its endeavour to give a global view of the central strand of Buddhist art: the image of the Founder and his spiritual equivalents. The art-historian may say: the treatment is confessional, as may be seen in the rather repetitious explanation of what is formally a comparatively simple symbolism; the image, though central to the creed, is not the whole of the art and does not suffice to characterize it wholly in any of its particular manifestations. That criticism presupposes that an exclusive interest goes to each national tradition in which the Buddhist aesthetic was incorporated. The present book is welcome as an unusually intelligent attempt to reinstate the prime aesthetic in its universality.

The account of iconography (which seems largely to have been in the editor's hands) is given historical shape, being treated organically and not in the common way as a code of identification. It is not necessary to place some of the symbols in a wider Indian context (e.g. the cobra-hood markings of a halo which are mentioned) because 'notwithstanding their remote origin ... symbols primarily derive their meaning from the biographical scenes'. The coincidence of the appearance of these last, in the form of sculptured reliefs, with the appearance of systematic written biographies of Śākyamuni, is a point well made. This phenomenon, occupying the seventh and eighth Buddhist centuries (first and second A.D.) is shown to be not inconsistent with the Mahāyāna reformulation which was progressing in the same period. The sudden adoption of image worship by the Buddhists, it is suggested here, was in answer to 'a demand created by the internal development' of the religion, and therefore, the reader is to infer, was obscurely related to 'the beginning of the articulation of the inner experience'. The possibility that Jain image-making began even earlier than that of the Buddhists is not denied, and by implication the articulation of inner experience may have begun with them too. Another possibility, less creditable, that image-worship was at least encouraged by the political acceptance which the Buddhists now enjoyed, and matched the worship by effigy of divinized rulers which prevailed from Rome to Iran, is not examined. The fact is that in weighing these issues the historian of doctrine is ransom to art-historians, and with them a handful of dated or barely datable images has long been scrutinized for the answer to this problem, to the tacit conclusion that the evidence is insufficient to resolve it.

The book accepts the now customary dating for the Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture, in the later first century B.C., but here too, and in the fine distinction drawn between the Gandhāran influence and that of the Mathurā school, we participate in a classic speculation of pure art history. The editor inclines to the earlier view, that of Coomaraswamy, that in Mathurā and

Gandhāra the draped standing image of the Buddha was designed approximately at the same time (and not a half-century earlier at Mathurā as van Lohuizen de Leeuw argued), and this adds to the difficulty of explaining what is Indian and what is Hellenistic in the Gandhāran style. The latter 'introduced realism', by which the treatment of figure scenes in narrative relief must be chiefly meant. But here an important point is made (one presumes by Dani, whose periodization of the Swat valley material is basic in the analysis of late Gandhāran) to the effect that a regular distinction is to be made between Gandhāran in a local sense and the more purely Hellenistic style which was practised contemporaneously at all stages of the work—a situation which is strongly suggested by study now in progress in Afghanistan. Taking this point of view it would appear that the Buddha image owed nothing to Hellenism beyond a convention of the drapé, though even that may be questioned. A recent new direction of the artistic exegesis is given proper emphasis: the separation of the later Iranizing Gandhāran school from work continued in the traditional mould. (The Delhi school of art-historians under Dr. Gupta would argue no less for a Śaivite penetration even at this early time.)

It is not out of place to take so exclusively a Mahāyānist view of the course of the art as do the various authors, for even where Theravādin Buddhism persisted or the Amidist cult prevailed in Mahāyāna, artistic trends were not divided on these sectarian lines so far as the principal images were concerned. Yet touching art the doctrinal preoccupation can jar, or tease the reader with the hint of themes which the purpose of the book excludes. The great merit of the editing is to have kept these collisions to a minimum, to have kept the history straight, and by the judicious phrase to have aroused curiosity without breaking the tenor of the narrative. We are told that *sūnyā* 'is the underlying meaning of almost all Buddhist art'—that 'almost' saving much, and the art comment must on the whole be descriptive rather than analytic. Nevertheless it surprises to find Deccan sculpture in its later phase called 'langorous and spongy', or sculptures at Ajanta charged with a 'conscious attitudinal stance' and 'a somewhat dumb insensativity'. Minor incompatibilities of this kind are, however, wholly redeemed by the skill of the survey, in which the problems chiefly engaging current scholarship are mostly well defined and smoothly linked in the account, the text being arranged around just these issues and properly eschewing the national and chronological divisions where these would obscure the story for readers who are making their first acquaintance with the subject. The articulation of the narrative is specially good for India, Nepal, Tibet, and the countries of South-East Asia. Thus the persistence of Andhra influence in Ceylon, its seminal role, through the phase represented by the Buddhapa images, in the whole of South-East Asia, with concessions to lingering Gupta style in Burma, are recounted with notable clarity and in close connexion with the illustrations (this

is an admirable feature of the whole book). The position of Nepal in its selection of Indian style and technique and as purveyor of the chief elements of Tibetan art, the pre-Mahāyānist images of Java, the special importance of the Dvāravati and Sīkhotai schools, are themes admirably presented. The importance of the Pimai sculptors within the Khmer tradition is stressed—one is reminded of informative recent excavation at this place—with no hint happily of the political obfuscation which this chapter of the history has often suffered in late years. It is perhaps owed to the limitation of the thesis, i.e. as a survey of Buddha images, from which much of the best of East Asian Buddhist sculpture is thus excluded, that the treatment of East Asia is less satisfactory than the rest. The sections on China and Japan hover more uneasily between the iconographic account and the necessity of placing this in the national evolution. They are somewhat dry and over-condensed, and some idiosyncratic opinion is expressed besides. A good point is made in indicating the west-Iranian character of the influence which penetrated Central Asia (the same is true of Iranian influence outside Buddhist art which reached China until the mid-eighth century, Sogdiana being the immediate *foyer de dispersion*), but it is wrong on the other hand to characterize all Buddhist painting in Central Asia as merely Chinese after Chinese control was established at the end of the sixth century: for in terms of the T'ang International Style the opposite is nearer the truth, Asian style spreading from Kuśa through north China to Japan. A similar capitulation to Chinese claims is perhaps also responsible for the book's failure to allot a rôle to Tun-huang in the genesis of Tibetan art. Can it be for its thoroughly Theravādin character that the cult of the Meditating Bodhisattva, represented by a number of masterpieces (one of these is illustrated) is not put forward as an instance of East Asian invention? Korea must necessarily suffer from the paucity of the published material: the small bronze images being currently unearthed at Kyong-ju demonstrate an unexpected originality of the early Great Silla style, while the monumental Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the same place and time are remarkable (a fact not mentioned in the account) as the only Buddhist sculpture anywhere executed in granite, with consequent modification of sculptural style which places them in a class quite apart. For Japan surely the quality of wood carving from the early ninth century onwards deserves more honourable mention, and quite singular is the idea that Kamakura sculpture marks a period of decline, being 'more popularized in its expression, more monotonous and aesthetically tasteless'.

This book should be read by the studious no less than by the curious, for it provides the essential background for a systematic study of Buddhist art in any of its regions or periods. The standard of illustration, choice and reproduction, the ordering of the material, the excellent captions and various appendices, and above all the sustained scholarship, make the book the best compendium of this subject

which has appeared. Misprints appear to be limited to five, of which *patti* for *putti* is among Sanskritists perhaps less *pendable*.

WILLIAM WATSON

BAILLY W. DIFFIE and GEORGE D. WINIUS: *Foundations of the Portuguese empire, 1415-1580*. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, Vol. I.) xxxii, 533 pp., 9 plates, 6 maps. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press [and] Oxford University Press, [1977]. £17.50.

This is an impressive work. The two authors have presented a detailed survey of the genesis of Portuguese expansion and of Portuguese overseas activities down to 1580. Their discussion is animated by something of the crusading zeal felt by the Portuguese themselves: they aim to restore the Portuguese empire to its rightful place as one of the most daring of all man's adventures. They are right to do this, and have largely succeeded. Their book is supported by an impressive range of readings, in both primary and secondary sources. It can be recommended as a valuable survey.

In such a wide-ranging book, where the authors are obliged to deal with parts of the world which are as unfamiliar to them as they were to the Portuguese, of course not all is perfect. It is unfortunate, and extremely irritating, that a masterly survey like this is sometimes marred by errors of detail. Regional specialists are likely to find such errors throughout the book. A few examples can be given from the Indonesian area (which was crucial to the Portuguese since it contained the 'Spice Islands' and Malacca, the eastern entrepôt of the Asian trade system and probably the richest prize the Portuguese took). Diffie and Winius place Sequeira's arrival in Malacca in 1510 rather than 1509 (p. 245), and throughout the Malacca episode they give the Sultan's name as 'Mohamed' rather than the correct Mahmud. The authors are apparently ignorant of the abortive attempt to establish a Portuguese post at Sunda Kelapa/Jayakerta (cf. p. 372). The spelling of Asian names is sometimes erroneous: Aceh appears both as 'Achin' (presumably from an English source) and 'Atjeh' (from a Dutch one). Both 'Achinese' and 'Atjeh' appear separately in the index, which is also incomplete. The illustrations are too small to be of much use; on p. 61, n. 7, the reader is invited to make up his own mind about the date given for the discovery of the Azores on the 1439 map, but the photograph is too small to make out anything at all.

I doubt very much whether one can say that the Portuguese established themselves 'firmly as master of the Indian Ocean' (p. 195), that the later British and Dutch empires 'were erected on a Portuguese foundation' (p. 271), or that the Portuguese 'with better fortune, or greater tact, ... might have changed the whole course of Japanese history' (p. 405) through the Christian mission effort. In other words, the authors' attempt to restore the

glory of Portugal has sometimes led them to exaggeration.

There was once a time when the history of the sixteenth century in Asia was seen as the history of the Portuguese. Diffie and Winius are right in believing that studies of the Asian communities themselves have directed the emphasis away from the Portuguese recently. But in attempting to restore the proper historical perspective, at times they merely return to the former bias and overemphasize the role of the Portuguese. The Portuguese empire must be seen in terms of both sides in the confrontation: the Portuguese on the one hand and a variety of non-Western communities on the other. To do this requires knowledge of Portuguese and non-Western sources, and the latter are so numerous and in so many languages that it is inconceivable that any two authors could survey the whole field of Portuguese activity with a proper balance of sources and, perhaps, with the historical imagination necessary to understand all the peoples involved.

What has been done here is most impressive, but we still await a truly balanced reassessment of the role and impact of the Portuguese overseas.

M. C. RICKLEFS

ROSS CLARK: *Aspects of Proto-Polynesian syntax*. (Te Reo Monographs.) 129 pp. [Auckland]: Linguistic Society of New Zealand, 1976. NZ \$4.50.

This revised version of the author's Ph.D thesis (University of California, San Diego, 1973) sets out to 'reconstruct a portion of the grammar of Proto-Polynesian and some of the changes which have led to the present diversity of Polynesian languages' (p. 13). After a brief preface, a Proto-Polynesian tale (curiously lacking either translation or notes) and an introductory chapter which gives a general outline of previous work, each remaining chapter is devoted to a specific area of syntactic structure. Ch. ii deals with the structure of simple sentences, that is to say with nominal and verbal predicates and the syntactic markers (or prepositions) which indicate the case relations between predicate and noun-phrases in the sentence. The phonological shapes of these markers had already been reconstructed, and what the author here attempts to do is to reconstruct the functions of these markers in the protolanguage and to derive from these original functions the present syntactic and semantic functions of the reflexes in individual languages. Ch. iii is devoted to case marking and the passive, ch. iv to the markers of negation, and ch. v to the origin of the actor-emphatic construction in the Maori branch of Polynesian. In each of these chapters the diachronic analysis is preceded by a synchronic description of the relevant structures in the individual languages; the historical arguments are clearly presented and fully accessible to the non-specialist so that, from the methodological

point of view, this is an informative, systematic, and well-argued presentation of a fairly complex subject. The validity of individual analyses must clearly, however, be left to the judgement of specialists in the languages concerned.

Ch. iii deals with case marking and the passive and, with the present renewal of interest in the phenomenon of ergativity,¹ is probably the most interesting from a general point of view. Perhaps, if one takes account of recent synchronic work on Samoan and Tongan,² it is also the most controversial. Since in the reviewer's opinion, which must be very much that of an outsider, the author's analysis would appear to provide at least the beginnings of a serious alternative to a widely accepted earlier interpretation of the facts, we will discuss it briefly. The phenomenon which demands historical explanation is that, in spite of the fact that in every Polynesian language the subjects of intransitive verbs are treated alike formally (that is, are characterized by the absence of any preposition), in the case of the transitive verbs case marking varies in the different branches of the family. Thus, while the branch to which Maori belongs has only an active:passive opposition, the Samoan and Tongian branches have in addition an ergative construction. The three relevant syntactic patterns are as follows (V = verb, S = logical or semantic subject, O = logical or semantic object).

Active	V	S	i/ki O
Passive	V-Ci/a	e S	O
Ergative	V	e S	O

It will be seen that in the active construction the subject is unmarked whereas in the passive and ergative constructions, which differ formally only in the verbal suffix,³ it is the object which is the unmarked noun-phrase. Although the Maori branch has only the active and passive constructions, in the Samoan and Tongian branches all three patterns occur, but with a lexical distribution which requires a subdivision of transitive verbs into two semantic types, one containing simple agent-object verbs like 'to eat', 'to carry', and the other verbs with semantically more diverse case relationships such as 'to leave', 'to remember', 'to fear', 'to worship'. In Samoan, agent-object verbs demand the passive and ergative constructions whereas the other group requires the active construction. Tongian shares this distribution except for the fact that the counterpart of the -Ci/a suffix is either -Ci or -a while -Ci/a is confined to

intransitive verbs, which no longer have any regular semantic relationship to their formal correlates lacking the suffix.

According to the earlier theory⁴ Maori is assumed to have retained the original situation and there has been a long-term drift in the Polynesian languages which has favoured the passive over the active to the point that, in the Samoan and Tongian languages, the passive has become obligatory for all but a very few verbs; and, since the verbal suffix now no longer served to distinguish the passive from the active, it became optional thereby giving rise to the new ergative structure. Clark, however, very convincingly shows that, despite its formal simplicity, this hypothesis comes up against a number of serious problems. For one thing it has to resort to the concept of drift in order to account for the fact that what are assumed to be the innovating languages are distributed over several branches of the family tree and cannot be united under a single node. Nor does this theory explain the lexical distribution of the three patterns in Samoan and Tongian. In view of all these facts, Clark suggests that the true course of events was the opposite, namely that Tongian and Samoan have in general preserved the earlier situation while it is only the Maori branch which has innovated. He rightly points out that the sole basis for any reconstruction is the fact that the case-marker *e and the verbal suffix (perhaps originally rather a sequence of two suffixes, the former having the function of transitive marker) are shared by all the languages in question and that this fact is compatible with both hypotheses. However, in his view the semantic division of the transitive verbs and the corresponding syntactic patterns must be assumed to be inherited. The innovation would in this case have taken place solely in the Maori branch and have consisted in the expansion of the active construction to all types of transitive verb. The fact that in Maori agent-object verbs predominantly occur in the passive would thus constitute a case of retention, the innovation being the extension of the active construction to this type of verb. In order to substantiate his interpretation, the author draws upon evidence from Fijian, a close relative although not a member of the Polynesian language family. Despite difficulties of detail, this evidence does appear to go some way towards confirming his claim regarding the morphological complexity of the -Ci/a suffix and the general direction of the development. Looking at the problem from this wider perspective, he claims that Polynesian has undergone at least two innovations. One is the use of the preposition *e as a marker of the subject in the passive, the other is the rise of the ergative construction as a result of the optional loss of the transitive marker *Ci in the case of agent-object verbs. In this latter respect Clark is thus in agreement with his predecessors in believing that the ergative construction is an innovation, albeit an earlier one than had previously been assumed. Unfortunately this

¹ H. Wagner, 'The typological background of the ergative construction', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C, LXXVIII, 3, 1978, 37-74, with very full bibliography.

² G. B. Milner, 'It is aspect (not voice) which is marked in Samoan', *Oceanic Linguistics*, XII, 1973, 621-39; C. Toehkoff, 'Verbal aspects in an ergative construction: an example in Tongan', *Oceanic Linguistics*, XII, 1973, 607-19.

³ C stands for a lexically determined consonant, on the whole identical with the initial consonant of the verb stem.

⁴ P. W. Hohepa, 'The accusative-to-ergative drift in Polynesian languages', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, LXXVIII, 3, 1969, 295-329.

part of the analysis depends entirely on the functional interpretation of the *-Ci(a) suffix as a transitive or passive marker. How therefore it will fare in the light of the more recent work mentioned above (n. 2), according to which, in present-day Tongan and Samoan at least, the verbal suffix is a marker of aspect and not of voice or transitivity, remains to be seen.

THEODORA BYNON

KENNETH C. WYLIE: *The political kingdoms of the Temne: Temne government in Sierra Leone, 1825-1910*. xix, 251 pp. New York [and] London: Africana Publishing Co., Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1977. \$27.50. (Obtainable from Noonan Hurst Ltd., London, S.E. 10. £17.)

After a brief glossary, two short chapters sketch early Temne history, and Mande influence. Ch. iii, on Temne chieftaincy in the nineteenth century, looks mainly at Port Loko and its emerging Maforki chiefdom: here Islam gained its most decisive foothold in Temne country, and Muslim influences from the north are considered. A discussion of Temne warfare concludes part I, 'early history and political structure'. Part II, 'the era of British expansion and intervention', examines first the slave-trade, then legitimate trade, and finally divergent Temne responses (both accommodation, and violent resistance culminating in the Hut Tax War of 1898) to advancing British encroachment. Part III explores chieftaincy institutions before 1896, when the Protectorate was declared, and in 1896-1910.

The basic theme is continuity: chieftaincy institutions evolve gradually, responding to new circumstances and challenges, surviving through basic resilience and adaptability even in the most hectic periods (such as the sixteenth-century Mane invasions) or during profound innovations like the introduction of Islam. Only the British proved too much: months after the Hut Tax War, the chiefs had become anachronisms, mere shadows (p. 205); not even 'the tiniest part of the chiefs' sacred and ancient prerogatives as sovereign rulers of sovereign people' survived (p. 212); 'governmental fiat erased overnight the sacred prerogatives of the Temne chiefs' (p. 190). Clearly, in such matters of interpretation, reasonable men may differ; I confess that Dr. Wylie has not entirely persuaded me of the break. He describes how some chiefs adjusted to colonialism, turning it to their positive advantage while simultaneously escaping some of the checks and balances of traditional society. Though the point is not taken up, this may compare interestingly with the arrival of Islam, which similarly provided an additional and ultimately foreign-based sanction for chiefly power, while weakening customary controls upon chieftaincy. The British conquest was profoundly far-reaching in terms of political power; the Islamic intrusion altered more than the British ever did in the religious aspects of chieftaincy. My own hunch is that

the British shook the foundations rather less than Wylie suggests.

Perhaps my hesitation derives partly from Wylie's primary concentration upon the political side of chieftaincy. That religion was often an almost inseparable element is repeatedly acknowledged, but not probed in detail. 'Belief in the power of ancestral approval as expressed through ritual and practice' provided an ideological foundation whereby the Temne might throw off oppressors or absorb invaders (p. 209). Chiefs in particular 'have traditionally been semi-religious figures surrounded by ritual prohibitions', with 'something like divine authority' (p. 24): one could metamorphose himself into animal forms (pp. 134-5), another was immune to bullets (p. 220). The secret societies, with strong mystical overtones, were often closely associated with chieftaincy. On the whole, however, the theme of traditional religion is not extensively developed. Nor is the Islamic. Little is said of Temne Islamic faith and practice, although these surely had political significance. Islamic penetration is examined, particularly in Maforki chiefdom. Clearly there was some tension between the traditional chiefly ideal, and the new Islamic model, however much these might be reconciled in practice; the question seems left open when, towards the close, Wylie quotes a contemporary report that nearly all Muslim chiefs could read and write Arabic (p. 193), an indication (if correct) of considerable learning, and yet speaks of Temne rulers in general as semi-divine (pp. 194, 209). Christianity is almost unnoticed. Missionaries are mentioned once in passing (p. 213); although 'Christianity was obviously seen as a powerful force' (p. 168), British authority is later, apparently contradictorily, called purely secular (p. 194). Despite general references to 'great mystic sanctions' (p. 215), religion seems too much played down.

Perhaps this excellent and interesting book views the Temne past through somewhat roseate spectacles. Traditional chieftaincy was remarkably powerful, yet remarkably sensitive to local needs. Illustrating power, Wylie records how a subchief, an *almami*, in the colonial period refused to pay a fine imposed by his superior, who had to appeal to the District Commissioner: 'before colonial rule, this would have been settled by force, for no *almami*... would have dared such insubordination' (p. 204). This is rather having one's traditional cake and eating it: had no *almami* dared, no force would have been needed; if force settled the matter, someone must have dared. As for sensitivity, no chief in Temneland 'had ever been able to act alone in a tyrannical and capricious fashion' (p. 196); elaborating, Wylie explains, *inter alia*, that in one area at least chiefs who fell ill were killed—'and a wicked man was dispatched after the slightest decline in health or well-being'. This rather leaves the door open for the deplorably wicked, but robustly healthy. These are minor verbal quibbles, but they do perhaps suggest the book's general tone. Realism and practicality in Temne policy are stressed: for example, the consistent bias of British officials, ignorant of internal affairs, led them mistakenly to regard

the trade wars along the northern rivers as unfathomable, barbarous, whimsical; the Temne, on the contrary, effectively used the British to their own advantage, exploited European ignorance with skill, acted with ingenuity to further their own stratagems (pp. 104-5). The over-all result was that the northern rivers trade was so dislocated that the main route shifted east. This is not the first time that the goose laying the golden eggs has been killed, but it is unusual to describe the exercise as skilful and ingenious. Before long trade on the new route, along the Rokel, was also 'almost wholly destroyed' (p. 110). Chiefs and subjects alike 'were quite realistic in their appraisal of the Europeans' (p. 212); thus, a chief provoking reprisals which reduced his authority still further might do so deliberately to prove that he acted under duress (pp. 179-80), while Bai Bureh launched a full-scale war against the British though 'he seems to have known' he would lose (p. 154). I suspect this alleged clarity of understanding owes something to the wisdom of hindsight.

Footnotes, nearly 800 in 13 garrisons, mark chapter ends; the dutiful reader, leaping to and fro, will find his volume well-worn after the first time through. The notes include further information and discussion, and are clearly meant to be read. The index, pleasantly and sparsely arranged, is quite inadequate for serious use; notes and appendixes, a quarter of the book, are not indexed at all, the main text only scantily.

Perhaps the most moving sentence of all occurs almost incidentally: 'We must remember that this analysis is concerned with those holding official power, not the larger mass of people, many of whom surely preferred anything which brought them security and peace' (p. 148).

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

WILLY DE CRAEMER: *The Jamaa and the Church: a Bantu Catholic movement in Zaïre*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) ix, 192 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977. £8.

This is a fascinating and frustrating book. Let me begin with the fascination. The Jamaa—a Swahili word, meaning family—originated in Katanga, in what was then the Belgian Congo, in the early 1950's. It was, and apparently still is, a religious movement within the Catholic church, and thus distinct from the many separatist or independent church movements in black Africa. It is distinct also in that its founder and leader was a European, Placide Tempels, a Franciscan priest of Flemish origin, who was supported by a number of other European priests, chiefly Flemish Franciscans like himself. Tempels, already a famous name through his book *Bantu-philosophie* (widely known in both French and English translations), is closely described, and his curious, charismatic character, and his strange and controversial career, stand out in the book. There is also a very interesting chapter on Tempels's European colleagues. The Jamaa itself—its beliefs and

rites, its symbolism, and its impact upon lay members—is sympathetically and fully discussed, and Father De Craemer skilfully elaborates not only the special Bantu background, but also the Flemish and Franciscan contributions, to this unique movement with its central stress upon encounter, upon vital union, upon being at one. Here the realms of sociology and theology are skilfully combined, and it is particularly valuable to have an expert theological judgement (Father De Craemer is a Jesuit) applied to such questions of doctrine.

The same is true of church discipline. Tempels was often in hot water: his writings, *Bantu philosophy* and others, won both acclaim and criticism, and the arguments here are clearly presented; he fell into difficulties with his superiors through his close relationship with 'Sister X' in Belgium; and, above all, the Jamaa itself evoked lively controversy. In 1963, his Provincial confined him, under various restrictions, to the Franciscan convent in Hasselt, where he still was when the book closes in 1971; and in 1964 he was summoned to Rome for interrogation, lasting several weeks. The processes of discussion and control, and of local and individual enterprise, within the Catholic church constitute a most valuable theme, particularly stimulating since the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) occurred during this time and substantially influenced Catholic attitudes and policies. A perhaps rather unexpected picture of flexibility and tolerance emerges, although some individuals were hard-liners throughout, while others felt finally compelled by developments to draw lines somewhere. All this is excellent.

Now for the frustrations. While the European priests associated with the Jamaa, and a number of the *baba* and *mama*, lay members, are well described, information about Congolese priests similarly involved is very scanty. In the early stages Tempels was able to work with such men, either directly or through correspondence (see, for example, p. 142). But gradually 'a certain type of Congolese priest', defined as 'a curious cross between an old-fashioned, authoritarian priest, a militantly nationalistic Congolese man, and the leader of a traditional African religious movement', infiltrated the Jamaa, and by 1969 had taken it over. Yet these men are dismissed in a few lines (pp. 165-6), without so much as a single individual name, in contrast to the pages or chapters of testimony and analysis given to the European priests, and the *baba* and *mama*. These men worked 'in collusion with principal Katete baba': the Katete is a deviant branch of the Jamaa, indulging in eccentric beliefs and aberrant behaviour. However, although De Craemer does supply a good deal of information about the Katete, this is largely at second hand, contrasting starkly with his close personal involvement in mainstream Jamaa. Again, although as a historian I have tried to put aside my natural prejudices and to judge this book as the sociological study which it is, I still feel that the essential minimum of historical framework is not quite achieved. The second chapter, 'Social and historical origins of the Jamaa', is largely a biography of Tempels, from the time of his first arrival in Katanga as a missionary in

1933 until the emergence of the Jamaa. Subsequently the chronological pattern is harder to follow: very little, for instance, is said about the actual emergence of the Jamaa, dated 1953 on p. 1 and 1954 on p. 52. The political setting of the whole story was dramatic, even harrowing—tribal conflict in Kasai in 1959, independence in 1960, Katanga secession 1960-3, Congo rebellion 1964-65, one party state from 1965—but only occasionally is the story of the Jamaa interwoven with these events. An exception must be made for the Union Minière setting in Katanga, which is well described. Finally, the story breaks off in 1971, with not a word on any developments during the six years between then and publication. One minor frustration (unless my reading was at fault): the author never makes it clear just which language or languages are chiefly used in the Jamaa.

The style of writing is attractive, with much attention to individual, human detail; sociological jargon is kept under welcome, and strict, control. (Catalysed is mis-used, I suspect, since Tempels, however much he may have transformed other elements, was also, unlike a catalyst, himself suffering a sea-change; see p. 123). The publishers are warmly to be congratulated for keeping footnotes at the foot of the page. The index, alas, is inadequate. How many authors, I wonder, make their own indexes? This should be standard practice, both for the sake of index quality, and also for the way in which it may draw to the author's attention various interrelationships, or contradictions, in his text, which might otherwise escape even his own notice.

HUMPHRY J. FISHER

LOTHAR STÖRK · *Die Nashorner: Verbreitungs- und kulturgeschichtliche Materialien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der afrikanischen Arten und des altägyptischen Kulturbereiches.* [ii], viii, 583 pp. Hamburg: Verlag Born GmbH, 1977.

This, essentially, is an attempt to bring together and subject to critical examination all existing iconographic and literary source material capable of providing information on the distribution of the different species of Rhinoceros in Africa from the earliest period of prehistory for which evidence is available down to about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a revised and expanded version of a thesis for the degree of Dr.phil. presented at Tübingen in 1970/71, and it is clear from its sub-title that the aim is to provide a source-book of data (*Materialsammlung*) rather than to attempt any sort of over-all analysis or synthesis.

The author, an Egyptologist by training and now a member of the Islamic Seminar at Hamburg, tells us in the introduction that his original intention had been to re-examine the theory of 'faunal breaks' in the Egyptian prehistoric and historic sequence by studying the evidence provided by the larger mammals. He soon discovered, however, that animals are respecters neither of dynastic nor of political

boundaries and that it was not possible to treat the Egyptian situation in isolation. He also found that were he to attempt to cover all the larger mammals the volume of material that he would have to deal with would be too great to be manageable. He therefore decided to restrict his inquiry to a group which has the advantage of being both well documented in the rock-engravings, tomb-paintings, literature, etc., and particularly sensitive to changes of climate and vegetation, namely the Rhinoceroses.

The two African species of Rhinoceros, the White or Square-lipped Rhino (*Ceratotherium simum* Burchell) and the Black Rhino (*Diceros bicornis* L.), are in fact adapted to quite different ecological conditions so that their distribution at any given period in history may be expected to provide an indication of the climatic conditions prevailing at the time. As far back as 1943 Keimer had written: 'We have known for some years now that in pre-dynastic Egypt a Rhinoceros inhabited the valleys, today desert, which border the Upper Nile. Should it one day become possible to prove that this Rhinoceros was the Black species, one could then be certain that the valleys in question possessed an abundant vegetation comprising a fair proportion of shrubs. The presence of the White Rhino on the other hand would require grassy steppeland which could be even totally lacking in trees'.¹ Several further remarks in Keimer's writings point to the special significance which he attached to the Rhinoceros in this connexion, and he had in fact expressed the intention of devoting to the subject 'une grande monographie'. While Störk, who was able to consult the unpublished material left behind by that scholar and now preserved at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Cairo, seeks through the present volume to carry his work a stage further, he also makes it quite clear that in no way does he think of it as a substitute for Keimer's projected monograph.

After a brief introduction, which is perhaps the closest that the author ever gets to making any sort of over-all general statement, ch. ii outlines Butzer's thesis regarding the development of the fauna of ancient Egypt, the evidence for 'faunal breaks', and the interpretation of these in terms of climatic change. According to Butzer, whose arguments are based on the relative frequency with which various wild animal species are represented in the prehistoric and dynastic iconography, there were three marked breaks in the faunal history of Egypt. (a) The first break, consisting in a retreat of savanna fauna counterbalanced by an increase in the number of Antelopes, occurred around 3600 B.C. (Nagada I/II).

(b) The second break, which came between 2800 and 2600 B.C., is characterized by the disappearance of the savanna fauna (Rhino, Elephant, Giraffe, etc.), a marked decrease in the number of Lions and Barbary Sheep, and a corresponding increase in Antelopes and Gazelles.

¹ L. Keimer, 'La représentation d'une antilope chevaline sur un bas-relief de Saqqarah', *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Ég.*, xxv, 1943, 101-28.

(c) The third faunal break came at the beginning of the Vth dynasty (about 2480 B.C.) and is reflected in a striking increase in the number of representations of desert Gazelle. The Ibex is still important but no longer predominates. The big game has by now retreated from the Nile valley and surrounding desert into the coastal steppe and eastern mountains.

Störk discusses Butzer's findings from two main standpoints, namely the environmental requirements of the animal species which Butzer uses as evidence for climate and the reliability of his statistical method. The discussion, although often detailed and critical in particular cases, tends in general to be rather inconclusive. The over-all judgement would seem to be that Butzer's theory is over-simplistic and that his methods are too crude. Störk ends with the words: 'In spite of all these criticisms the method of operating on a statistical basis must be recognized as a possible means of throwing light on this difficult problem. A careful interpretation of the data, taking into account a large number of factors, can aid in differentiating between relevant numerical results and less significant ones and in establishing trends in the faunal development. In doing this it is desirable that the narrow basis of the iconography be widened by recourse to the evidence contained in the texts'. This is what the remaining 20 chapters of the book attempt at least to make more readily realizable.

Ch. iii is entirely devoted to the zoology of the two African representatives of the Rhinocerotidae, their morphology, habitats, food, their recent and present distribution. Ch. iv deals with the palaeontology and palaeogeography of the group. In ch. v the iconographic material of the rock-engravings is reviewed, the whole of Africa being covered on a regional basis. As Störk rightly points out, these engravings constitute one of the richest sources for the reconstruction of Africa's faunal history, and this long chapter seems to me to be among the more valuable in the book. The areas dealt with are: the former Spanish Sahara, southern Morocco, Algeria (especially Tassili n-Ajjer), Libya (Acacus, Fezzan), the Republics of Niger (Air, Djado) and Chad (Tibesti), Egypt (Western, Eastern and Nubian Deserts), the Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Rhodesia, Botswana, South West Africa (Namibia), and the Republic of South Africa. Although the treatment does not pretend to be exhaustive, representative samples are given from all the main sites. The author's principal concern throughout has been to try in each case to determine the species of Rhinoceros represented, something which distribution maps so far published have ignored.

Ch. vi-xvii deal exhaustively with the Egyptian and Nubian material, starting with the clay models of Rhinoceros horns found in the 1st dynasty tomb thought to be that of Hor-aha. Ch. xviii is devoted to the Graeco-Roman world of antiquity, and here again the treatment is very comprehensive. In a first section 32 Greek and Latin authors, from Herodotus to Isidore of Seville, are quoted, in many cases the relevant passage being given *in extenso* and followed by a French, English,

or German translation. A second section deals with pictorial representations from tomb-paintings, coins, gemstones, *tesseae* ('entrance tickets' to the *venationes*), pottery lamps, mosaics, and sculptures. After 2 pp. on 'The Rhinoceros in Coptic culture', ch. xx devotes 50 pp. to the Islamic sources (again quoting most of the relevant passages in full) and a final two chapters deal much more briefly with the Chinese and South-East Asian sources and the European sources from the thirteenth down to the nineteenth centuries.

It must be obvious that all this represents a very considerable amount of work on the part of the author, who has certainly rendered a most valuable service by so diligently searching out and so conveniently bringing together between the covers² of a single volume such a considerable body of documentation on the subject of the past history of the Rhinoceros in Africa. Has he done more than that? Certainly the individual documents are often discussed in some detail, especially with regard to the question of which species of Rhinoceros is intended by the particular artist or author concerned. Many, on the other hand, are simply presented as they are, in their original form and with no attempt at a critical assessment. Nor is there at any point an attempt made at an over-all synthesis, no final summary or conclusions, and the volume ends abruptly with a picture of a naked lady leading a rather subdued Rhino by means of a string attached to its horn (Lackschewitz, 1976) and a bibliography. The interpretation of all this material in climatic terms, and perhaps equally importantly in cultural terms, still remains to be done. For whoever should wish to carry out work in this area in the future, Dr. Störk's volume will prove essential.

JAMES BYRON

RUTH FINNEGAN: *Oral poetry: its nature, significance and social context*. xiii, 299 pp., 4 plates. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1977. £7.50.

The author of *Oral literature in Africa*, the seminal survey which nine years ago gave such a stimulus to the study of African oral literature, has widened her perspectives with an equally significant and well-documented study of oral poetry on a world-wide scale. This new study will be of interest equally to Orientalists, Africanists, and students of European and American literature, and to sociologists as well as to literature specialists. In spite of her modest description of the book as 'a sketchy and inadequate introduction to the subject', the range of her examples in both time and space is impressive, extending from the epics of ancient Greece and the Vedic literature of India, through the epics, ballads, and songs of medieval Europe to modern instances, in many different genres, from present-day

² The front one charmingly adorned with the front end of a Rhino, the back one with the corresponding rear view.

Europe and America as well as from Asia, Africa, and Oceania. Furthermore, although the main title suggests a literary study, there is the same emphasis as in her 1970 book on the importance, in the study of *oral* literature, of actual performance, the nature of the occasion, and the nature and role of the audience; and in the later chapters Dr. Finnegan, herself a sociologist, considers the nature and significance of oral poetry from a sociological viewpoint.

This new survey is important and significant enough to warrant a summary of the arguments at some length. But mention must first be made of two major themes which recur throughout the book. One is the unsatisfactoriness of the large and confident generalizations sometimes made about 'oral poetry' or 'folk literature' which prove on investigation to be oversimplified or only partially true, 'at several removes from actual practice'. Finnegan examines these theories in the light of the evidence, but herself prefers the 'contextual and relativist approach' with its inductive method of arriving at general conclusions. The other recurrent theme is the diversity and complexity, rather than rigid uniformity, of oral poetry when it is considered in all its aspects.

An introductory chapter, in which Finnegan reiterates some of the general points made in her earlier survey, rightly and convincingly argues that the distinctions between 'oral' and 'written' and between 'poetry' and 'prose' are not absolute and clear-cut but relative and approximative. In the first place a poem can be called 'oral' in terms of (1) its composition, (2) its mode of transmission, and (3) its performance, and only where a poem is oral in all three respects is there no problem; but examples abound which are 'oral' in one or more respects and 'written' in other respects. Again, in the case of oral literature the *poetic* nature of a piece may consist in its external form, or in a variety of prosodic and stylistic features, but may also be determined by its performance in a specialized way or a special setting, or by local or contemporary attitudes to it. In spite of the variety of these criteria and the many forms that 'oral poetry' may take, the author rightly insists on the validity of the term as an over-all description of an important form of literature and of social activity.

After a brief chapter in which various previous approaches—both literary and sociological—to the study of oral literature are examined and shown to be inadequate and one-sided, three important chapters examine in some detail the many different facets of composition, of style and performance, and of transmission, distribution, and publication.

In the first place, a study of the actualities of composition shows that there is not a single mode of oral composition, as sometimes suggested. The 'oral-formulaic' style of composition described by Parry and Lord is not the only method found; composition during performance, with or without the use of memorized formulae, is certainly common, but so also is prior composition followed by memorization and composition-in-perfor-

mance; moreover the norms may vary as between different cultures, different genres, or different poets, while the individual poet may have considerable latitude in the method he adopts.

In the same way there is considerable variety in the conventional *stylistic* characteristics of oral poetry of various kinds, not a single oral style as sometimes suggested; and the range of stylistic features resembles those of written literature, including alliteration, assonance, rhyme, tonal repetition, and parallelism as well as metaphor, personification, hyperbole, and allusion. But Finnegan stresses again the importance of *performance* as an element in oral art, and argues that the method of performance of a poem is one aspect of its style; she goes on to examine the main means of performance (singing, intoning, or the speaking voice, or various combinations of these, special forms of voice-production or emotional delivery, and even performance on drums or other instruments); audience participation in various ways; dramatization and dramatic characterization; and finally the opportunities open to individual performers for improvisation within accepted conventions.

The discussion of transmission, distribution, and publication refers to various general theories of the way in which oral poetry is transmitted: exact verbal transmission; memorization (often fallible, thus giving rise to variant versions); re-creation, re-composition, or original composition-in-performance on the oral-formulaic model. It amply shows the multiplicity of ways in which oral poems are transmitted over time, and distributed through space, with frequent overlap between written and oral media, the latter of course including the modern media of radio and television, gramophone and tape-recorder.

A chapter on poets and their positions opens with case studies of five individual poets—a Fiji poet and seer, a Yugoslav epic minstrel, an American Negro prisoner, an Eskimo poet, and an American woman folk-singer. It goes on to consider three main types of poet (specialized poets, free-lance practitioners, and less specialized amateur poets, with various sub-categories under each heading) from the point of view of their dependence on their art for a livelihood, their skill, their training and their status in society, and the extent to which they are regarded as inspired. Finally, it stresses the interplay between individual insight and originality and the constraints imposed and the opportunities offered by society.

The last two chapters deal with questions more specifically in the sociological sphere. Finnegan rejects any attempt to answer directly in general and abstract terms the type of questions asked by the sociologists of literature about the role of poetry in society—as reflecting the society, as supporting tradition and the *status quo*, or as a force for social change. She argues that a sounder approach to questions about the function of oral poetry is through a study of the actual *effects* that it can have in individual societies, and that these depend not on some absolute or permanent characteristic in the text itself, but on the circumstances in which it is delivered, the

position of the poet, the nature of the audience (often more restricted than is frequently supposed), and local views of the purpose and meaning of poetry. (A telling example of the way in which the role of an 'oral poem' can vary is the song 'We shall overcome', usually considered a 'protest song'—that over-used term—but sometimes primarily listened to for entertainment, or sung to while away the time as a kind of 'work song' to accompany a march.)

Finally Finnegan returns to some of 'the monolithic theories that appear in the sociology of literature'—the theory of a causal relationship between a particular type of society and a particular genre of poetry (with terms such as 'heroic age', 'ballad society', 'oral culture', and 'folk society', or the supposed clear-cut opposition between 'literate' or 'typographic man' and 'oral' or 'auditory man'), and the opposing views of literature as the reflection and consequence of social forms or as being itself a mode of social action. While accepting that these theories have their value as suggestive ideas, Finnegan again stresses their inability to give a comprehensive account of literature, although she herself clearly favours the view of literature as potentially active. She concludes that the capacity of literature to be used in a variety of human situations, historical periods, and geographical settings makes it difficult to envisage any very generalized theory about the relationship between type of society and type of literature, and suggests that instead of trying to relate the two vague entities 'Literature' and 'Society', it is more meaningful and helpful to try to understand literature in society rather than as opposed to society.

In spite of Finnegan's confessed distrust of large and abstract generalizations, her survey frequently draws attention to commonly occurring patterns which she has found illuminating, and in which many readers will find echoes of their own experience. The comparative perspective provided by her book will certainly be as stimulating to others as she herself has found the consideration of her own specializations in a comparative context; and it is to be hoped that it will be a stimulus to further detailed study of oral poetry in its many forms—not forgetting the musicological analysis which she felt herself not competent to treat.

Not all the ideas presented here are original, as is shown by the references to the works of other scholars, and some of them will be familiar especially to Africanists and Orientalists; but the book owes much to her own obvious literary appreciation as well as to her own sociological training, and, equally important, to the insight she gained from her first-hand acquaintance with oral literature in performance among the Limba of Sierra Leone. The breadth of coverage, the clarity of presentation in mainly non-technical language, and the wealth of exemplification—by frequent quotation as well as by reference—make it a most valuable and eminently readable textbook, as well as a timely corrective to the narrow view. Many who read it will find her 12 pp. of references a useful bibliography, and

will be glad to follow her suggestion and pursue some of the points raised with the help of the collection she has recently published in the *Penguin book of oral poetry*.

D. W. ARNOTT

RUTH FINNEGAN (ed.): *The Penguin book of oral poetry*. xxii, 548 pp. London: Allen Lane, 1978. £6.50.

As may be apparent from the title, this is a book for the general reader as well as the specialist, unlike Dr. Finnegan's previous works, notably *Oral Poetry*, reviewed above. Four-fifths of the volume consists of poetry collected mainly in modern times from Gond, Mongol, Malay, Somali, Zulu, Yoruba, Irish, Pueblo, Eskimo, Hawaiian, Maori, Australian Aborigine, and English; the remainder are longer, and generally much older, poems or extracts thereof, from Ancient Greek, Old English, Medieval Turkish, Mongol, Tatar, Ainu, Fijian, and Medieval Chinese. Twenty cultures are thus represented, widely dispersed in space and time.

This was an ambitious and indeed audacious undertaking, and the difficulties were obviously formidable. The editor and her collaborators are to be congratulated on the over-all success of the presentation, and any adverse comments in this review are to be read against the larger fact that the work does in great measure succeed in conveying to the English-speaking reader something of the richness of literatures hitherto unavailable to him.

Two points are continually stressed. The first is that oral literatures are not, as some would have them, static traditions, but change and develop as do the communities which produce them, absorbing (rather than 'borrowing') material from contacts and interaction with other cultures. The inclusion of modern American folk- and jazz-songs brings this home to the English reader more, perhaps, than anything else could. Secondly, there is the insistence on the fact that much of this poetry is the creation of individuals, though the extent of personal composition varies much, with culture and with genre. Indeed, one might regard the demonstration of variety in modes of composition as one of the most valuable contributions made by Ruth Finnegan to the general theory of oral literature.

On the selection of items it is impossible to find fault with the editor's decision to give a reasonably large number of poems from a limited number of cultures; all one can say here is, that the appetite is sufficiently whetted to make one hope that a second volume will appear before long. What appeals most will be a subjective matter for everyone, but it is probable that many readers will be particularly impressed—even startled—by the magnificent song cycles of the Arnhem Land Aborigines: people once classified by Christian bishops as animals, and permitted to be hunted as such, but here revealing a sweep of imagination and depth of expressiveness that is quite awesome. Nearer to home, it is good to see an extract from *Beowulf* included; a surprising number

of educated Englishmen, even such as have 'read English Lit.', are unhappily unaware of the oral roots of their own literature.

The introductions to each selection give a considerable amount of information on the social context and other aspects of cultural background; however, the extent to which metre and poetic devices generally are covered is uneven. Here perhaps is one of the few more serious deficiencies of the work, which will leave the student of literature unsatisfied and tantalized. Some of the want is easily remedied, as the way is well signposted for further study, but what assails one most is the difficulty of lighting on valid criteria of judgement in evaluating and appreciating the poetry. One is given almost no guidance as to what is regarded as a good, effective, beautiful, or successful poem by the community, or, for that matter, any individual. (A notable exception is the analysis of Malay poetry, where one does begin to understand what is looked for in, e.g., a *pantun*.) Given that purely phonological devices such as alliteration, rhyme, or other sound-patterning are untranslatable, it still does not seem quite sufficient to follow Waley (quoted on p. 16) in the belief that 'images are the soul of poetry', and can be translated without comment. Images have only value in the impact they make on the audience; they may become hackneyed and trite, and this is a process little understood at present. What strikes the English reader as fresh and vivid may in fact be commonplace and banal in the producing culture; for examples, how potent an image is the 'yellow, fresh and full-blown flower' to the Pueblo, or 'cheeks red as

autumn apples' to the Turkish ear? Moreover, the reverse may also be true, and an apparently lifeless image may powerfully move in a different context.

As is to be expected, not all the problems of elucidation and comprehension have been overcome; the Malay 'Invocation before the rice harvest' and the Hawaiian 'Dog-child' (pp. 87 and 265-6) remain baffling to this reviewer. Elsewhere one feels that a word or two would have been sufficient to clear obscurities such as *badhi* and *dedhi* (p. 35), the Pueblo *teck'wi* (p. 219), and even the CMF (p. 376). With 510 pp. of text, one should not perhaps cavil at the lack of pictorial illustration, but there is no doubt that references to, for instance, 'The door, quilted in "palate-pattern"' (p. 47) would have more impact with something to help the eye.

Here, as in her previous work, Finnegan lays stress on the importance of the features of delivery for oral poetry, whether or not the words be sung or accompanied by other music. This, surely, is a lack which can be in some degree made good; perhaps the publishers might be persuaded to make available recordings of actual performances, where these can be procured? Finally, although one sympathizes with the decision to omit all text in the original language, even the general public would, I think, have welcomed small samples, perhaps in the introductions, to give some flavour of the original; perhaps at least one poem in each section could be given in parallel text and translation, if one's hopes of a companion volume are realized.

HAZEL CARTER

SHORT NOTICES

RICHARD C. STEINER: *The case for fricative-laterals in Proto-Semitic*. (American Oriental Series, Vol. 59.) xi, 202 pp. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1977. \$8.

The present monograph, 'a revised and expanded version' of the author's Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation (1973), presents a strong and competently argued case for the (not exactly new) hypothesis embodied in the title of this work. One of Dr. Steiner's advisers, Professor David Segal, is said (p. viii) to be 'the author of the pun in the title of this monograph'; alas, my sense of humour is plainly so deficient as to have missed that pun completely—despite diligent searches and anxious deliberations.

Dr. Steiner mentions in his preface that he served as a research assistant to Professor William Labov and that he benefited from the teaching and counsel of Professors Blanc, Blau, and Morag as well as from the encouragement and comments of Professor Hetzron. These are formidable credentials, and the author has put the wisdom derived from this galaxy of mentors to good use. The reviewer is less impressed with the rehearsal (now apparently *de rigueur*) of the domestic arrangements

which made the completion of this work possible. The inclusion of such details seems to me an eminently dispensable prolegomenon to scholarly literature.

Steiner's search for laterals or reflexes of laterals is undertaken with zest and a good knowledge of the literature; it is carried out with commendable critical judgement in presenting the evidence and weighing the pros and cons. Laterals in one form or another are now attested for many Semitic languages at some stage of their development. A case can, therefore, at least be mooted for the existence of a lateral triad (*l* - *ḥ* - *ḏ*), and the occurrence of fricative-laterals in Proto-Semitic may at any rate be made probable. Altogether this is a valuable summary of available knowledge.

The reviewer was particularly impressed with one highly significant passage in this work (p. 6) which, despite the slightly melancholy note, greatly redounds to the author's credit and integrity—and will, at the same time, ring a not altogether unfamiliar bell in the minds of many scholars:

'Nevertheless, the case for fricative-laterals in Proto-Semitic is not nearly as much in need of the attentions of the present writer as he imagined when he wrote the early paragraphs of this section. At that time, he was still blissfully unaware that the

"new" ideas which had inspired him to write this book were really the forgotten ideas of his predecessors'.

The book exhibits a number of minor blemishes: names like Littmann, Dillmann, Wissmann, etc., are fairly regularly mis-spelt; 'South-Arabia' ought to disappear from American practice and be replaced by the generally accepted 'South-Arabian'; the statement about Kurylowicz and Kopf (p. 105) is more than a little incongruous—considering the former's principal specialization and the language in which the latter wrote; the reference to H. J. Polotsky's famous *Études de grammaire gouragué* (p. 148) is somewhat off beam—perhaps inevitably so in view of Steiner's extremely wide spread; some judgments of other scholars are, perhaps, at times a little cavalier—a failing to which many of us are prone at the beginning of our careers; and the index suffers from a good many omissions.

A major blemish is the absence of a full list of all words discussed; this serious lacuna makes this monograph infinitely less serviceable.

The reviewer has no doubt that Semitists will hear more of R. C. Steiner in the future.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

ALBERT KIRK GRAYSON (tr.): *Assyrian royal inscriptions. Part 2. From Tiglath-pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II*. (Records of the Ancient Near East, Vol. II.) xix, 213 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976. DM 84.

This volume continues the translations, with complete notes of sources and bibliographies, for each of the records of the 15 Assyrian kings who reigned between 1114 and 859 B.C. This series is such a major improvement and updating of D. D. Luckenbill's *Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia, I-II* (Chicago, 1926-7) that no reference, other than bibliographical, to that predecessor is now required. The translations are clear and idiomatic, though sometimes perforce generalizing (e.g. 'soldiers, troops or army' where the text has specific terms which are not always susceptible to easy translation), but this can be controlled by the specialist's reference back to the original text. The general reader in many disciplines, and all historians, can henceforward make this their general reference work with confidence. The previous volume, A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian royal inscriptions. 1. From the beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I* (1972), has received favourable reviews, as did the somewhat parallel work in German, *Einführung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* (Teil 1 by R. Borger, 1961; Teil 2 by W. Schrömm, 1973) Teil 2 reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxxviii, 2, 1975, 423, and all relevant material is to be found here also.

Introductions to each reign stress literary developments and so emphasize the progress of the historical 'annal', first attested in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (text LXXVII. 1) to its full form in the longest extant royal inscription of any reign, that of Ashur-nasir-apli II (CI. 1). Indeed the texts of these two kings,

with Ashur-bêl-kala, whose reigns occupy 79 of this 255 year period, take up more than three-quarters of the book. This probably attests the importance of these reigns rather than the archaeological accident of the survival of their documents. Restorations in lacunae are usually justified in footnotes. Some will question a few of the assignments of texts, e.g. CI. 10, the White Obelisk, to Ashur-nasir-apli II rather than to an earlier king of that name (cf. W. von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, lxxiv, 2, 1975, 180-91; J. E. Reade, *Iraq*, xxxvii, 2, 1975, 129-50). Where a king's inscriptions are part of sculptured reliefs it would help to have references also to the publication of these (the most recent is S. M. Paley, *King of the world, Ashur-nasir-pal II of Assyria*, Brooklyn Museum 1976). Others may feel that the system of denoting texts after numbers given to the kings (LXXXVII-CI) will be more cumbersome in reference than the consecutive numbering of sections employed by Luckenbill. Some spellings of place-names, Kalach for Kalah/Kelhu, are retrogressive and inconsistent with those used elsewhere (Habur, etc.). But these are very minor matters in the light of the immense value afforded by this carefully prepared volume as a whole.

L. J. WISEMAN

HELGÄ VENZLAFF: *Der riarokkanische Drogenhändler und seine Ware: ein Beitrag zu Terminologie und volkstümlichem Gebrauch traditioneller arabischer Materia medica*. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur [in Mainz]. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Bd. xxxi.) viii, 245 pp., 12 plates, map. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1977. DM 88.

The greater part (pp. 31-213) of this book consists of a catalogue of the articles that make up the stock-in-trade of the druggists who frequent the markets of the Middle Atlas. These are identified, their names are given in both Arabic script and transliteration, earlier literature in which they appear is cited, and the purposes for which they are used, not only in folk-medicine, but also in magic, poisoning, and beauty-culture, are described. Most of them are of vegetable origin, but there are also chapters dealing with those of mineral and animal origin. There is a short introductory section on the circumstances of the markets and the druggist's trade, there are full indexes, a map, and some mildly interesting illustrations.

This is a very well-executed piece of work, as one would expect of a *Habilitationsschrift*; it is difficult to imagine, however, that it will command a wide readership. In spite of the fact that it is not really just a reference book, for there is fascinating and intriguing information to be gleaned from some of the entries, I suspect that it will be generally regarded as such, and that it will be consulted almost

exclusively by the comparatively few who ever have occasion to refer to the pharmacopoeia of Moroccan folk-medicine. This is a pity, for there will necessarily be a serious lacuna in the education of anyone who is not instructed in the astonishing variety of improbable uses—not least in beauty-culture—to which (to take but one example) a dead raven can be put.

J. N. MATTOCK

IMTIYĀZ 'ALĪ 'ARSHĪ (comp.): *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in Raza Library, Rampur. Vols. 4-6.* (Raza Library Publication Series, Nos. 16-18.) vi, 615; vi, 623; vi, 269 pp. + errata slip. Rampur: Raza Library Trust, 1971, 1975, 1977. Rs. 30, 40, 20.

Vols. iv, v, and vi of the above catalogue are now published and indeed this is more than were originally planned, since at the beginning of publication it was thought that four volumes would suffice.

The fourth volume covers 1,303 manuscripts on Sūfism, the scriptures, logic, and philosophy. The section on Sūfism contains items on Sunnī, Zaidī, and Shī'ī Sūfism, and asceticism. The largest part of this section consists of Sunnī items. The Zaidī part contains three items.

The section on the (Christian) scripture consists of one item, a translation from the Latin of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

The section on logic covers almost 200 pp., and includes three or four old or rare manuscripts.

The philosophy section is about the same size as the logic section, and is subdivided into general philosophy, physics (in the Aristotelian sense), and metaphysics.

All in all this volume lists 18 rare and old manuscripts of especial interest.

The fifth volume of the catalogue deals with mathematics, medicine, natural science, agriculture; occult sciences, ethics and politics, education, and military science. The mathematics section, which is one of the largest with 145 pp., lists works on geometry, optics, mechanism (sc. mechanics), astronomy, astronomical tables, astronomical instruments, arithmetic, algebra, and music. There are 14 works listed on music.

The fifth volume lists 1,049 volumes (not all bound separately) of which 17 seem to the compilers to be of interest for their antiquity or rarity.

The sixth volume is the smallest of the three presently under review (269 pp. of items). It consists of two large sections on history and biography and two small sections on travels and geography. The history section includes items on the Arab tribes, Mecca, Medina, Ethiopia, and on many of the Muslim countries. The biography section, though the religious works are mostly on Sunnī themes, does list a fair number of works on Shī'ī and Zaidī themes. There are also parts on the biographies of poets and grammarians and biographies specific to

an area, such as Baghdād, Damascus, or Turkey.

Of the 399 works listed 21 are mentioned as of especial interest for their rarity or because they are old.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

CLAUDE CAHEN: *Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale. xxvii*, 496 pp. Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1977.

CLAUDE CAHEN: *Makhzūmiyyāt: études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale. viii*, 225 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977. Guilders 78.

The publication in the same year, albeit by different presses, of these two collections of articles by Claude Cahen is a considerable service to students of the medieval Islamic Near East. As its title suggests, the first is the wider in range. It opens with an impressive bibliography of Cahen's writings, extending over 19 pp., and comprising (apart from reviews) 166 items. The 23 articles here reprinted relate mainly to social and economic history, and include the seminal study, 'L'évolution de l'*iqṭā'* du ix^e au xiii^e siècle: contribution à une histoire comparée des sociétés médiévales'—the basis and inspiration of all work on the subject since it first appeared in *Annales ESC*, a quarter of a century ago. Other articles examine historical problems, whether political as in 'Points de vue sur la "révolution abbāside"', or social as in 'Y a-t-il eu des corporations professionnelles dans le monde musulman classique? Quelques notes et réflexions'. Others again are contributions to historiography, such as 'The historiography of the Seljuqid period' and 'Les mémoires de Sa'd al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawīya Djuwaynī'. One is aware throughout of the author's unusual breadth of vision, seeing, as he does, the medieval Near East as a whole and also in relationship to medieval Christendom. It is not without significance that his first two books are entitled respectively *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, and *Le régime féodal de l'Italie normande*.

The second collection is narrower in its scope, but indispensable to all concerned with the economic history of medieval Egypt. Its eight constituent parts are mainly studies of a late sixth/twelfth century fiscal work, *Kitāb al-minhāj fī 'ūm al-kharāj* (BM Add. 23483), by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Makhzūmī, a civil servant under the late Fāṭimid and early Ayyūbid régimes in Egypt. Among its contents is also an article, 'Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm ayyūbide', based on al-Nābulusī's *Description du Fayoum*. The data assembled and presented are of wide utility: for example, the long article, 'Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minhāj d'al-Makhzūmī' is instructive and profitable reading for anyone working on Mamlūk commercial treaties. Unlike the volume previously noticed, in which the

articles are reprinted in letterpress, in *Makẓūmiyyāt* an offset process is used, by which one article, 'Un texte inédit relatif au tirāz égyptien', is poorly reproduced.

P. M. HOLT

SHAH MORAD ELHAM (ed. and tr.): *Kiṭbugā und Lājin: Studien zur Mamluken-Geschichte nach Baibars al-Manṣūrī und an-Nuwayrī*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 46.) [vi], 290, 88, [2] pp. Freiburg i. Br.: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1977. DM 48.

Recent doctoral dissertations of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau have made available a number of selections from important medieval historical texts, the full publication of some of which is expected. The present work is a further example of this kind. The author has chosen as his basic materials portions of two chronicles, Baybars al-Manṣūrī's *Zubdat al-fikra* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-'arab*, for the years 693-8/1293-9, covering the reigns of the two usurpers of the Mamlūk sultanate, al-'Adil Kitbughā and al-Manṣūr Lājin. He provides an edition of these annals, a German translation, and prolegomena which include notices of the life and work of the two chroniclers (both of whom were contemporaries of Kitbughā and Lājin), an investigation of the relationship between their works and the chronicles of al-Jazarī and al-Yūnīnī, and a study of Kitbughā's political career. Apart from offering a useful, if tantalizingly brief, selection from two important unpublished chronicles, the book is a contribution to the study of Mamlūk historiography inaugurated by the works of Ulrich Haarmann and Donald Presgrave Little.

P. M. HOLT

J. J. SAUNDERS: *Muslims and Mongols: essays on medieval Asia*. Edited by G. W. Rice. (University of Canterbury Publication No. 24.) 143 pp. Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcoulls Ltd. for the University of Canterbury, [c.1977].

J. J. Saunders, who died in 1972, is best known for his *A history of medieval Islam* (1965) and his excellent *The history of the Mongol conquests* (1971). The book under review, a short selection of his essays, is intended as 'the memorial tribute of the University of Canterbury (New Zealand, where Saunders was Reader in History) to one of its most prolific and distinguished scholars of recent years'. It contains, as well as a biographical sketch, essays on (1) the purpose of history, (2) the nomad as empire-builder: a comparison of the Arab and Mongol conquests, (3) the Mongol defeat at 'Ayn Jalūt and the restoration of the Greek empire, (4) the decline and fall of Christianity in medieval Asia, and (5) the problem of Islamic decadence. Numbers 1 and

3 have not previously been published. To these are added a 3-page outline of a projected book on 'the Popes and Mongol Asia'—which it is a pity he did not live to write—and a list of Saunders's publications.

Reviewers of such volumes generally complain about the editor's selection, and I shall be no exception. We could, I think, have done without Saunders's not very profound (though perfectly sensible) reflections on the purpose of history, and perhaps have replaced them with his very valuable article 'Matthew Paris and the Mongols'. But as in his larger works, Saunders writes readably and interestingly and draws together strands from a wide range of reading. His meter was synthesis rather than original scholarship, but he was none the worse for that. What he did, he did well.

There are a number of small slips that the editor might have cleared up. Öljeitü did not 'found' Sultāniyya (p. 82), and its present inhabitants would be surprised to learn that it is 'now ruined and deserted' (p. 93); Rabban Sauma, not Mār Yaballaha, 'visited the West in 1288' (p. 83); to claim (and to base an argument on the claim) that there were no *iqṭā's* in Egypt is a mistake (p. 117).

But such points are trivial compared with the service Saunders performed in making large tracts of Asian history more generally available to a wide public. As he remarked to me in a letter written shortly before his death, 'no one would expect, of course, to treat so vast a theme without falling into certain errors or omissions or misinterpretations'; all credit to him for making the attempt, and to his university for commemorating him in this way.

D. O. MORGAN

MYRIAM ROSEN-AYALON (ed.): *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*. xii, 479 pp., front., 24 plates—errata slip. Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1977.

The late Gaston Wiet was one of three scholars elected Honorary Members of the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and it is therefore appropriate that this commemorative volume should appear under the auspices of the Institute. Gaston Wiet's range of scholarly interests is briefly surveyed by the editor in a foreword, which is followed by 28 articles by scholars from Israel, Europe, and America. Chronologically these extend from the Sasanians to contemporary Arab writers, geographically from the Maghrib to India. On the period of the Mamlūk sultanate, to the study of which Wiet himself made important contributions, there are several interesting papers. W. M. Brinner investigates the topography of medieval Damascus in 'Dār al-Sa'āda and Dār al-'Adl in Mamlūk Damascus'. Barbara Flemming reveals unexpected aspects of cultural life under the Circassian Mamlūk sultans in 'Literary activities in Mamlūk halls and barracks'. David Ayalon adds to his meticulous and detailed studies of the structure of Mamlūk society with 'The sunuḥs in the

Mamluk sultanate', while in 'Mamluk heraldry and *interpretatio Christiana*', Otto Kurz discusses some problems connected with the well-known painting in the Louvre, 'Reception of a Venetian delegation at an Eastern court', traditionally (although wrongly) attributed to Gentile Bellini. A reproduction of the picture forms one of the 24 plates appended to the book. Since the typographical quality of publications from Jerusalem is usually high, one notes with regret the inclusion of an errata sheet.

P. M. HOLT

[ADEL AWA and others (ed.)]: *Arabic and Islamic garland: historical, educational and literary papers presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi by colleagues, friends and students. [Editorial Honorary Committee: Adel Awa, Issa Boullata, Syed Nadvi, Riyadh El-Droubi.]* 239 pp., front., plate. London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1397/1977. £8.

This book contains a portrait of Dr. Tibawi, a short biography, a list of his publications, and 29 papers written in his honour by scholars from 15 countries. One of the contributions is in French, one in German, the rest in English. As is appropriate, about half of them are concerned with the history of education in Islamic countries; many are on historical and a few on literary subjects. The majority relate to the nineteenth or twentieth century. The table of contents oddly includes two papers which their authors were not able to submit. One turns to the pages indicated only to find a sufficient, but disappointing explanation for their absence.

O. F. BRCKINGHAM

HEIDEMARIE KOCH: *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Darioiszeit: Untersuchungen an Hand der elamischen Persepolistafelchen.* (Göttinger Orientalforschungen. III. Reihe: Iranica, Bd. 4.) 185 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977. DM 24.

Zoroastrianism is a religion which presents innumerable problems, and often new discoveries seem merely to add to them. This has been the case with the Elamite tablets from Persepolis. A small number of these contain references to offerings made by priests to named divine beings, who include Ahura Mazda and a puzzling series of other Iranian divinities, venerated together with gods of the conquered Elamites. There is not yet enough evidence to explain these facts satisfactorily, so that all that can be done, on a scholarly basis, is to offer tentative hypotheses; and to do even this usefully calls for a good grasp of complicated background material. Accordingly, the tablets hardly offer suitable matter for a first piece of research. The present book represents, however, a barely altered Ph.D.

thesis, and it is not surprising, therefore, that despite Dr. Koch's courageous handling, the subject is not notably advanced by it. The conclusion reached (p. 171), that the tablets show clearly the influence of Zoroaster's teachings, rests solely on the debated assumption that Ahura Mazda was unknown outside the prophet's revelation; and vain attempts to adduce other evidence result in some curious confusions. The most notable of these is the splendidly incoherent suggestion that the phrase *Visai Bagā* is to be interpreted, not as meaning what it says, i.e. 'All the Gods', but as referring both to the Daēvas, rejected by Zoroaster, and to the Aməša Spəntas, who are at the very heart of his revelation (see pp. 88-90, 175). There are also some startling misunderstandings of the secondary literature cited. Nevertheless, the work makes a modest contribution, with a clear introduction, and the bringing together of these particular texts, out of a mass of others, in a small, handy volume, with an analysis of them, and a fairly full, up-to-date (though uncritical) bibliography. There is no index.

MARY BOYCE

MANFRED MAYRHOFFER (ed.): *Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Bd. 1. Die altiranischen Namen. Faszikel 1. Die avestischen Namen. Von M. Mayrhofer.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sonderpublikation der Iranischen Kommission.) 113 pp. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977. DM 40.

Professor Mayrhofer deserves our warmest thanks for the energy and enterprise which he has once again shown in undertaking the arduous and—one may suspect—largely thankless task of providing a replacement for F. Justi's long outdated *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895).

The immensity of the project is immediately obvious from the tentative synopsis of the new *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* set out on the inside covers of this fascicle. It is intended that the complete work be divided into not less than 11 volumes, of which three will cover the Old, Middle, and New Iranian sources and five more the Iranian personal names in the 'Nebenüberlieferungen' (Indo-Aryan, Greek, Elamite, Egyptian, etc.), the three remaining volumes being devoted to the special problems presented by the numismatic sources, to the Armeno-Iranian names (which in some respects occupy an intermediate position, between those of the 'Original-' and 'Nebenüberlieferung'), and to the general index, 'die eigentliche linguistische Ernte des grossen Unternehmens' in Mayrhofer's own words. Though many fascicles have already been allocated to individual scholars, collaborators with the necessary specialist knowledge and stamina are still sought for a number of the most important parts, including for instance the whole of Bd. III, 'Neuiranische Personennamen'.

It is appropriate that this first fascicle should be the work of the founder of the project himself. It will set a standard of thoroughness hard to match. Partly this is because of the nature of the material: a well-defined and relatively limited corpus, the names in which have been studied as a whole several times, notably by Justi and by Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. But largely it must be attributed to Mayrhofer's impressive command of the secondary literature. The more obscure Avestan personal names have given rise to numerous hypothetical etymologies, some possible and some fantastic, most of which are listed here and disposed of summarily. Taken as a whole, they constitute an awful warning against the dangers of etymological speculation untrammelled by contextual considerations. Professor Mayrhofer displays sober judgement in resisting the temptation to add more than a handful to their number.

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

Études mithriaques. (Acta Iranica, 17. Première Série. Actes de Congrès, Vol. iv.) vi, 565 pp., 34 plates. Téhéran, Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1978. (Distributed by E. J. Brill, Leiden. Guilders 80.)

This volume is based on the proceedings of the second International Congress of Mithraic Studies held at Tehran in September 1975. Though by no means all of the communications presented in Tehran are to be found here, most of the more important contributions have been included. A notable absentee is S. Insler's 'New interpretation of the Bull-slaying motif', which is published elsewhere (in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren*, II, Leiden, 1978). On the other hand, several papers have been expanded or rewritten, such as those by Beskow, Bianchi, Bonfante, Humbach, H.-P. Schmidt, Speidel, and Thieme, and the standard of relevance of those printed is high.

This will be an essential work of reference for everyone interested in the origins and diffusion of Mithraism, and there is much that can be read with pleasure as well as profit. Just as the Congress itself—of which U. Bianchi has given an appreciative account in the *Journal of Mithraic Studies*, I, 1, 1976, 77–84—successfully continued the tradition inaugurated by the first International Congress of Mithraic Studies held at Manchester in 1971, so the book reviewed here may be regarded as a worthy successor to the two volumes of *Mithraic studies* (Manchester, 1975) which grew out of the proceedings of the first Congress. After three more years of inflation it is a particular pleasure to be able to note that the present work, though no less substantial and well illustrated than its predecessor, is actually published at a lower price.

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

ABDUL-HADI HAIRI: *Shī'ism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the*

role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics. xiv, 274 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977. Guilders 64.

This is a disappointing book. The idea of discussing the life and political thought of a leading Persian religious figure, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'ini, against the background of the Constitutional Revolution was a good one, but the result is far from satisfactory. The author is repetitive, his exposition is often less than lucid, and his judgements are not always carefully considered or logical. For example, on p. 153 he writes, 'In other words, the constitutionalist *'ulamā* who were on the side of the bourgeois nationalists, i.e., the liberal merchants, tradesmen, artisans, etc., thought that a religiously controlled constitutionalism could have been to an extent in agreement with Islam which the *'ulamā* were responsible to support for social, economic and consequently for religious reasons. Whereas, the absolutist *'ulamā*, mainly representing the Royal Court, many of the land-owners, conservative high middle class, unskilled laborers tied to the Royal Court economies, *awqāf* beneficiaries and retainers, and the very poor and low-income but religious public influenced by anti-constitutional propaganda of the absolutist *'ulamā*, considered constitutionalism to be at variance with Islam'. The different attitudes adopted by the religious classes in Persia to the Constitutional movement require a more subtle and judicious analysis than is here presented.

The author has certainly recognized many of the difficulties involved in trying to reconcile traditional Shī'ī theology with modern European political philosophy but he has not provided an adequate examination of them. The number of misspellings in the book is much higher than is usual from this publisher.

R. M. BURRILL

WILLEM B. BOLLÉE: *Studien zum Śūyagada: die Jainas und die anderen Weltanschauungen vor der Zeitenwende. Teil 1*. (Schriftenreihe des Südasiens-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg, Bd. 24.) x, 219 pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1977. DM 70.

BANSIDHAR BHATT: *The canonical nikṣepa: studies in Jaina dialectics*. (Indologia Berolinensis, Bd. 5.) xxiv, 164 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. Guilders 64.

In the first of these publications W. Bollée has selected those chapters in the *Śūyagada*, the second Aṅga of the Jain canon, which give an account of the varieties of non-Jaina religion and philosophy which were current at the time of the composition of the work, a period which can be dated well before the beginning of the Christian era. The chapters chosen are *Śūyagada* 1.1.1–4, which are in

verse, and 2.1.13-34 in prose. These portions of the *Sūyagada* are edited in transcription with full critical apparatus, and translated with an exhaustive commentary. In addition there is an introduction, an extensive bibliography, a vocabulary, pada-index, and subject index.

There are many difficulties and obscurities attached to this ancient text, both as regards reading and interpretation. The ancient commentators are essential to its understanding, and the contributions which they have to make are fully taken into account in the editor's own commentary. There are two previous translations, one complete by H. Jacobi in the 'Sacred Books of the East' series, and one partial by W. Schubring in his publication *Worte Mahavira's*. The obscurity of the text is well illustrated by the divergence between these two translations which the editor frequently cites in his commentary. This careful and detailed study of these sections can be regarded as an advance on previous work, though a not inconsiderable number of problems remain.

In addition to the text chapters treated W. Bollée has critically edited and translated with commentary 35 verses of the *nijjuttī* on this text. As this section of Jaina literature has remained comparatively neglected, this section of the book is particularly welcome.

In the *Nijjuttī*, as in the later Jaina scholastic literature much use is made of the technique of *nikṣepa* or schematization, according to which concepts are defined from various viewpoints listed in a *nijjuttī* verse as *nāma thavaṇā dāve khetta kale taḥ' eva bhāve ya*. This subject is briefly discussed in the introduction. It also forms the subject of Bansidhar Bhatt's dissertation, though in this case the study is confined to canonical Jaina texts. Here the system is much simpler and less developed, and the last four items in the above list are usually the only ones which appear. The term itself does not seem to have come into use until later, even though the nucleus of the system is well represented in canonical works. Bhatt's work quotes at length and analyses all the material that he has been able to collect from canonical works. He claims to have studied in detail also the post-canonical *nikṣepa*, and it would have increased the value of the present work if he had been able to include that as well. It is to be hoped that a second work dealing with the later scholastic *nikṣepa* will in due course appear.

T. BURROW

SYED HASAN ASKARI (ed.): *Fort William—India House correspondence and other contemporary papers relating thereto (foreign, secret and political)*. Vol. xvi: 1787-1791. (Indian Records Series.) lxxviii, 477 pp., front., 5 plates. Delhi: Controller of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India, 1976. Rs. 75.

These documents originated at an important

time in the growth of British power in India. They provide much evidence of the extent to which the British understood Indian politics and nursed suspicions of Indian rulers. Although this volume contains only foreign, secret and political correspondence, it is not restricted to matters of foreign policy. In a secret despatch there is a detailed analysis of the principles underlying the civil service reforms undertaken by Cornwallis, the first being that offices should be as few as possible—a principle that has not always been observed in Whitehall. In those days, financial considerations had a high priority: in another despatch the Governor-General in Council noted with satisfaction that 'the Influx of Specie will be increased by promoting a spirit of Pilgrimage among the Hindoos of Hindostan and Decan' [sic].

K. A. BALLHATCHETT

JAHAH SEN: *Indo-Nepal trade in the nineteenth century*. xvi, 195 pp. Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd., 1977. Rs. 40.

This short book, derived from a Ph.D. thesis with a second instalment promised, deals with trade between India and Nepal mainly during the nineteenth century and especially during its second half. It is based largely upon British Indian official reports and statistics, published and unpublished; no material emerged from Nepal despite the author's efforts. Dr. Sen describes the conditions of trade; the routes—roads, rivers, and railways; its financing—currency, credit, and modes of payment; and its structure—the commodities, the market, and the traders. Sen also inquires why the trade did not develop more than it did. London pressed for expansion but local British officials were discouraging; C. E. R. Girdlestone (Resident in Nepal, 1872-88) argued that trade was limited by the frugality and poverty of the small population of Nepal. Sen emphasizes the obstructionism of the government of Nepal, an attitude founded on the conviction that British traders would soon be followed by greater British interference in Nepal. The Indian government was unwilling to press the Nepal *Darbar* as it feared to jeopardize the supply of Gurkha soldiers who were valued much more than Nepalese trade.

Sen also considers the various projects for the expansion of British trade with Tibet by way of Nepal and uncovers an interesting proposal of 1889 to extend the Darjeeling Himalayan railway to the eastern end of the Kathmandu valley so as to open a route to the wool producing area of Tibet by way of the Arun valley. But this project never got off the ground because the Nepal government turned it down at once. In fact British trade with Tibet was very small indeed; at a total value (imports plus exports) of £3.7 million in 1900 Indo-Nepalese trade was 20 to 30 times as large as Indian trade with Tibet. So the official statistics indicate at least, although whether they are of any use is another matter; Sen's discussion of their value must be discouraging to those who may hope to use them.

Even more discouraging to the reader anxious to discover the whereabouts of the places referred to in the text are the author's maps—mere genuflections to the memory of cartography—which limit the utility of this book.

M. B. YAPP

NIRODE KUMAR BAROOAH: *India and the official Germany, 1886-1914*. (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe III. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, Bd. 77.) [ii], 254 pp. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang; Bern: Herbert Lang, 1977. Sw. fr. 40.

The establishment of a German Consul-General at Calcutta in 1886 provides the starting-point for Dr. Barooah's useful study of German official attitudes towards India during the years preceding the first World War. Before 1886 a consul at Bombay had sufficed to protect German commercial interests; the new Calcutta office was founded for political reasons—to provide better information about conditions in India because these conditions were believed to be relevant to the posture of Britain in Europe. British policies in Europe, it was thought, were influenced by the requirements of the defence of India; the Panjdah incident, which seemingly brought Britain and Russia to the verge of war, bore apparent witness to the connexion. In order to predict the outcome of events in Europe Bismarck needed improved information concerning the state of India.

In subsequent years German attitudes towards India revealed an ambivalence. On the one hand there was admiration for certain characteristics of British rule—its élitism, its administrative skills, and its civilizing mission; on the other there was a lurking temptation to view India as Britain's Achilles' heel and to suppose that the combination of external menace and internal disaffection would make Britain singularly vulnerable in that country (and perhaps incline her to seek German support in Europe). On balance German diplomats in India affirmed the security of British rule; policy makers in Berlin emphasized its precariousness.

Using German foreign policy documents as his principal source Barooah traces the fluctuations in German interest over the period, drawing attention to Wilhelm II's concern, in 1897, with the relationship between Indian Muslims and the Pan-Islamic movement, and to the continued German indifference towards, even dislike for Indian nationalism as it was exhibited in the Indian National Congress. His observations are helpful in indicating the nature of German interest but add nothing to our knowledge of India, as German reports were derived ultimately from British informants. More significant is the sudden, sea change which German views underwent when war broke out in 1914. The ambivalences of the past were speedily replaced by a firm determination to exploit whatever means lay to hand by which Britain could be weakened. One of the most valuable chapters is the last in

which Barooah describes the formation of the Berlin India Committee in 1914-15 and analyses German contacts with Indian revolutionaries. The author promises a further work on this final topic and it should be worth reading when it appears.

M. B. YAPP

ANTOINE MOSTAERT: *Le matériel mongol du Houa i iu 華夷譯語 de Houngou (1389)*. 1. Édité par Igor de Rachewiltz, avec l'assistance de Anthony Schönbaum. (Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, Vol. xviii.) xxiii, 144 pp. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1977.

The *Hua i i yu* of 1389, which consists of a classified Mongol-Chinese vocabulary followed by two sets of documents in the Mongol language, the whole Mongol component of the work appearing in a contemporary transcription into Chinese characters, has been fairly thoroughly studied during the last decades. The transcription system has been analysed and the connected texts reconstituted into Mongol, edited and translated, by such scholars as Haenisch, Lewicki, and Ligeti. (Bibliographical details are given by de Rachewiltz and need not be reproduced here.) But for one reason or another, none of the existing monographs can be regarded as complete or definitive. Haenisch was a pioneer work, Lewicki died before his edition was complete, while Ligeti's edition, the latest, confines itself to the documents and does not offer a translation. (See, though, n. 28, hinting at further work to be expected from Budapest.)

The late Father Mostaert began to concern himself with the *Hua i i yu* as early as 1927, and after the last war began a detailed study. Various events, including his own resettlement in America, may have deflected him from this field of research, but the considerable amount of material which he left behind at his death has been passed to de Rachewiltz, for editing and completion, by the Reverend Henry Serruys. The present volume forms the first part of a projected publication of Mostaert's work.

What is now offered consists of a transcription of the documents; a French translation; a glossary, which includes also the words in the vocabulary; an index of suffixes; an index of words in the form taken in written, middle and preclassical Mongol, referring to the glossary; and a French-Mongol index. Mostaert's transcription system is more refined than that of Haenisch. It differs, I presume to say, only in essentials from that adopted by Ligeti, but shows certain systematic differences of detail from that adopted by Lewicki. The most striking difference is in the regular use of *e* rather than *ä*, for which choice see also Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Budapest, 1971, 19-20. Occasional long vowels, not indicated as such in the Chinese transcription (see Lewicki, 97-8), have been so marked, as in the

work of previous scholars. However, the words so marked are not always coincident. Cf. Mostaert *ihēkdeju*, but Haenisch, *ihēkdeju*, Lewicki, *ihēkdādū*, Ligeti, *ihēkdeju*, IIb 4r 2. Perhaps such matters will be referred to in the essay on 'Quelques problèmes phonétiques' which is to appear in the second part. No facsimile reproductions are given, for which one must still refer to Lewicki, or, for the documents only, to Haenisch, *Sino-mongolische Dokumente*. However, the present work does provide all the necessary reference material in the glossary, where Chinese glosses and transcriptions are given.

Of great value and interest is de Rachewiltz's introduction, which discusses the history of the text and of work devoted to it and to related problems, bringing the bibliography of the subject up to date.

C. R. B.

WILLIAM DOLBY (tr.): *Eight Chinese plays, from the thirteenth century to the present*. 164 pp. London: Paul Elek, 1978. £6.50.

William Dolby has followed his *A history of Chinese drama*, which was already liberally sprinkled with excerpts from plays to illustrate its text, with the present translation of complete plays and independent interludes, preceded by a 13 pp. introduction to set the pieces in their context. The selection begins with a putative *yüan-pen* (embedded in the *Yüan* play *Ts'ai Shun fen shen*) and ends with a modern Szechwan variation on an old theme. In between it takes in a *nan-hsi*, *Huan-men tsu-ti ts'o li-shen*; a well-known *Yüan tsa-chü*, *Ch'iu Hu hsi ch'i*; an interlude from a Ming *ch'uan-ch'i*, *Wan sha chi*; a Ming *tsa chü*, *Chung-shan lang*; an early Ch'ing farce, *Mai yen-chih*; and a Peking opera, *Pa-wang pieh chi*. One of each then, and all good stuff, but a personal selection, perhaps even an alternative selection: not a langorous beauty in sight, and no fine vestments stained with tears—but baser passions in plenty. Farce, ruse, and bawdy predominate, the latter providing proof positive of the element of satyriasis in the Chinese character. Dolby's English is fully as robust as the Chinese and in other respects too his vocabulary is most fecund. Indeed, he takes such enjoyment in colourful language that he sometimes garnishes unsalted passages in the original, particularly in *Ch'iu Hu hsi ch'i*. In the same play he resorts to padding out verses with lines of his own in order to get a rhyme. This does not affect the tenor of the piece, and is justified by the insistence on rhyme, whether good or bad, in the original. Dolby's inventiveness in clinching his own rhymes must in fact count as one of the chief virtues of his rendering. As to accuracy, with this literature things are not always clear, and the translator must go out on a limb on occasion. Another person will think the limb unsound, even declare he is up the wrong tree. There are such cases here, but not enough to cause the layman to worry. Sino-logists are, of course, able to look after themselves.

D. R. POLLARD

JEAN-PIERRE DIÉNY: *Pastourelles et magnanarelles: essai sur un thème littéraire chinois*. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la 4^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. II. Hautes Études Orientales, 8.) [iv], 141 pp. Genève, Paris: Librairie Droz, 1977.

This brief and unpretentious work is, as the title indicates, an essay on silkworm-breeding as a pastoral theme in Chinese literature. M. Diény begins with a comparison of a twelfth-century French pastoral poem by Marcabru with the *Luo-fu*, an anonymous *yueh-fu* of the Eastern Han dynasty. He proceeds to trace the early mythical and ritual symbolism of the related theme of mulberry trees and their cultivation, before returning once again in a chapter entitled 'Du folklore à la littérature' to the *Luo-fu* which he now relates to the folkloristic tradition. Finally, he discusses briefly works which followed in the same tradition. This work is well-written and enjoyable with many useful references.

SARAH ALLAN

STEPHEN H. WEST: *Vaudeville and narrative: aspects of Chin theater*. (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Bd. 20.) [xiv], 190 pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1977. DM 18.

Deriving from a Ph.D. thesis of 1972, this is a lively collection of essays relevant to the plays and proto-drama of the Chin dynasty (1115-1234). The book is in fact divided into three chapters, the first concerning the plays, and the second and third dealing with the narrative ballad form known as *chu-kung-tiao*, its origins and structure, and its thematic sources and formal devices respectively. There are numerous charts and illustrations, and many translations from plays and poems, which make a decided contribution to the rapidly growing store of early literature on Chinese theatre that is now available in Western languages. There is also some consideration of recent archaeological finds, which have thrown much light on the early plays and provided much concrete confirmation of the written traditions. Challengingly, the author seeks to rectify a broad bias seen in former studies of the topic, and he does so with clear enjoyment and enthusiasm. The bibliography is useful, and the production of the book as a whole is well organized, with careful typing and attractive Chinese characters.

WILLIAM DOLBY

GLEN DUDBRIDGE: *The legend of Miao-shan*. (Oxford Oriental Monographs, No. 1.) 128 pp. London: Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of

Oriental Studies, Oxford University, 1978. £7.50.

The author made a thorough study of this legend by tracing it to its earliest sources, sifting out the probable from the improbable, and was able to pin down its beginning to a date—around 1100. He sorted out the circumstances which forged the link between Miao-shan and the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin of the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed manifestation, and provided a table of comparison of names of the characters in the nine versions of the Miao-shan legend he has examined. It is a most interesting study, showing the care with which the author followed the development of the legend from Chinese and Western sources and supported his arguments with copious notes and a formidable list of works cited. It is always fascinating to witness the detailed detective work put into a scholarly study to explode a pious fraud.

K. P. K. WHITAKER

JOHN CURTIS PERRY and BARDWELL L. SMITH (ed.): *Essays on T'ang society: the interplay of social, political and economic sources*. x, 145 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976. Guilders 40.

With the exception of Denis C. Twitchett's introductory essay on Sui (589-618) and T'ang (618-907) history, the articles in this volume were prepared for an undergraduate seminar in T'ang studies organized by the editors and held at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, U.S.A., during the spring of 1972. The articles include Arthur F. Wright's 'T'ang T'ai-tsung: the man and the persona', Edwin G. Pulleyblank's 'The An Lu-shan rebellion and the origins of chronic militarism in late T'ang China', Larry W. Moses's 'T'ang tribute relations with the Inner Asian barbarian', and another piece by Twitchett entitled 'Varied patterns of provincial autonomy in the T'ang dynasty'. There is also an excellent 'Bibliographic note' written by the editors, which 'is designed to serve as a guide to important books and articles [in Western languages] on major themes of T'ang political, social and economic history' (p. 110).

Teachers of undergraduate courses on traditional China will welcome the publication of this book. While the authors are able to treat a number of major issues in T'ang history much more thoroughly than is possible in a textbook format, their essays are not so specialized nor so studded with footnotes as to intimidate the beginning student. For example, many undergraduates who would not think of picking up Pulleyblank's *The background of the rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London, 1955) or Twitchett's *Financial administration of the T'ang dynasty* (Cambridge, 1963, 1970) might be persuaded to do so having read their informative and enjoyable essays here. My only criticism of the book is its price, which will put it beyond the reach of many of the students for whom it was intended.

W. S. A.

PAUL RATCHNEVSKY (tr.): *Un code des Yuan. Tom. III. Index, par Paul Ratchnevsky et Françoise Aubin*. (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. IV.) [vii], 209 pp. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977.

Professor Paul Ratchnevsky's monograph of 1937, *Un code des Yuan*, was a contribution of fundamental importance to the understanding of law and administration during the Mongol dynasty in China, being an annotated translation, preceded by a lengthy introduction, of the appropriate chapters of the *Yuan shih*. The usefulness of the work was enhanced by the publication in 1960 of an index compiled by Madame Françoise Aubin. A second volume of the monograph followed in 1972, and to this too Madame Aubin compiled an index, which was not, however, published at the time.

In consultation with the author, A. has now performed a signal service in amalgamating and bringing out the two indexes. The result is more than a mere fusion of two lists of words. The second index had been compiled upon lines which differed partially from those followed for the first, which thus had to be adapted for the sake of uniformity. We now possess a fully integrated reference system to this important monograph, whose usefulness indeed depends to some extent on the ease with which proper names and technical terms can be located.

C. B. B.

PRESTON M. TORBERT: *The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department: a study of its organization and principal functions, 1667-1796*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 71.) xii, 267 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. \$15, £10.50.)

This is essentially an outline of the origins, structure, and workings of the Ch'ing emperors' personal bureaucracy. Their Imperial Household Department was intended to do some of the jobs that under their Ming predecessors had been seized upon by an army of eunuchs as opportunities for accumulating wealth and power; but the imperial bondsmen from the three top banners who ran the Household Department turned out to be just as willing to abuse their positions. It was of course essential to the emperor that his financial affairs and property be out of the hands of the regular officials with their often tiresome sense of *esprit de corps* and of their duty to society and civilization, not just to himself. In relying on mere servants the monarch hoped to control them much more closely. The price he had to pay was most spectacularly shown in the case of the notorious Ho-shan, who used his position in the Department to accumulate an ill-gotten fortune worth millions of ounces of silver in the late eighteenth century.

When one looks at the sources of wealth wholly or partially entrusted to the Department it is hardly surprising that corruption flourished: there was the salt monopoly, commercial taxes and foreign customs, trade in copper and ginseng, imperial estates, pawnshops, loans, the imperial silk manufactories, forced contributions from errand officials or the outright confiscation of their property, the handling of foreign tribute, and many other lucrative activities as well.

Students of Ch'ing institutions will read Professor Torbert's study with interest, especially ch. ii-iv and vi. (Ch. i covers largely familiar ground; and the 35 pp. account of illegal jade-mining by Kao P'u in ch. v is tangled in unnecessary detail.) On the economics of the department's operations it adds some detail to the fundamental and excellent article by Chang To-ch'ang in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (xxx, 2, 1972, 243-73). It also supplements Jonathan Spence's *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor* (1966) as a study of how the Ch'ing rulers ran their private empires.

W. J. F. JENNER

Mme. YVES DE THOMAS DE BOSSIERRE:

Un Belge mandarin à la cour de Chine aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: Antoine Thomas 1644-1709 Ngan To P'ing-che. (La Chine aux Temps des Lumières, III.) xiv, 175 pp. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977.

This book is apparently the first of the series to which it belongs to have been noticed in *BSOAS*. Jacques Silvestre de Sacy, in collaboration with Michel Antoine, opened the series 'La Chine aux Temps des Lumières' in 1970 with a monograph entitled *Henri Bertin: dans le sillage de la Chine*. This was a study of the life and work of Henri Bertin, 1720-92, who held successively the posts of Intendant at Perpignan and Lyon, Lieutenant Général de Police at Paris, Contrôleur Général des Finances, and Secrétaire d'État, from 1753 to 1780. Bertin was a reforming spirit, whose interests and responsibilities covered such diverse matters as agriculture, mining, horse-breeding and veterinary schools, the management of the royal porcelain factory at Sèvres, and so on. His immediate relevance to the theme of the present series, that is, the exchange of correspondence between Europe and the Jesuit mission in Peking, lies in the considerable correspondence which he himself and some of his associates maintained with the Jesuits from 1765 onwards, a correspondence which provided material for the successive volumes of *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*.

The second volume, *La mission française de Pékin aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1976, presents the proceedings of the Colloque International de Sinologie, which was held at Chantilly in September 1974. The papers here reproduced develop themes within the three general categories of philosophy, arts and sciences, and religion. The third group of papers, devoted to a study of aspects of the

'querelle des rites', anticipates, in a way, the volume now under review.

Antoine Thomas, born at Namur in 1644, joined the Jesuit novitiate in 1660. He was certainly a priest by 1675. From 1670 onwards he made various applications to be sent to China, supporting these submissions with references to his skill as a mathematician. It was not, however, until 1677, that he was permitted to depart. He spent some time in Portugal, Goa, Siam, where he was instrumental in the reconversion to Catholicism of the adventurer Constance Phaulkon, and Macao, before being summoned to Peking by the emperor K'ang Hsi in 1685, to assist the ailing Father Verbiest. He spent the remainder of his life in China, mostly in Peking, though he accompanied the emperor on journeys into Tartary, and took part also in surveying expeditions. He was one of the group of learned Jesuits, who, while forming a Christian mission in China, acted also as mathematicians, cartographers, diplomatic aides, and so on, to the emperor. Towards the end of his life Thomas was deeply and painfully involved in the disastrous dispute concerning the nature of the Chinese rites and the formulation of the opinion of the Holy See towards them. Thomas foresaw the tragedy which would befall the mission as a result of external interference, immediately represented by the Papal Legate, Mgr. de Tournon, and Mgr. Maigrot, in the sovereign affairs of China. He warned and advised, and in 1707 expressed himself forcefully, but without effective result, in a long letter addressed to Mgr. de Tournon. Thomas died in 1709, thus knowing nothing of the papal approval of the opinion which condemned the rites as incompatible with Christianity. Until as late as 1939, missionaries were obliged to take an oath of obedience to the papal decrees of 1715 and 1742 which proscribed the native rites.

This is an attractive study, based upon both printed and manuscript sources, of one of the commanding figures of the Jesuit mission in China, by a collateral descendant.

C. R. B.

LUDMILLA PANSKAYA and DONALD DANIEL LESLIE: *Introduction to Palladii's Chinese literature of the Muslims*. (Oriental Monograph Series, No. 20.) [viii], 106 pp. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, 1977. A\$6.95.

The Archimandrite Palladiy (Palladius) was born Pyotr Ivanovich Kafarov in 1817. After studies in Kazan and St. Petersburg he became a monk under the name by which he is generally known. The major part of Palladiy's life was passed in China. He took part in the twelfth Russian ecclesiastical mission to Peking (1839-49), returning early to Russia in order to prepare to lead the next mission, which arrived in Peking in 1850. In 1860 Palladiy went to Rome as chaplain to the Russian embassy there, but in 1865 took up his old

position in Peking once more. He died in Marseilles in 1878 while returning home.

Palladiy was the most considerable Russian sinologist of the nineteenth century, and enjoyed an international reputation as a scholar. It was a great loss to learning that his legacy of books and papers was destroyed by fire during the Boxer riots, though a certain amount of his own work had been published. His greatest achievement was probably his Chinese-Russian dictionary, which appeared posthumously in 1888, edited by P. S. Popov. He is also known, however, for his pioneer researches into the 'Secret history of the Mongols'. He acquired a manuscript of this work in 1872 and transcribed it into Russian characters before giving it to A. M. Pozdneyev, who in turn passed it on to the Library of the University of St. Petersburg. A facsimile of this manuscript was finally published in 1962 by B. I. Pankratov.

Palladiy also studied the Muslims of China. The present work consists of a translation into English of the preface and introduction by Nikolay Adoratskiy to the most significant of his works in this field, *Khtayskaya literatura magometan* (1887 and 1909), preceded by a two-part introduction dealing with the history of the Russian ecclesiastical mission, and with the life and works of Palladiy. Both sections of the book are annotated, and there is a useful bibliography of Palladiy's work. The editors plan a complete translation and analysis of the whole monograph, the present work being only a first instalment.

C. R. B.

YEN CHING HWANG: *The overseas Chinese and the 1911 revolution, with special reference to Singapore and Malaya.* (East Asian Historical Monographs.) xxvii, 439 pp. Kuala Lumpur, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1976. £18.

Dr. Yen's researches into the part played by Chinese in Singapore and Malaya in the efforts of the T'ung Meng Hui and other organizations to overthrow Manchu power in China must have been of a tirelessness rivalling that of the revolutionary activists themselves. The resulting book is backed by wide reading in short-lived local newspapers, archive investigations, interviews with the relatives of veteran supporters or opponents of Sun Yat-sen, and more familiar printed sources and studies. It shows that support for Sun Yat-sen (who met with opposition not only from the Ch'ing authorities, and reformists led by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, but also from rival factions within the T'ung Meng Hui) came mainly from the middle and lower levels of expatriate Chinese society until after the Wuchang rising, when some of the richer merchants clambered on the anti-Manchu bandwagon. The movement made more appeal to the emotions than the intellect, and it is clear that the T'ung Meng Hui leaders saw their followers in Singapore and Malaya mainly as suppliers of money. The local organizers

come out of this study rather better, being also concerned with improving the education and life of the common people.

What did the agitation, the trading of abusive polemics, the meetings, and above all the fund-raising achieve? In the end they yielded substantial support in men and money for the heroic bungling of the April 1911 putsch in Canton, followed by more money for the provincial governments in Fuh'an and Kwangtung that broke away from Ch'ing rule a few months later. In Singapore and Malaya involvement in the politics of the ancestral country undoubtedly strengthened a sense of a new and stronger Chinese national identity. The author adds an element of local pride in comparing the deeds of Singapore and Malaya Chinese favourably with those of their compatriots in Thailand, French Indo-China, the Dutch colonies, Hongkong, Hawaii, the United States, and elsewhere. What is not established here is the value of these efforts to the overseas Chinese themselves.

W. J. F. JENNER

HYOGMYON KWON: *Basic Chinese-Korean character dictionary.* Editor: Bruno Levin. xxvii, 566 pp. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978. DM 148.

2,432 characters are given, arranged in radical/stroke order, with a further 121, also in radical/stroke order, appended from material which became available to the compiler too late to be incorporated into the main listing. There are indexes according to Korean pronunciation (romanized according to McCune-Reischauer, in ABC order) and according to total numbers of strokes. Indexes of radicals are given inside the covers. The characters comprise all those specified in various official minimum lists of characters from the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean governments. The lists in which each character is to be found are indicated. Simplified and popularly used forms taken from similar lists are given under each traditional form, and other variations are given after the translations. The order of writing the strokes of each character is indicated in up to eight separate diagrams for each character.

Pronunciations of the characters are given in Korean (McCune-Reischauer romanization), modern Chinese (*pinyin*, distinguishing where necessary *yinyin* and *duyin*), 'middle Chinese' (based on *Grammata serice recensa*), and Japanese (Hepburn, with distinctions shown between *kan-on*, *go-on*, *karyō-on*, and *to-in*). Meanings are given in Korean (*han'gŭl* and romanization), but using the modern dictionary form of verbs) and English. Five or six two-character (occasionally three-character) compounds, in which the character appears in first, second, or, very occasionally, third place, are given. In most cases the compounds are spelt out only in Korean (*han'gŭl* and romanization), but compounds which occur only in Chinese or Japanese are spelt in the appropriate romanization. The English meanings of

the compounds are usually single words. Those compounds which can be formed into verbs with *hada* in Korean are marked.

The whole is exceptionally clear to read, though reproduced from typescript and manuscript. The purpose of the dictionary is stated as 'to give students of sinology, japanology, and of course, koreanistics, whether they are beginners or already somewhat advanced, a solid knowledge of fundamental Chinese characters'.

It is difficult to judge a dictionary other than by using it over a long period, but it would appear that this dictionary would be most useful to the student who has mastered the radical/stroke composition of Chinese characters and is studying Korean primarily out of a philological interest. This is not to say that others may not find it useful. At least there are extremely few minor mistakes obvious in an hour or so's browsing, and one cannot but admire the diligence and care with which the work has been compiled.

W. E. SKILLEND

ROBERT H. BROWER (tr.): *Fujiwara Teika's Hundred-poem sequence of the Shōji era, 1200. (Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 55.)* [vii], 120 pp., front. Tokyo: Sophia University, [1978]. \$11.

This is a *Monumenta Nipponica* monograph, and first appeared as an article in that journal (xxxI, 3-4, 1976). It is a complete translation, with introduction and commentary, of the contribution by the great Japanese poet Fujiwara Teika to a set of sequences of 100 poems commissioned by the ex-emperor Go-Toba in 1200, the second year of the Shōji era, in which eventually 43 poets participated. Teika's work was a day late for the deadline (his late selection gave him only 15 days to complete his task), but it was accepted, and in the event went a long way to establishing his enduring reputation as a poet. Brower's translations are accompanied by perceptive notes, and he quotes and translates poems alluded to by Teika's poems. Other information is given on poetic sequences in general and the organization of this one in particular. The quality of the work, both academically and technically, is, as one would expect from the co-operation between such an authority and so efficient a publisher, excellent.

C. J. D.

D. V. DEPIK (ed.): *Skazki narodov Birmy. (Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Institut Vostokovedeniya. Skazki i Mify Narodov Vostoka, 23.)* 592 pp. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1976. Rbls. 1.97.

This substantial book of more than 200 folk-tales is the largest collection from Burma yet to appear in a Western language; the two compilers, V. B. Kasevich and Yu. M. Osipov,

responsible themselves for some of the versions, have enlisted the help of four Leningrad colleagues (O. Timofeyeva, N. Nosova, A. Burman, and R. Yanson) in translating for the first time directly from Burmese into Russian a selection of legends and folk-tales from 10 ethnic groups in Burma. An interesting introduction by the social anthropologist D. V. Depik discusses the tales from both a structural and historical point of view, and there are short notes and a glossary at the end. The work is in a major Soviet series (produced under the auspices of the Institute of Oriental Studies) entitled 'Tales and Myths of the Peoples of the East', which aims to present straightforward translations of Asian folk-lore together with analysis and commentary on the background and origin of the material. The translations are enjoyable to read and the editor is to be congratulated on the publication.

Since 1962, the Burmese author and journalist, Ludu U Hla, has been collecting and publishing in Burmese the myths, legends and folk-tales of the numerous different ethnic groups which make up the Union of Burma; by 1971 he had already published 41 books containing some 1,500 tales. In addition many other Burmese writers have prepared works including indigenous folk-lore in recent years. The present selection is based on a mere 14 of Ludu U Hla's books, those which had appeared by the end of 1966, plus one other work; it includes 66 original Burmese tales as well as stories collected from the Arakanese, and In-tha, the Chin, Kachin and Naga, the Karen, the Palaung and Mon, and the Shan peoples. Although it is a generous selection, it does not in fact represent all the ethnic groups of Burma, nor does it make full use of the rich and varied material available from other sources besides U Hla. For an excellent work which does just this, the reader's attention is drawn to *Märchen der Völker Burmas*, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1976, by Dr. Annemarie Esche. Though choosing to translate fewer tales she has done more original research and has cast her net more widely, including material published as recently as 1971; the beautiful Kayah version of the story of Princess Manohari with which she ends her book is a notable omission from the Russian collection.

ANNA J. ALLOTT

H. M. RASJIDI: *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Islam à Java. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. cxii.)* 282 pp. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1977.

This is a slightly amended version of Rasjidi's Paris doctoral thesis of 1956. New bibliographical references and a 'Postface' dated 1973 have been added. There is much of value here, but it is fair to say that the book would have been more valuable in 1956 than in 1977. The appearance of Benda, *Crescent and the rising sun* (1958), Van Niel, *Emergence of the modern Indonesian elite* (1960), Boland,

Struggle of Islam (1971), Noer, *Modernist Muslim movement* (1973), and other detailed works of scholarship has reduced the value of Rasjidi's brief descriptions of twentieth-century Islam. In 1956, however, these would have been most welcome. His discussion of the *Pathi Cénthini* in the first part of the book is of more value, but even here recent works on the *Cénthini* (mostly in Indonesian) have somewhat reduced the value of Rasjidi's work.

The book is in two parts. The first considers the *Cénthini* story as a representative of pre-reform Javanese Islam. Rasjidi's analysis is almost entirely directed towards showing how teachings found here are not orthodox Islam. Few would dispute his views, but a more sympathetic analysis might have helped readers to understand how the *Cénthini* teachings reflect a consistent Javanese religious tradition. A rather more incisive analysis of the Islamic elements in *Cénthini* was published by Soebardi in *BKI* (1971). Rasjidi's analysis is hampered by the fact that he does not deal with *Cénthini* itself, but with a short version of it (the *Pathi Cénthini*) done in the twentieth century. The second part of the book looks at Indonesian Islam in the twentieth century.

As the title suggests, there is much useful raw material collected here. Specialists will find some of this material valuable. Non-specialists should, however, turn to some of the other works mentioned above for more up-to-date and comprehensive scholarly analysis.

M. C. RICKLEFS

HOLDEN FURBER: *Rival empires of trade in the Orient, 1600-1800*. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, Vol. II.) xix, 408 pp. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1976. £12.25.

Holden Furber long ago established his place among historians of the trading relations between Europe and the East. After Dodwell, and in the same generation as Sir Cyril Phillips, his *John Company at work* (1948) established his reputation. Decades of silence were punctuated with a brief and illuminative series of lectures, published under the title *Bombay Presidency in the mid-eighteenth century* (New York, 1965). Late in his academic life this massive volume has appeared, which establishes his reputation as a major historian of Eurasian trade.

It provides the best published general outline of the mechanisms of European trade with the East and of the processes which led to the European dominance of the littorals of the Indian Ocean and the Far East, extending into their hinterlands.

This is a *magnum opus* of a scope which does not correspond to Furber's original academic intentions, as he explains in his preface:

'Over twenty years ago, in the preface of *John Company at work*, I explained my intention of delving further back into the eighteenth

century. . . . Yet when the opportunity arose to write for this series an account of European expansion in the Orient during the two centuries in which East India Companies flourished, it seemed wise to adapt that experience and thirty years of teaching to such a task'. Furber's work is divided into two parts—'The making of empires' and 'The structure of empire'. His narrative is a detailed and sophisticated account which in its over-all perspective of the period from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century is unlikely to be superseded for many years. It is a monument of a lifetime of scholarly interest in this subject.

References are given in the notes, but, in spite of the sagacious 'Suggestions for further reading', a full bibliography would have been of use.

SEMON DIGBY

D. R. SARDESAI: *British trade and expansion in Southeast Asia, 1830-1914*. xi, 302 pp. New Delhi, etc.: Allied Publishers Private Ltd., [c1977]. Rs. 60.

It is the author's thesis that 'Hobson and Lenin certainly over-emphasized the rôle of finance capital and investment in imperial expansion of the late 19th century' but that non-economic explanations are also unsatisfactory. Among several factors involved in British policy in Burma, Siam, and Malaya, Sardesai points to 'promotion and protection of trade' as the factor that provided 'the rationale for the graduated establishment of British control in the region'. The book has chapters concentrating on Singapore, Siam, Pegu, the Malay States, Ava, and Siam. It is supported by a lengthy bibliography of primary and secondary sources.

M. C. RICKLEFS

PAUL NEWMAN and BOXANA MA NEWMAN (ed.): *Papers in Chadic linguistics: papers from the Leiden Colloquium on the Chadic Language Family*. vii, 233 pp. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1977. Guilders 8.

These are all the papers from the Leiden Colloquium on the Chadic Language Family. Of the 14 papers half are comparative/historical and the other half descriptive.

Some are entirely concerned with Hausa and analyse the causative morpheme, describe the auxiliary verbs, and parse the plurals. Others, dealing with various languages, compare plurals, lateral fricatives, and terms for domestic animals in Chadic. There is a classification of the West Chadic verb, and an outline of patterns in Chadic verb case formations.

Languages directly treated are Eusa, Bachama, Pa'a, Kera, Ga'anca, and Kapsiki. Bachama evinces characteristics typical of the Semito-Hamitic languages as suggested by D'yakonoff. Pa'a has a fully developed system

of grammatical gender. In Kera principles governing the definite article correspond substantially with those in English and German. Y-prosody as a morphological process in Ga'anda is of interest, and it is clear that an unusual colour terminology occurs in Kapaiki.

This interesting collection of papers is welcome. The papers are a reflection of the nature and range of work now being done in Chadie linguistics as a whole.

C. G. B. GIDLEY

ALAIN VAN DER BEKEN: *Proverbes et vie yaka*. (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, Vol. 15.) 237 pp. St. Augustin: Anthropos-Institut, 1978. DM 29.

The study of proverbs is an old one in anthropology and folk-lore. Most published studies consist mainly of lists of proverbs, arranged sometimes according to various classifications made by folk-lorists concerned with diffusion of motifs, sometimes according to some 'common-sense' classification (animals, stars, etc.). This volume is arranged differently, in that the categories in which the proverbs are presented are those of Yaka social organization and cosmology.

The Yaka are among the ethnographically better-known peoples of Zaïre. The author, a Jesuit priest, had spent almost 10 years among them, during which time he made an intensive study of their language. In this book he offers an ethnography of the people, arranged in a conventional and adequate way. Each chapter deals with a particular aspect of organization and belief, with proverbs taking the place of the informants' statements used by most anthropologists. Each of the 750 proverbs given is in Yaka with a French translation and a brief exegesis; and there is a full glossary of the Yaka terms used in the proverbs. The chapters deal with political organization, kinship, marriage, other social relationships, magic, and Yaka philosophical and cosmological beliefs. This way of presenting of proverbs is very successful and demonstrates clearly the place of proverb-telling and the meanings of proverbs in Yaka society. They are not folksy comments on 'life' but statements in which Yaka social experience is encapsulated and by which Yaka society is validated and its values sanctioned, made morally and jurally binding, and transmitted to new generations.

This is a sophisticated and valuable monograph, and is to be welcomed as maintaining the scholarly standards of the ethnographic and linguistic work of the Anthropos-Institut.

JOHN MIDDLETON

GERNOT ROTTER (ed. and tr.): *Muslimische Inseln vor Ostafrika: eine arabische Komoren-Chronik des 19. Jahrhunderts*. (Beirut Texts und

Studien, Bd. 18.) xii, 106, 116 pp. Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1976. DM 38.

This is a handsomely produced volume, although the type does not always sit exactly straight on the line. An introduction sketches the historiography of the Comoros, introduces the author of the chronicle, Qāḍī 'Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Shirāzī, and outlines the chronicle itself. There is a preliminary discussion of the special characteristics of the Arabic; and a bibliography.

Written in 1866, the chronicle is comparatively free of European influence; and its author had been an outstanding political figure, with inside knowledge of local affairs, particularly on his own island, Mayuta. Against these recommendations must be weighed the very subjective nature of his evidence, and also the fact that it is centred upon Mayuta, very much smaller than the two principal islands.

The manuscript is of 52 folios; the entire original, in a very clear, almost fully vowelised, script, is reproduced here. The translation, together with commentary, comprises 75 pp.—the commentary, I am delighted to find, printed page by page with the translation, and not tucked away in an inaccessible eyrie at the end of the volume. The chronicle divides into three parts. The first, more than half the total, begins with a brief sketch of the legends of earliest settlement, from the land of the Arabs and from the east coast of Africa, allegedly in the time of Solomon. The arrival of the first Christians, coming to trade, is placed before the coming of the Shirāzī. A brief glance at the Arab-Portuguese confrontation is followed by an equally brief comment on the arrival of settlers from Madagascar. There is a Shirāzī genealogy, and then in rough outline the history of Mayuta and Nzwani islands from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The bulk of this first part is a detailed description of events in the nineteenth century, culminating in a list of the French governors of Mayuta up to the 1860's. The second part discusses rivalry between the sultans of Mayuta and Nzwani; Sakalava and Betaimisaraki invasions from Madagascar; and subsequent developments until the arrival of European colonization. There is thus a good deal of overlap, suggesting that there may originally have been two accounts, composed at not very different times. The third section is a brief appendix, discussing the French attempts in the 1860's to gain greater political influence over the other islands in the Comoros.

As a historical source, the chronicle is chiefly relevant to the local history of the Comoros, with a certain amount of information concerning Madagascar, and something on the arrival of nineteenth-century European colonialism. The peculiarities of the Arabic may be of special interest to linguists.

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- MUHAMMAD MORSEY 'ABDULLAH. *The United Arab Emirates: a modern history*. 365 pp., front., 24 plates. London: Croom Helm; New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978. £17.95.
- A. D. ALDERSON and FAHIR İZ: *The Oxford English-Turkish dictionary: Fahir İz and H. C. Honey. Second edition*. xvi, 619 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978. £10.
- METİN AND: *Magic in Istanbul*. 67 pp. Calgary: Micky Hades International, 1978.
- METİN AND: *Turkish miniature painting. Revised new edition*. 142 pp. Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 1978.
- OLOV BERTIL ANDERSON: *An investigation into the present state of standard Chinese pronunciation. Part 1a: a companion volume to R. H. Mathews' Chinese-English dictionary*. 335 pp. Lund: Studentlitteratur; [London]: Curzon Press, 1978.
- VICTOR AZARYA: *Aristocrats facing change: the Fulbe in Guinea, Nigeria, and Cameroon*. xv, 293 pp. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1978. \$22.80, £13.30.
- S. C. BANERJĪ: *Sanskrit beyond India: a survey of the diffusion of Sanskrit language and literature and their influence on world literature and culture*. xii, 244 pp. Calcutta: Saraswat Library, 1978. Rs. 60.
- SURESH CHANDRA BANERJĪ: *Fundamentals of ancient Indian music and dance*. (L.D. Series, 57.) viii, 120 pp. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1976. Rs. 25.
- COLIN BARLOW: *The natural rubber industry: its development, technology, and economy in Malaysia*. xxiv, 500 pp., 26 plates. Kuala Lumpur, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1978. £19.50.
- SUSAN S. BEAN: *Symbolic and pragmatic semantics: a Kannada system of address*. xvi, 163 pp. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1978. \$20.40, £11.90.
- E. A. BOATENG: *A political geography of Africa*. xix, 292 pp. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1978. £11.50.
- Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*. Hrsg. von der Abteilung zur Ostasienwissenschaften der Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Bd. 1. x, 504 pp. Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer, 1978. DM 54.80.
- EFIMIE VASILIEVITCH BOGOMAS: *L'héritage de Zimbabwe: thèse présentée devant l'Université de Paris VII, le 24 juin 1975*. [ix], 708 pp. Lille: Atelier Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1978. (Distributed by Honoré Champion, Paris. Fr. 70.)
- SARA BOIN (tr.): *The teaching of Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa) from the French translation with introduction and notes (L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti) by Étienne Lamotte*. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. xxxii.) cxvi, 335 pp. London: Pali Text Society, 1976. (Distributed by Routledge and Kegan Paul. £22.50.)
- BRITISH LIBRARY: *The Christian Orient*. 79 pp., 32 plates. London: British Museum Publications Ltd., [1978]. £2.50.
- VIGGO BRUN (ed. and tr.): *Sug, the trickster who fooled the monk: a northern Thai tale with vocabulary*. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, No. 27.) 191 pp. Lund: Studentlitteratur; London: Curzon Press, 1976. £3.50.
- HÉLÈNE BRUNNER-LACHAUX (tr.): *Somaśambhupaddhati. Troisième partie*. (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 25. iii.) [v], i-ii, 778 pp., 18 plates. Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1977.
- LEE C. BUCHHEIT: *Secession: the legitimacy of self-determination*. xi, 260 pp. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978. £12.60.
- ALFRED J. BUTLER: *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion. Containing also The treaty of Miṣr in Tabarī (1913) and Babylon*

of Egypt (1914). Second edition. Edited by P. M. Fraser. lxxxiii, 563, 5-87, 64 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. £15.

WITTER BYNNER: *The works of Witter Bynner. General editor, James Kraft. [Vol. 3.] The Chinese translations.* [vii], 388 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, [1978]. \$20. (Distributed in G.B. by Faber. £11.)

JEAN-PAUL CHARNAY: *Sociologie religieuse de l'Islam: préliminaires.* (La Bibliothèque de l'Islam.) 478 pp. Paris: Sindbad, [1978]. Fr. 98.

JO-HSI CHEN: *The execution of mayor Yin and other stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Translated from the Chinese by Nancy Ing and Howard Goldblatt.* (Chinese Literature in Translation.) xxviii, 220 pp. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, [1978]. \$8.95.

W. OWEN COLE and PIARA SINGH SAMBHI: *The Sikhs: their religious beliefs and practices.* (Library of Beliefs and Practices.) xxvii, 210 pp., 8 plates. London, etc.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978. £6.95.

MICHAEL CROWDER (ed.): *West African resistance: the military response to colonial occupation. New edition.* (Hutchinson University Library for Africa.) xii, 314 pp., 8 plates. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1978. £3.75.

UPENDRA NATH DHAL: *Goddess Lakṣmī: origin and development.* xvi, 232 pp. New Delhi: Oriental Publishers and Distributors, 1978. Rs. 45.

DAVID DILWORTH and J. THOMAS RIMER (ed.): *The historical literature of Mori Ōgai.* (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Japanese Series.) 2 vols: ix, 228; viii, 200 pp. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, [1977]. \$25.90.

K. K. DIXIT: *Early Jainism.* (L.D. Series, 64.) 99 pp. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1978. Rs. 28.

JOHN DUGARD: *Human rights and the South African legal order.* xix, 470 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, [1978]. £18.40.

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BULLETIN
OF THE
SCHOOL OF
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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



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Miss D. M. Johnson, who had been Editorial Secretary of the Bulletin since 1955, retired on 31 December, 1978. The Board wishes to place on record its warm appreciation of her services.

The Bulletin is published three times a year, in February, June, and October. Each year's issues make up one volume.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editorial Secretary at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C.1. Articles, notes and communications, and notices of books should be submitted in typescript.

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THOMAS BURROW

b. 29 June 1909. Fellow of the British Academy; M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.); Boden Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford, 1944-76; Honorary Fellow, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Emeritus Fellow, Balliol College, Oxford.

This issue of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* is dedicated, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, to Professor Thomas Burrow by grateful alumni and colleagues, that it may serve as a tribute to his distinguished tenure of the Boden Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford from 1944 until 1976.

In service to the School only one present member of any branch of its staff can claim seniority over Thomas Burrow, for it was in 1938 that he was first appointed Panel Lecturer in Sanskrit, and he has remained an utterly dependable expert adviser to the School and External Examiner to the University of London in all aspects of his subjects.

In token of thanks for ungrudging collaboration and assistance in the past and in appreciation of his important contributions to the scholarly reputation of the Bulletin especially in the field of the Comparative Philology of the Iranian, Indo-Aryan, and Dravidian languages of India, I would add here in particular the congratulations and good wishes of the Publications Committee of the School and the Editorial Board of the Bulletin.

J. C. WRIGHT

Chairman, Publications Committee, SOAS

NORTH IRANIAN PROBLEMS

By H. W. BAILEY

The vocabulary of Khotan Saka of ancient Khotan, Gostana-deśa of Buddhist Sanskrit, has a large fund of basic words; for the philosophy of Buddhism too they made full use of the Buddhist Sanskrit vocabulary, beside a number of north-western Prakrit forms. Many words, however, stand isolated. Their meanings are indeed often assured by bilingual texts or parallel passages in Buddhist literature, but other words are translated speculatively from contexts.

The ancient nomadic people who inhabited the regions north-west, north, and north-east of Persia from the Danube to the Iaxartes river were called Saka by the Achaemenid Persians. Adopting this name, we can recognize Saka dialects in modern Ossetic of the Caucasus (probably an amalgam of Saka dialects: Alana, Sarma, and Arsia, this last being the origin of the name Ossetic Asi, Arab. Ās, Āṣ, Latin Aas, Assi, Mongol As-ut, Georgian Ovs-, whence Russian Os- in osetin and Ossetia), and in the Pamirs (especially in Wakhān) where the ancient Greek writer Ktésias spoke of a *basileion* 'royal site' of the Sakas in Rōš(n)ān. This type of north Iranian Saka can thus be traced in texts from about 300 of our era to the present day, and in proper names much earlier.

Here it is proposed to adduce (1) six Khotan Saka words, and (2) the ethnic name Var.

1. SIX KHOTAN SAKA WORDS

The first four are from the base *rau-* and with increment *raud-* 'to command, rule'. First the frequent word *rrund-* (nom. sing. *rrē*, later *re*, gen. sing. *rrundā*) 'ruler', is used to translate Bud.Skt. *rājan-* 'ruler', and Tibetan *rgyal-po*. The adjectives are *rrundāna-* and *rrvīya-*. Verbal forms occur with preverb *pa-* in *pa-rud-*, present *parya-*, participle *parsta-*, 'to command', noun *parau* 'command', loc. sing. *parauya*. Two other related words are found, only once each, *rūkyām* gen. plural to *rūka-* or *rūkyā-* and *rautō*, and the fourth word *baraucām* occurs twice in a repeated passage. Happily the contexts suffice to establish their general meaning.

KT (= *Khotanese Texts*) 2.77.6 (a business document concerned with allocation of *pvaica* 'pieces of cloth') *bīrūkām sā u rūkyām va sā* 'one piece for the *bīrūka*-officials and one for the *rūk(y)a*-officials'. Here in a dyadic phrase, *bīrūka-* is the Turkish *buiruq* 'officer, commandant' from the verb *buyur-* 'to command', hence supporting a similar source 'command' for the parallel Saka *rūka-* from older **rauka-*. This word *rauka-* is attested in the Saka title Latin *Sacaraucae*, *Sa(ca)raucae*, with the Greek **Sakaraukoī*, attested in two variants *Sakaurakoi*, *Sakarauloi*, corresponding to the Chinese phrase *sai uang* 'the Sēk ruler' (K = Karlgren, *Analytic dictionary*, 773.2) and *uang* 'ruler'.

With this Saka *rauka-* one may associate the New Persian word *روحا rūh* 'a title of the prince Vīrō in the epic poem *Vēs u Rāmēn* of Gurgānī, for which *rūh* one will read either *rūč* (*rōčā*), or *rūj* (*rōjā*), or *rūx* (*rōxā*) (ed. M. Minovi, 54.42 and ed. M. Mahjūb 41.42). A Saka title need not surprise in a tale of Marv (*Margu-*) and Māh (*Media*) when one recalls the name *Rustam i saqzi*,

Rostom sagčik in the New Persian epic. In later Khotan Saka the gen. plural *-ām* may be replaced by *-yām* (which is also used for older *-yau*). Hence either *rūka-* or *rūkyā-* is a possible stem. The medial *-ū-* is from older *-au-*, hence **rauka-*.

The second word occurs in *KBT* (= *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*) 155.51 *śim-kūnā rautōi bveysa-jśīnā hamāve* 'may the sacred lord ruler be long-lived', confirmed by the parallel passage *KBT* 150.33 *śena-tōlūnā rrudī bveysa-jśīnā hamāve* 'may the sacred and honoured ruler be long-lived'. Here *rautōi* corresponds to *rrudī* 'ruler', older *rrund-*. The titles are Chinese (K 1205.4; 507) *ṣəng-kūn* from *śāng-kiuən* and (K 1205.4; 1121.1) *ṣəng-tsun* from *śāng-tsun*. In *rautōi* one can trace older **rāuṣauna-* or, if *-tc-* proves conjunct consonants, older **rāud(a)ṣauna-*, that is, with the two suffixes *-ṣi-* and *-auna-*.

The third word is in *KT* 2.94.29 *mīhai baraucām parau itai* 'for us there is the command of the *barauca*-officials', repeated in *KT* 97.113 *mīhai baraucām parau itai*. Here the word *barauca-* can be traced to **upa-rāuṣa-* 'vice-commandant', from the same base *rau-* or *raud-*.

A name *Ἀσπαρούχ* in seventh-century Bulgaria, with variants Armenian *asparhrouk*, and Turkish in Slavonic script *isperuxū* and *isporū*, has, because of the *aspa-*, been taken as Iranian and, if it is so, it can be derived from *aspa-* 'horse' with a variant of Saka *rauka-* 'controller', with the same meaning as **asa-pati-* in Armenian loan-word *aspet*, a title of the Bagratounis, explained as 'rider' or 'knight, count'.

The sixth word is a title *vūvayau*, *vūvayum* occurring in *KT* 2.32.58 *vūvayau drūpaḍā* 'the princess *Drūpaḍā*', and *KT* 2.79.12 *vūvayum drūpaḍā*, a Prakrit variant of Epic Sanskrit *Draupadī*. In Khotan Saka there is sometimes variation of Brāhmī initial *v-* and *b-* to express a fricative *β-*; hence here the source may be **baga-yauna-* 'of royal origin'. Replacement of *ba-* by *bu-* is found elsewhere as in *būnaa-* 'naked' from older *bagna-ka-*. From *baga-* has derived *vūya-* and *vūya-*. In meaning *baga-* 'distributor' (glossed by Parsi Sanskrit *vībhaktar-*) was used both of divinity (Old Pers. *baga-* rendered by Akkadian *ilu* 'god') and of royalty (Zoroastrian Pahlavi *Dēnkart* (ed. Madan) 413.9 *bay* 'king'). The Turkish loan-word *bāg* 'prince' occurs with the suffix *-rāk* in *bāgrāk* as a personal name in Khotan Saka *KT* 2.89.61 *begarakā*, *KT* 2.90.69 *begarā*, *KT* 2.89.56 *berakā*, *KT* 2.84.18 *bgarakā*, and also in Manichaean Turkish *alpīm bāgrākīm*.

2. VAR

Since the ethnic name *Heftal*, in its various spellings, is likely to be a north Iranian Saka word meaning 'strong' according to the New Persian gloss *haiṭāl* 'strong' cited as a Bukhārā word, connected with Khotan Saka *hīṭala-tsa-* 'heroic' (see V. Livshits, *Kara Tepe* II, 1969, 67), the name in Greek script *Οὐάπ* used of the Heftal may well also be a Saka name.

The name *var-*, *avar-*, *varvar-* is attested from ancient north-western China north of the city Qamul as far west as Hungary in Europe. Even if the name Avar has perhaps been shifted from the earliest Avar group to a different ethnic group in Europe and in the Caucasus, the one original name has been carried since the fifth century A.D. from China westward.

Greek script *Οὐάπ* is used of the Heftal and the two phrases *Οὐάπ καὶ Χορρί* and *Οὐαρχωνίται* are used of the European Avars. This associates the names *Var* and *Hōn*, and is reflected in Armenian *Vakxon* and *Alxon*. This name *hōn* is likely to be ancient Avestan *hyaona-* in the story of king Vištāspa

in the time of Zoroaster about 1000 B.C., later Pahlavī *hyōn*, Chinese *hiung-nu*, which the Chinese Buddhist writers used to render Buddhist Sanskrit *hūna*. Evidence that this *hyaona-* is an old Iranian name meaning some such agent as 'owner, ruler', being genetically connected with Old Indian Vedic *syond-*, is set out in *Indo-Celtica*, the memorial volume dedicated to the memory of A. Sommerfelt, 1972, 18-28.

Early in China there is the name of one of the divisions of the Hu people, which is normally a word for Iranians (K 91.1 *xu* from *γuo*, Japanese *ko*), in the form *u-uān*, from **uo-γuān* (K 1288.1; 1293.1), which E. Pulleyblank interpreted as **gh-huān*, from the Han period, see *Asia Major*, N.S., ix, 1962, 259.

These *Var* and *Varvar* are found also in the place-name in Heftal territory, the later capital of Tokhāristān, called in Chinese by Hūan Tsang *xuo* from *γuāt* (K 119.1) and by the T'ang-šu *a-hūan* from **a-γuān* (K 1; 1343.5) with the usual *-t* and *-n* for foreign *-r*. The name is in Arabic *wālīj*, *al-wālījah*, and *warwālīj*, *walwālīj*, Armenian *varčān*, with two suffixes *-či-* and *-āna-*.¹

Important here however are the forms of the name in Chinese script of the fifth century A.D. of the nomads *zuan-zuan* from **zjuwān-zjuwān* (K 941.5) and *zou-zan* from **zjuw-zjuān* (K 942.1; 929.1). If *zuan-zuan* is the later form it is more precise, with **zjuw-* against **zju-*. These Chinese forms represent a foreign **varvara-* and **vavara-*, reduplicated from *var-*. Here Chinese **zjuw-* and **zju-* are for a foreign fricative *v-* or *β-*. In medial and initial it is frequent in Buddhist Sanskrit words; in *T'oung Pao*, xxx, 1933, 85-99, P. Pelliot listed *pāpīyān*, *uruvelā*, *vairambha*, *vaiśālī*, *viśvambhu*, *veranja*, *viśākhā*. To those must be added Uigur *swš'k* beside *byš'k* **sušak* and **višak* for the Bud.Skt. *viśākhā* asterism; the *su* was incomprehensible to the editor, see G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, 1930, 1.15.

This type of reduplication is familiar in Iranian, as also in Greek and Old Indian. From a different base Indo-European **yer-* 'an animal name', Iranian *var-*, such a *varvara-* is attested in New Persian *varvarah* 'squirrel', with variants Lithuanian *vaiveris* 'marten', *vaiverė*, *voverė* 'squirrel', Old Russian *věverica* 'squirrel', see J. Pokorný, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1166. The same type of reduplication is in Greek *κάρκαρι*, O.Ind. *karkara-* 'hard' to the base *kar-* (ibid., 531).

The forms *var-*, *avar-* and *vahr-* occur in several sources. Thus there are Syriac *'br* (but *'b'rys* is from Greek **Aβάρεϋς*), Orxon Turkish *pr* **apar* or **aβar* (in a text containing also the Parthian and Sogdian *frōm* 'Rome'), Byzantine Greek **Aβapes*, **Aβapoi*, Latin *auares* (*rex auarum cagan*), *auari*; Slavonic *avari*, *avare*, *obri*, O.Russ. *obürinü*, plur. *obüre* (*obrin*, *obri*), Czech *obr* 'giant'.

The presence of *a-* is a peculiar feature of Iranian ethnic names, as in O.Pers. *asagarta*, Akkadian *sagaartaa*, Greek *sagartia*: O.Pers. *akaufaciya*, later *kōfič*, Arab. *qufs*; *Amardei*, *Mardi*, *Aparni*, *Parni*, and New Pers. *āmūl*.

With *-h-* there is the New Persian *whr*, adjective *whry*, *vahr* (rhyming with *bahr*), *vahrī*. This name occurs in the collocation *kušānī (kš'ny) u šknī (šgnī or šugnī) u vahrī sipāh* 'troop of Kušān and Šignān and Vahr'; and *čayānī u šgnī u činī u vahr* 'of Čayāniyān and Šignān and Čin and Vahr'.²

The Pamir language Yazgulāmī has *wawz* from **war-zā-*, adjective *wūzič*

¹ There is no place for Turkish *baŋıq* 'city' here, against the proposal of E. Pulleyblank, loc. cit.

² Not from an Indian *bhr* with aspirated *bh*, against D. Monchi-zadeh, *Topographisch-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos*, 1975, 139.

for *Wanʃ* and *Wanʃi*; beside *Wanʃi wānʃ*, the place-name, see G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group*, 1974, 93.

In the Caucasus the name *avar* is now used of an indigenous language but may have descended from intrusive Avars who gave up their own language, as the Bulgar Turks now speak Slavonic in Bulgaria. For this Caucasian name *Avar* the Persian in the fifteenth century has *ʾahr*, that is, *aurhar* or possibly *avahr*. Armenian used *aurha-z-kʻ*, formed from *avahr*- with adjective suffix *-z-* from older Iranian *-či-*. The older name of the Caucasian people may have been *halpi-*, see N. Trubetskoy, *Mélanges van Ginneken*, 1937, 178. On the Caucasian Avars V. Minorsky in his *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, 1937, 447-8 cited tenth-century evidence. The Ossetic has *avar* in the popular tales. The Avar language replaces *avar* by *maʾarul* 'mountaineer'.

If it is accepted that the ancient Greek, Pindar fragment 270, and Herodotos 4.36 *Ἀβᾶπις* a wandering Hyperborean wonder-worker (like a modern *šaman*) was named from the ethnic name *Avar* or from its original meaning, the word would be attested from the sixth century B.C. It is evidently quite uncertain.

It is possible to offer a plausible Iranian origin³ for the name *var-*, *avar-*, *vahr* and *varvar-*. The north Iranian nomads struck the Greeks as powerful, hence their epic ἀλκίηρες *Alakíēres* 'Alavoi'. If, as noted above, the Hephthal name is rightly glossed by *hastāl* 'strong', with Khotan Saka *kitala-*, then *var-* of this *Avar* name may well be traced to Iranian *var-* 'to be strong, victorious' in Avestan *varəθra-* 'force', *varəθra-yna-* 'beating force, victorious' and its cognates. This *var-* may be found also in Khotan Saka *vara-* which glosses Bud.Skt. *bhadra-* in KT 1.222.43v3 *hamamgte dyāma vara* 'strong in universal vision' in the name Bud.Skt. *Samanta-bhadra-*. To this *var-* can be traced also O.Ind. *bala-* 'force' with the Indo-European base *yal-* 'be strong', see J. Pokorny, op. cit., 1111-12.

For Iranian so far north-east from Khotan and Tūmshuq Saka, note that the non-Chinese city Qamul (Chinese *i-wu*, *i-wu-lu*, older *i-ŋuo-luo* K 272.3; 1280.3; 579.1) touching the early Zuan-zuan territory, inhabited by the Dūmva people, Chinese Lung, had as late as A.D. 886 a temple to the divine being *A-lan* (K 1; 512.1 *ā-lām*), see T. Haneda, *Chigaku Chirigaku ronsō*, 1930, and P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 496; *JA*, 1916, 1, 120-2.

For the physique of the nomads known to the Chinese, O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The world of the Huns*, 1973, 358-75, has sifted recent archaeological evidence. The Hiung-nu had largely Europoid physique. It is, however, known that chieftains gathered various tribes with various languages into a horde. If the chieftains had Iranian names, as about A.D. 500 the *hūna* *Māhirakula* whose name (with Saka *kula-* from older *kryta-*) seems securely to be *miθra-kryta-* formed like the Sasanian royal name *Yazata-kryta-*, *Yazdigird*, and had sometimes Iranian titles, the followers may have had other languages. It is known that the *Cimūda*, *Čumul* people (an Iranian name) had a language of their own, though they were associated with Turks. Alans were also in later times associated with Turks, but their language was Iranian, see P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, 1959, 17.

In the absence of Avar texts the few titles ascribed to them should be tested for north Iranian derivation, in the pre-Turkish period of Central Asian history.

³ Earlier etymologies have been Turkish *av-* 'to enclose'; Osmanli *awara* 'turmoil', but of Iranian origin, connected with Zoroastrian Pahlavi *āpār*, Balōči *āwār* 'robbery'; Turkish *aba-* 'to resist' as if 'rebel'; Gothic *abra* 'strong'.

THE ERGATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN KURDISH

By THEODORA BYNON

It is well known that during the course of their histories a number of Indo-European languages, all of them members of the Indo-Iranian branch of the family, developed an ergative construction. Thus, in certain tenses of the verb, their grammars came to treat in formally identical manner the subject of an intransitive verb and the logical object of a transitive verb, the agent (or logical subject) of this latter being given a different morphological marker.¹ Now although ergativity has been studied in a wide variety of languages as a synchronic phenomenon, the opportunities for examining it from a diachronic point of view are in the great majority of cases severely limited by lack of historical documentation. The Indo-Iranian languages, however, form a notable exception. These, thanks to the availability of texts from closely related languages covering a time-span of some three millennia, provide us with a chance to observe both the development of the construction and its subsequent decline. The present paper will do no more than attempt to trace a part of this process, namely the way in which the ergative construction has disappeared from a certain area of western Iranian. It bases its arguments upon the assumption that the geographical continuum of the Kurdish dialects, whose grammars exhibit the whole range of possibilities from fully ergative systems in the north to fully accusative systems in the south, reflects the successive stages of a diachronic process. This being granted, it should be possible by ordering the synchronic patterns of representative dialects from the northern, the central and the southern regions, to arrive at a picture of the historical sequence of events which has led to the loss of ergativity in the southern dialects and to isolate the mechanisms involved in their resultant restructuring. The wider problems of precisely how the construction arose historically and of why within the Indo-European family it appears to be confined to Indo-Iranian will not be dealt with here.²

The dialects of central Kurdistan can be divided at approximately the latitude of Mosul into a northern and a southern group, the line separating them following roughly the course of the Greater Zab, an eastern tributary of the river Tigris in Iraq. The northern group will be represented in our discussion by the dialects of Amadiye and Sinjar (Blau, 1975) and by a somewhat normalized variety of Kurmanji (Bedir Khan and Lescot, 1970), the southern

¹ In Basque, a typical ergative language, the subject of an intransitive verb is in the same 'absolute' case as the direct object of a transitive verb and the subject of this latter is in the 'ergative' case. Thus *gizon* 'man' is in the absolute case (marked by zero suffix) in both *gizon etorri da* 'a man has come' and *aita-k gizon ikusi du* 'the father has seen a man', *aita-k* 'father' in this latter being in the ergative, or 'agentive', case (marked by the suffix *-k*). In addition, the prefix *d-* of the final auxiliary verb in both sentences refers to *gizon* so that one could speak of the verb as 'agreeing' with *gizon* were it not for the complicating factor that in addition to this prefix the auxiliary also carries a personal ending (*-t* in the first, *-k* in the second, zero in the third person) which marks the logical subject. Thus in *aita ikusi du-t* 'I have seen the father' the prefix *d-* reflects the logical direct object in the absolute case *aita* and the suffix *-t* marks the logical subject 'I': see Wagner (1978), 38. Similarly in Georgian, *iremi* 'stag' is morphologically identical in *iremi ifo tpebi* 'the stag was in the wood' and *monadire-m mokla iremi* 'the hunter killed the stag', the agent or logical subject in the latter sentence again having a distinctive marker *-m*: see Schmidt (1973), 109. For list of references see p. 224.

² For a discussion of the areal, typological and historical aspects of ergativity on a world scale and a comprehensive bibliography, see Wagner (1978); for ergativity in Indo-Iranian see e.g. Schmidt (1973), 116, notes 36, 37; for Hindi see Allen (1950); for hypotheses regarding ergativity in Proto-Indo-European, see Schmidt (1977).

dialects by Mukri (Mann, 1906-9) and Suleimaniye (MacKenzie, 1961). For the Suleimaniye sentences I am indebted to a native speaker of that dialect, Mr. W. O. Amin, who is at present working on a grammatical description of his language. In addition to the above, I have relied heavily for all the Iraqi dialects on the wealth of information contained in MacKenzie (1961).³ The transcriptions are in all cases those of my sources.

We shall first examine the relevant syntactic patterns in the northern dialects.⁴ In these both the noun and the pronoun inflect for case. Apart from the vocative (which does not concern us here), there are two cases, the direct and the oblique, formally distinguished either by means of suffixes or, in the case of certain pronouns, by suppletive forms. Ergativity, as is also the case in those other Indo-Iranian languages which exhibit it, is confined to the so-called past tenses of the transitive verb. The past tenses comprise paradigms employing both simple and periphrastic constructions. The latter, which are formed by means of a participial form of the main verb and an auxiliary, will not be dealt with since they are irrelevant to the problems under discussion. The simple past tenses are derived by means of aspectual and modal prefixes from the past stem of the verb. The present tenses are derived in parallel fashion from the present stem, although they do not have an ergative construction. A simple verb form, whether present or past, consists of three elements: a prefix, a verb stem and a suffixed person-number marker (or 'ending'). The sets of person-number markers employed in the present and past tense paradigms differ formally only in the third person singular, the present tenses here having an overt marker, the past tenses zero. Thus, in Kurmanji:

	First person singular	Third person singular
Present (intr.)	<i>ez di-kev-im</i> 'I fall'	<i>ew di-kev-e</i> 'he falls'
(tr.)	<i>ez di-bin-im</i> 'I see'	<i>ew di-bin-e</i> 'he sees'
Past (intr.)	<i>ez ket-im</i> 'I fell'	<i>ew ket</i> 'he fell'
(tr.)	<i>te ez dît-im</i> 'you saw me' (erg.)	<i>min ew dît</i> 'I saw him' (erg.)

Although the morphological difference is located within a single person, we will follow the practice of the grammars consulted and treat the person-number markers as comprising two discrete sets, labelling those which go with the present stem set A and those which go with the past stem set B. The present tense is thus formally characterized by the formula prefix *di* + present stem + set A, the preterite by zero prefix + past stem + set B. In the examples the verbs will not be segmented, but the appropriate formula will be placed in the heading before each section so that the glosses accompanying the sentences may be confined to syntactic information. The present tense may be taken as representative of all tense and modal paradigms based on the present stem, and the preterite as representative of all those based on the past stem (pres. = present stem, past = past stem, dir. = direct case, obl. = oblique case):

Intransitive verb in the present tense (*di* + pres. + A):

- (1) *hesp dikeve* 'the horse falls'
horse-dir. fall-3 sg.

³ I am also grateful to Professor D. N. MacKenzie for valuable criticisms and comments on an earlier version of this paper.

⁴ Bedir Khan and Lescot (1970), 176 f., 93 f.; cf. Blau (1975), 48, 71: MacKenzie (1961), 106 f., 155 f., 193 f.

- (2) *hesp dikevin* 'the horses fall'.
horse-dir. fall-3 pl.

✧ Intransitive verb in the preterite (zero + past + B):

- (3) *mirov hat* 'the man came'.
man-dir. come-3 sg.
(4) *mirov hatin* 'the men came'.
man-dir. come-3 pl.

Transitive verb in the present tense (*di* + pres. + A):

- (5) *hesp mirovî dibîne* 'the horse sees the man'.
horse-dir. man-obl. see-3 sg.
(6) *hesp mirovan dibîne* 'the horse sees the men'.
horse-dir. man-obl.-pl. see-3 sg.

✧ Transitive verb in the preterite (zero + past + B):

- (7) *şivên hesp dît* 'the shepherd saw the horse'.
shepherd-obl. horse-dir. see-3 sg.
(8) *şivên hesp dîtîn* 'the shepherd saw the horses'.
shepherd-obl. horse-dir. see-3 pl.
(9) *şivanan hesp dît* 'the shepherds saw the horse'.
shepherd-obl.-pl. horse-dir. see-3 sg.
(10) *şivanan hesp dîtîn* 'the shepherds saw the horses'.
shepherd-obl.-pl. horse-dir. see-3 pl.

It will be seen that in the first four sentences the noun phrase is in the direct case (the unmarked form of the noun, with zero suffix in both singular and plural) and in both the present and preterite tenses the verb agrees with it. Sentences (5) and (6) are formally parallel to sentences (1) to (4), except for the presence of a second noun phrase in the oblique case functioning as direct object. In sentences (7) to (10), however, it is the logical subject, or agent, which is in the oblique case while the logical object, or goal, is in the direct case and determines verbal concord. Mainly on historical grounds, such sentences as (7) to (10) are traditionally interpreted as passives, it being stated that in the past tenses transitive verbs obligatorily take passive form ('das transitive Präteritum ist "passivisch": Morgenstierne, 1958, 172). This analysis is, with minor reservations,⁵ also the one adopted in most of the analyses of Kurdish dialects which have been consulted (MacKenzie, 1961, 193; Blau, 1975, 71 f.). There is no doubt that it fits part of the observable facts. Thus, in common with passives in general, it is the agent which is the marked form from the point of view of the morphology whereas the goal is unmarked and determines the concord of the verb so that it may be considered to be the grammatical (or 'surface') subject of the sentence.⁶ But, while the situation

⁵ MacKenzie (1961), 193 makes the point that the past tenses of transitive verbs are conjugated in the same manner as those of intransitive verbs.

⁶ Thus, in the active sentences *puer puellam amat*: the boy loves the girl, the agent is in the least marked form whereas in the corresponding passive sentences it is much more marked: *puella a puero amatur*: the girl is loved by the boy. The claimed isomorphism of passive and ergative constructions (Schmidt (1973), 111) is, however, only partial even in this respect, since there are often far more cogent syntactic arguments for the 'subjecthood' of the surface subject of a passive than for that of an ergative construction; see Anderson (1976) for various syntactic tests for subjecthood. We will in this paper adhere to the traditional view that the noun phrase which determines verbal concord is the surface subject.

with regard to case marking and verb agreement would seem to permit the analysis of sentences (7) to (10) as passives, there are other criteria which speak against such an interpretation. Firstly, the fact that the agent is the more marked form morphologically is a phenomenon which is not limited to passives but is also characteristic of ergative constructions, in which the agent typically carries an overt morphological marker. Certain languages use a special case for this function whereas others use a case which also performs other syntactic functions, as is the situation here. Secondly, and much more importantly, sentences (7) to (10) lack a regular syntactic relationship with corresponding active sentences and thus fail to comply with a criterion which has always been considered an essential part of the definition of passive.⁷ Thus one would not normally speak of a sentence as being passive if there were not, in the language in question, a related sentence employing the same lexical items and exhibiting regular differences of syntactic structure. There would seem to be two basic views regarding the nature of the category passive. Either one may see the relationship between active and passive sentences in terms of the reversal of surface syntactic functions, the direct object of an active sentence 'becoming' the grammatical subject and topic (or theme) of the corresponding passive sentence with the subject of the active sentence 'becoming' the agent, or one may interpret passivization as the suppression of the agent, that is to say the intransitivization of a transitive verb, since it is a general characteristic of passives to require only one obligatory noun phrase, which is always the goal or logical object and never the agent. Whichever definition of the category be accepted, a passive only exists by virtue of the regular formal opposition which exists between it and a corresponding active, and of these two it is invariably the passive which is the marked category.

Now in the Kurdish dialects discussed so far, the only syntactic pattern which has a regular relationship with that illustrated by sentences (7) to (10) is the so-called agentless passive which can be regularly formed from it by deletion of the agent, conversion of the main verb to the infinitive, and the insertion of an auxiliary functioning as marker of passive voice (Bedir Khan and Lescot, 1970, 193; Blau, 1975, 72; MacKenzie, 1961, 195): e.g. *Kurmanji ew hat dîtin* 'it was seen'.⁸ Such an overt morphological marker of voice is however precisely what is absent from the verb forms of sentences (7) to (10). The verb forms of these consist of prefix + verb stem + person-number marker so that they are structurally exactly parallel to those of sentences (5) and (6). Finally, so far as the topic-comment (theme-rheme) relationship is concerned, ergative sentences have the same thematic structure as active and not passive sentences have in accusative languages in that it is the agent; and not the goal, which is the topic (or theme). By topic we mean the sentence-initial constituent about which new information is to be conveyed, irrespective of whether or not it is also the surface grammatical subject (see Lehmann, 1976). In terms of thematic structure, therefore, the ergative construction of the past tenses of Iranian exactly parallels the accusative-type active of their present tenses (cf., for Pashto, Tegey, 1978, 24). For all these reasons we believe that sentences (7) to (10) must be interpreted as ergative and not as passive.

The syntactic patterns of the relevant sentence types in the northern

⁷ For a brief survey of opinions, from Brugmann to Chomsky, see Schmidt (1963), 2 ff.

⁸ In Kurmanji, as in a number of other languages, ergative and (agentless) passive constructions coexist and there is thus no systematic incompatibility of the two as has been claimed (see Schmidt (1973), 111).

dialects may be represented by means of the following formulae, in which each structural unit is followed by a pair of brackets enclosing its immediate constituent analysis. Symbols for categories not so far used are S (sentence), NP (noun phrase), V (verb), pref. (prefix); a brace indicates mutually exclusive units and an arrow concord relationship.

Intransitive verb in the present and past tenses :

$$S \left(\underbrace{NP \left[N + \text{dir.} \right]}_{\substack{\text{agent and} \\ \text{surface subject}}} + V_{\text{intr.}} \left[\text{pref.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pres.} + A \\ \text{past} + B \end{array} \right\} \right] \right).$$

Transitive verb in the present tenses :

$$S \left(\underbrace{NP \left[N + \text{dir.} \right]}_{\substack{\text{agent and} \\ \text{surface subject}}} + \underbrace{NP \left[N + \text{obl.} \right]}_{\substack{\text{goal and} \\ \text{surface object}}} + V_{\text{tr.}} \left[\text{pref.} + \text{pres.} + A \right] \right).$$

Transitive verb in the past tenses :

$$S \left(\underbrace{NP \left[N + \text{obl.} \right]}_{\text{agent}} + \underbrace{NP \left[N + \text{dir.} \right]}_{\substack{\text{goal and} \\ \text{surface subject}}} + V_{\text{tr.}} \left[\text{pref.} + \text{past} + B \right] \right).$$

To summarize, in these northern Kurdish dialects the situation for the present tenses is comparable to that of any accusative language such as Latin or English, that is to say transitive sentences are structurally parallel to intransitive ones save for the presence of an additional noun phrase fulfilling the role of logical object. In the past tenses on the other hand the syntactic pattern of transitive sentences is a typically ergative one in that the noun phrase with which the verb agrees is no longer the agent but the goal and there is an additional noun phrase in left-most position performing the role of agent.⁹

If we now turn to the southern group of dialects, we find that the treatment of transitive verbs in the past tenses is not uniform throughout the area. For, while the same ergative construction with which we are already familiar is found in the northernmost of these, in the south we find a fully accusative system. Let us examine the situation in the southernmost dialect, Suleimaniye. As opposed to what we have seen for Kurmanji, neither the noun nor the pronoun of Suleimaniye inflects for case, the syntactic functions of nuclear noun phrases (that is to say, of noun phrases not preceded by prepositions) being determined by position alone. The normal or unmarked word order for transitive sentences is agent (which is also the surface subject), followed by goal (which is also the surface object), followed by verb. The verb has present and past stems and two sets (A and B) of person-number markers parallel in

⁹ This analysis entails that in minimal sentences with a transitive verb and a single noun phrase this noun phrase will be interpreted as agent in the present but as goal in the past. This point could not be tested since the sources consulted lack the relevant information. It would, however, seem likely that neither of the two noun phrases of a transitive sentence may be absent.

both phonological form and syntactic distribution to those already described for Kurmanji. Unlike Kurmanji, however, Suleimaniye also possesses a third set of exponents of person and number, quite distinct from both the personal pronouns and the markers suffixed to the verb stem. This third set of person-number markers, which in the singular have the forms $-(i)m$, $-(i)t$, $-i/y$, in the plural $-mán$, $-tán$, $-yán$, we shall label set C.

Let us examine the equivalents in Suleimaniye of the ten Kurmanji sentences analysed above:

Intransitive verb in the present tense ($a + \text{pres.} + A$):

- (1') *aspaka akawêt* 'the horse falls'
horse-the fall-3 sg.
(2') *aspakân akawin* 'the horses fall'.
horse-the-pl. fall-3 pl.

Intransitive verb in the preterite ($\text{zero} + \text{past} + B$):

- (3') *pyâwaka hát* 'the man came'
man-the come-3 sg.
(4') *pyâwakân hátin* 'the men came'.
man-the-pl. come-3 pl.

Transitive verb in the present tense ($a + \text{pres.} + A$):

- (5') *aspaka pyâwaka abînêt* 'the horse sees the man'
horse-the man-the see-3 sg.
(6') *aspaka pyâwakân abînêt* 'the horse sees the men'.
horse-the man-the-pl. see-3 sg.

Transitive verb in the preterite ($\dots - C \quad \text{zero} + \text{past}$):

- (7') *šwânaka aspaka-y bînî* 'the shepherd saw the horse'
shepherd-the horse-the-3 sg. see
(8') *šwânaka aspakân-i bînî* 'the shepherd saw the horses'
shepherd-the horse-the-pl.-3 sg. see
(9') *šwânakân aspaka-yân bînî* 'the shepherds saw the horse'
shepherd-the-pl. horse-the-3 pl. see
(10') *šwânakân aspakân-yân bînî* 'the shepherds saw the horses'.
shepherd-the-pl. horse-the-pl.-3 pl. see

It will be seen that in all four sentence types, irrespective of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, present or past, the person and number of the subject are regularly repeated in a person-number marker elsewhere in the sentence. Syntactically therefore, in respect of concord, there is total systematic regularity. What is irregular, however, is the way in which concord is marked morphologically. For, while the distribution of sets A and B is the same as in Kurmanji in the case of intransitive verbs in all tenses and of transitive verbs in the present tense, in the past of transitive verbs we find as person-number markers only the members of set C and these furthermore occupy a different position from the members of sets A and B, not normally being attached to the verb stem at all but rather to the direct object. It is only when there is no overt direct object and no other suitable constituent present to which they could attach themselves that they are in fact suffixed to the verb stem (see Edmonds 1955, MacKenzie 1961, 109 for a hierarchy of potential 'hosts'). Notwithstanding this irregularity, if we accept as the definition of concord

the repetition of the person-number features of the subject by a morphological marker elsewhere in the sentence, we must from the point of view of its concord relations class Suleimaniye as an accusative language, and this in spite of the fact that the morphological exponents of concord employed in the transitive past are not formally or positionally parallel to those employed in the intransitive tenses and in the transitive present.

The syntactic patterns of these Suleimaniye sentences may be summarized in the following formulae, which are the direct counterparts of those given above for Kurmanji. The only additional relevant factor is that the noun in Suleimaniye must be followed by a determiner, either the definite or the indefinite article (art.):

Intransitive verb in the present and past tenses:

$$S \left(\underbrace{NP [N + \text{art.}]}_{\substack{\text{agent and} \\ \text{surface subject}}} + V_{\text{intr.}} \left[\text{pref.} + \begin{cases} \text{pres.} + A \\ \text{past} + B \end{cases} \right] \right).$$

Transitive verb in the present tenses:

$$S \left(\underbrace{NP [N + \text{art.}]}_{\substack{\text{agent and} \\ \text{surface subject}}} + \underbrace{NP [N + \text{art.}]}_{\substack{\text{goal and} \\ \text{surface object}}} + V_{\text{tr.}} \left[\text{pref.} + \text{pres.} + A \right] \right).$$

Transitive verb in the past tenses:

$$S \left(\underbrace{NP [N + \text{art.}]}_{\substack{\text{agent and} \\ \text{surface subject}}} + \underbrace{NP [N + \text{art.}]}_{\substack{\text{goal and} \\ \text{surface object}}} + C + V_{\text{tr.}} \left[\text{pref.} + \text{past} \right] \right).$$

If we compare the above syntactic formulae for Suleimaniye with those given on p. 215 for Kurmanji, we see that they are identical in the case of intransitive verbs and of transitive verbs in the present tenses. For transitive verbs in the past tenses, however, not only their syntactic patterns but also their constituent structures are quite different in that, whereas in Kurmanji the marker of person-number concord (a member of set B) is a constituent of the verb, in Suleimaniye it is an immediate constituent at sentence level (a member of set C). The difference between the two dialects thus lies in the syntactic status of the person-number markers used. For it can be shown that the markers of set C in Suleimaniye are pronouns, that is to say that syntactically they have the status of noun phrases. In order to substantiate this claim, let us examine the structure of pronominal sentences in the two dialects. Examples (11) to (20) illustrate the situation for transitive verbs in Kurmanji (Bedir Khan and Lescot, 1970, 94, 176):

- (11) *ez mirovî dibînim* 'I see the man'
I-dir. man-obl. see/pres.-1 sg. A

- (12) *ez mirovan dîbînim* 'I see the men'
I-dir. man-obl.-pl. see/pres.-1 sg. A
- (13) *min mirov kuşt* 'I killed the man'
I-obl. man-dir. kill/past-3 sg. B
- (14) *min mirov kuştin* 'I killed the men'
I-obl. man-dir. kill/past-3 pl. B
- (15) *ez we dîbînim* 'I see you (pl.)'
I-dir. you-obl. see/pres.-1 sg. A
- (16) *min hon dîtin* 'I saw you (pl.)'
I-obl. you-dir. see/past-2 pl. B
- (17) *hon min dîbînin* 'you (pl.) see me'
you-dir. I-obl. see/pres.-2 pl. A
- (18) *we ez dîtin* 'you (pl.) saw me'
you-obl. I-dir. see/past-1 sg. B
- (19) *ew wî dîbîne* 'he sees him'
he-dir. he-obl. see/pres.-3 sg. A
- (20) *wî ew dît* 'he saw him'.
he-obl. he-dir. see/past-3 sg. B

It will be seen that the structure of these pronominal sentences exactly mirrors that of sentences (examples 5 to 10) in which the subject and object is a full noun phrase (that is, a phrase consisting of or having as head, a noun), this latter in each case being replaced by a personal pronoun in the appropriate case form. The equivalent sentences in Suleimaniye are:

- (11') *min pyâwaka abînim* 'I see the man'
I man-the see/pres.-1 sg. A
- (12') *min pyâwakân abînim* 'I see the men'
I man-the-pl. see/pres.-1 sg. A
- (13') *min pyâwaka-m kuşt* 'I killed the man'
I man-the-1 sg. C kill/past
- (14') *min pyâwakân-im kuşt* 'I killed the men'
I man-the-pl.-1 sg. C kill/past
- (15'a) *min êwa abînim*
I you see/pres.-1 sg. A
- (15'b) *a-tân-bîn-im*
pref.-2 pl. C-see/pres.-1 sg. A
- (16'a) *min êwa-m bînî*
I you-1 sg. C see/past
- (16'b) *bînî-m-in*
see/past-1 sg. C-2 pl. B
- (17'a) *êwa min abînin*
you me see/pres.-2 pl. A
- (17'b) *a-m-bîn-in*
pref.-1 sg. C-see/pres.-2 pl. A
- } 'I see you (pl.)'
- } 'I saw you (pl.)'
- } 'you (pl.) see me'

- (18'a) *êwa min-tân bînî*
you me-2 pl. C see/past } 'you (pl.) saw me'
- (18'b) *bînî-tân-im*
see/past-2 pl. C-1 sg. B }
- (19'a) *aw aw abînêt*
he him see/pres.-3 sg. A } 'he sees him'
- (19'b) *a-y-bîn-êt*
pref.-3 sg. C-see/pres.-3 sg. A }
- (20'a) *aw aw-î bînî*
he him-3 sg. C see/past } 'he saw him'
- (20'b) *bînî-y.*
see/past-(3 sg. B)-3 sg. C^{9a} }

In these Suleimaniye examples it will be noted that, when both subject and object are pronominal (sentences 15' to 20'), there are two possible ways of expressing the same meaning, one (15'a to 20'a) using personal pronouns, the other (15'b to 20'b) relying solely on the person-number markers. In the first of these constructions the pronouns behave like full noun phrases, and there is no problem. In the second it will be seen that all three person-number marker sets (A, B and C) are used but with a well-defined distribution: set A has logical subject function throughout and is confined to the present tenses, set B has logical object function throughout and is confined to the past tenses, set C functions as both logical subject and logical object dependent upon tense.

Looking at this thoroughly complex pattern in terms of morph sequence, it will be seen that the members of set C generally precede those of sets A and B, and furthermore that they immediately follow the initial morph of the verbal complex irrespective of its status (prefix in the present, verb stem in the past). Their behaviour in these verbal complexes in fact exactly parallels their behaviour in sentences with full noun phrases (sentences 7' to 10') or personal pronouns (sentences 18'a, 20'a), where they regularly attach themselves to the first constituent other than the logical subject. These positional properties of the members of set C, taken in conjunction with the fact that they never occur initially in a sentence or phrase, point to their clitic nature. Their syntactic functions on the other hand inescapably identify them as pronouns for, apart from acting as direct and indirect object of a transitive verb in the present tenses and as agent in the past tenses, they also occur in 'genitive' relation to a noun phrase (*kîtb-yân* 'their book') and may be governed by a preposition (*lâ-mân-î sandin* 'he took them from us': MacKenzie, 1961, 114).

While the pronominal status of set C has never really been questioned, the fact that (in spite of their formal and distributional parallelism with set B of Kurmanji) the members of set B in Suleimaniye are also pronouns is less obvious—although it was clearly stated by Edmonds as early as 1955.¹⁰ For

^{9a} On the basis of the other forms one should expect the B-element (here zero) to follow the C-element. According to MacKenzie (1961: 112 f.) the marker of a third person singular agent however is regularly placed after the B-element.

¹⁰ The statement is worth quoting in full: 'The pronouns in their separable forms may be used to perform any function of a noun [read: noun phrase] but, unless emphasis is intended, it is generally more idiomatic to use the affixes [that is to say our sets B and C]': Edmonds (1955), 491.

whereas in the intransitive past the members of set B in Suleimaniye might conceivably be interpreted as the 'personal endings' of the verb, such an analysis fails to take account of the fact that in the transitive past (which, unlike the situation in Kurmanji, is not of course ergative) they fulfil exactly the same functions as are performed in the present tenses by set C, namely those of direct object and indirect object (noun phrase governed by preposition). With respect to this latter function, compare the following sentences in which the preposition *bo* 'to, for' occurs first with a present and then with a past tense verb form (Edmonds, 1955, 498, 502):

diyariy-ék-tan *bo e-hên-yn* 'we shall bring a present for you'
 present-one-2 pl. C for pref.-bring/pres.-1 pl. A
 in which *bo* governs *tan* (2 pl. C), and
Xwa bo-y *nard-im-y(i)* 'God sent you to me'
 God for-3 sg. C send/past - 1 sg. B - 2 sg. B

in which *bo* governs *im* (1 sg. B). The choice between sets B and C is, it will be seen, dependent solely upon the tense of the verb. Only the 'genitive' construction may employ set C in all tenses (see MacKenzie, 1961: 229).

We have so far considered the evidence for the pronominal status of sets B and C. Can the members of set A also be classed as pronouns? We have seen that their syntactic distribution is much more limited than that of sets B and C, their only function being to mark agreement of the subject with the verb in the present tenses. We have however also noted (p. 212) that the only formal difference between its members and those of set B lies in the third person singular, all the other forms being identical. There is furthermore no environment in which these two third person forms can contrast, the A form occurring after the present stem of the verb, the B form after the past stem or after a member of set C. There might thus be grounds for treating the third person suffixes as allomorphs and collapsing sets A and B into a single paradigm so that all person-number markers will be pronominal. Such a choice would have important consequences for the analysis of verbal structure in Suleimaniye, for, if it is correct and we are to consider all person-number markers as pronouns, this necessarily implies that Suleimaniye does not have the 'personal' verb of the majority of Indo-European languages and that instead we have an 'impersonal' verb whose pronominal satellites do not signal the subject in any way differently from the direct and indirect objects.¹¹

Alternatively, instead of basing ourselves upon the formal similarities of the markers, we may make the basis of our analysis the distributional differences between the three sets, although this entails in the case of set B operating with homophonous paradigms. MacKenzie thus interprets set A as 'purely verbal' (that is to say, as serving solely as verbal endings), set B as both verbal and pronominal (that is, as having two formally identical subsets, one being verbal endings the other pronouns), and set C as pronominal only. If, however, we adopt this latter view, thus retaining the concept of a personal verb, we must bring the verb forms of the transitive past into paradigmatic alignment with those of the transitive present and of the intransitive verb, both of which agree with the subject in person and number, and interpret the absence of a personal ending in the transitive past as an instance of zero

¹¹ Thus Wagner (1978), 46 ff. considers the non-orientation of the verb to be a typical feature of ergative languages; although now no longer ergative in fact, Suleimaniye would on this basis qualify as an ergative language.

marking. The resultant zero suffix which has to be posited for each person in the transitive paradigm will then be an allomorph of the corresponding member of set B of the intransitive past and like it should logically signal agreement with the subject. In MacKenzie's analysis, however, it is taken as a marker of agreement with the logical *object*. Although there can be no doubt that this analysis is *historically* correct and accords with the synchronic structure of related dialects including Kurmanji, it cannot be justified on purely internal and synchronic grounds. For, as we have seen, nowhere else in Suleimaniye is there overt agreement of the verb with the logical object.

We have seen that if we opt for zero morphs in the transitive past we must treat these as allomorphs of the overt markers in the intransitive past, signalling agreement with the subject. And indeed in Persian, a language which is both contiguous and closely related historically, the endings of the intransitive past were analogically transferred to the transitive past—a regularization process which clearly presupposes an identical synchronic analysis. This solution has however at least one obvious drawback in that it disregards the possibility of an overt marker in the form of the clitic pronoun in favour of a covert marker as the locus of concord. Indeed, on present evidence at least, none of the synchronic analyses so far proposed would appear capable of relating the morphological structures to the syntactic rules in a simple and straightforward manner.

Although the complexity of the relationship which exists between the morphology and the syntax of Suleimaniye may appear strange from a synchronic point of view, its explanation in terms of the history of the language is obvious enough. For it is clear that, while restructuring its syntax in an accusative direction, it has retained the bulk of the morphology of an earlier ergative state. The manner in which this syntactic restructuring is most likely to have come about can be seen if we compare the verbal morphology of Suleimaniye with that of Kurmanji. In our descriptions of the two dialects we equated their sets A and B of person-number markers on the grounds of shared phonological form and distribution in verbal constructions. Classing them on these same grounds as 'diachronic sames', we can see that the first important difference between the northern dialects and Suleimaniye is the absence of the 'ergative' verbal endings from the transitive past in the latter. It must have been the loss of these endings in Suleimaniye which brought about the syntactic restructuring. For with their disappearance there no longer remained any overt link between the verb and the object so that the object lost its status as surface subject and this property now passed to the agent. We must presumably seek the starting-point for this structural change in the most common sentence-type, in which the logical object of the (still ergative) construction is either a full noun phrase in the singular or a third person singular pronoun, so that the verbal ending will in either case be zero (see examples 13 and 20 above). In such a sentence there is thus no overt marker of agreement of the verb with either the logical subject or the logical object. We must assume that the suffixless verb form spread from this sentence-type to sentences with first or second person object in the singular and with object in any person in the plural, resulting in the loss of all formal link between verb and logical object.

Two ways in which the status of surface subject was transferred from the logical object to the agent may be envisaged. If we accept the synchronic analysis which postulates zero endings for the transitive past we may simply assume that after the loss of the old 'ergative' endings their absence was

interpreted as zero exponency of concord and, since the only overt markers of concord elsewhere in the language all referred to the agent, the transitive past was reanalysed accordingly. This solution it will be noted treats the change from ergative to accusative concord in isolation, without relating it in any way to the second major development which took place in Suleimaniye, namely the insertion of an obligatory pronominal copy of the agent in past-tense transitive sentences. It would, however, appear equally feasible that this pronominal copy of the agent was instrumental in bringing about the syntactic restructuring since, following our alternative synchronic analysis, the clitic pronoun would, in the absence of an overt verbal ending, have had to be reinterpreted as marking concord with the agent. One good argument in favour of this interpretation is the fact that sentences without the clitic pronoun are totally lacking in Suleimaniye.

Before attempting to decide in favour of one solution rather than the other, let us then examine this second major development in greater detail. We have seen that Suleimaniye differs from Kurmanji in possessing the person-number markers of set C, which are absent from Kurmanji. Now we know that the members of set C continue in both phonological form and syntactic distribution the Old Iranian clitic pronouns a characteristic of whose paradigm was the absence of a nominative form. By Middle Persian, the closest relative to the ancestor of the modern Kurdish dialects for which we have written data, their case paradigm had been reduced to a single form per person, they were suffixed to the first suitable item in the sentence and they had the same syntactic function as a noun or pronoun in the oblique case (Henning, 1933, 242 f.). This latter was employed, as in the northern dialects of Kurdish, to mark the object of a transitive verb in the present and the agent in the ergatively constructed past. Given the fact that the ancestors of set C were clitic pronouns having the distribution of an oblique case, its syntactic distribution in Suleimaniye is fully accounted for with the sole exception of its use in the transitive past, where it obligatorily repeats the syntactic features of a nominal or pronominal agent. For we have seen that in both Middle Persian and northern Kurdish a noun phrase in the oblique case could by itself fulfil the role of agent. Suleimaniye, therefore, would appear to have innovated by obligatorily inserting a clitic pronoun repeating the person and number of the agent. Now an exactly parallel formal construction is still used in Suleimaniye for the purpose of topicalizing any nominal constituent other than the agent. If such a nominal constituent is made the topic, it is moved to the head of the sentence and its person and number features are repeated by affixing the appropriate member of set C to the constituent following the agent. Thus the first of the following two sentences is thematically unmarked whereas in the second the direct object has been topicalized ¹²:

min xwardinakân-im xwârd 'I ate the food'
 I foodstuff-the-pl.-1 sg. C eat/past
xwardinakân min xwârd-im-in 'as for the food, I ate it'.
 foodstuff-the-pl. I eat/past-1 sg. C-3 pl. B

This suggests that the syntactic pattern characterized by the pronominal copy of the agent was originally also a marked one and that topicalization of the agent must have been generalized to become the unmarked norm.

Further evidence regarding the nature of the topicalization rule and its

¹² W. O. Amin, personal communication.

place in relation to other syntactic constructions may be adduced from dialects of the southern group which occupy an intermediate position between the two extremes so far described. Thus Mukri has both the ergative construction and two case system of Kurmanji and the northern group and the construction with pronominal copy of the agent of Suleimaniye. Mukri has in fact two syntactic possibilities for rendering the transitive past. The rarer of these two constructions is that of the northern dialects, which places the agent in the oblique case and lacks the pronominal copy. The more usual one is that found in Suleimaniye with the pronominal copy of the agent, although it should be noted that here the agent is in the direct and not the oblique case. Mann (1906, lxxxv f.) accounts for this latter pattern in the following way. Starting from the Old Iranian passive, from which the ergative construction arose,¹³ he argues that a sentence such as

səg hal-i-girt 'the dog took it (the ring)'
 dog-dir. pref.-3 sg. C-take/past-zero

is to be understood as having originally meant 'the dog, it (the ring) was taken by him', that is with both noun phrases in the nominative (the ancestor of the direct) case, but for different reasons. It is the appropriate case for the first noun phrase because this is placed ahead of the sentence proper as the topic or theme, and it is the appropriate case for the second because it is the reflex of the grammatical subject of an earlier passive. Note that this analysis, which assumes that the topicalized agent precedes the sentence proper and is thus not a constituent of it, neatly explains the position of C in the sentence: being clitic, it cannot occur sentence or phrase initially and the earliest possible slot it can occupy is immediately after the first constituent.

We are now in a position to attempt a synthesis of the historical developments which must have taken place in the various dialects. In the northern group the most important innovation was the loss of the clitic pronouns (see MacKenzie, 1961, 222) and with them the loss of the topicalization rule. The southern group, while retaining these pronouns together with the topicalization rule, innovated to varying degrees. Of all the Kurdish dialects those intermediate between the northern group on the one hand and Suleimaniye on the other may perhaps be considered the most conservative. Thus the only significant development in Mukri seems to have been the almost total replacement of the simple (ergative) construction of the transitive past by the thematically marked (though still ergative) construction with topicalized agent. In Suleimaniye this replacement process has reached completion, for we have seen that it lacks all trace of the original unmarked construction and has made topicalization of the agent obligatory so that this latter construction has ceased to be a marked one. The complete loss of the simple construction lacking a pronominal copy of the agent may in fact constitute an argument in favour of treating the clitic pronoun, and not the verb, as the locus of concord in the transitive past. For, due to the loss of case, the expected reflex of the unmarked construction in Suleimaniye would have been a sequence of two noun phrases without any case marking followed by a verb without any person-number marker. To judge from results, this construction does not appear to have been a viable one and simply did not survive. Apart from losing the unmarked construction of the transitive past and case as a morphological category, the most important innovation of Suleimaniye has been the loss of

¹³ For a return to this older interpretation, despite Benveniste (1952), see Cardona (1970).

the ergative construction.¹⁴ As we have seen, this was brought about by the loss of the 'ergative' endings from the verb in the transitive past, leading to the conflation of agent and surface subject. Since Suleimaniye has at the same time retained a good deal of the verbal morphology of an earlier state in which the syntax was still ergative, the restructuring at the syntactic level has resulted in an extremely complex relationship between morphology and syntax.

Finally the identification of the surface subject with the agent must also have been responsible for the reinterpretation as pronouns, in constructions such as (16'b), (18'b), and (20'b), of the person-number markers of set B. For, despite the fact that these latter are historically the endings of the verb marking ergative concord, the reinterpretation of the members of set C as obligatory copies of the agent must necessarily have entailed the members of set B losing their surface subject status, so that the only role they have retained is that of representing the object, now both logical and surface. As a result, the old verbal endings have (in this construction at least) become pronouns, although they have kept their position as appendices of the verb, thereby increasing the discrepancy between morphological form and syntactic function.

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¹⁴ N. J. Sims-Williams has suggested that the loss of the ergative construction in Kurdish is likely to be closely linked with the loss of the two-case system. I am grateful to him for this and other comments as well as for drawing my attention to the papers by Comrie and Tegey.

TODA VOWELS IN NON-INITIAL SYLLABLES¹

M. B. EMENEAU

It has been observed (Emeneau (1957), 63-4) that Toda and Kota show loss of many vowels in the non-initial syllables of reconstructed proto-Dravidian (PDr.) or proto-South Dravidian (PSDr.) forms. An attempt was made to state a rule as follows: 'every non-initial syllable of PSDr. (or perhaps PDr.) that has a short vowel loses its vocalic peak in Toda; vowels of all qualities are lost except that *i > y'. Exceptions were noted, and an attempt was made, with some misgivings, to save the rule by several manoeuvres. One of these was to insist that the rule applied only to pre-Toda *short* vowels and to note that some at least of the short vowels that appear in non-initial syllables in Toda words 'originally' were long vowels, i.e. some Toda short vowels in non-initial syllables were derived from pre-Toda by a rule that stated that PSDr. (or PDr.) long vowels in non-initial syllables became short vowels in Toda and remained as such. This latter rule can be demonstrated to hold for a greater number of examples than the few that were mentioned in the 1957 paper. It should be noted at once that the rule applies only to Toda, and that when cognates are to be found, Kota retains the length of these vowels.

Examples of the rule are seen in three nouns which in Tamil-Malayalam contain -ā/-āvu in the syllable(s) after the first.

Tamil *kaṇā*, *kaṇavu*, Malayalam *kanāvu*, *kināvu* 'dream' (1184)²: Toda *konof* 'id.'. The Toda form can hardly correspond to Tamil *kaṇavu*, which in any case is a secondary development; it must correspond to Malayalam *kanāvu*. Contrast the verb forms (1185) **kanay-v-* 'to bellow': Toda *kenf-* and (3050) **ni/enay-v-* 'to think': Toda *nenf-* for Toda *nf* derived by loss of a short vowel (**ay* > pre-Toda **e* in some forms, e.g. *eboθ* 'fifty' < **aym-patu*).

Tamil *niḷā*, *niḷavu*, Malayalam *niḷā*, *niḷāvu* 'moonlight, moon' (3113): Toda *neḡof* 'id.'. Again, **niḷāvu* is indicated as the origin for the Toda form. Contrast (1308) *kisf* 'a few': Tulu *kela*, *kelavu*, for Toda *gf* derived by loss of a short vowel.

Tamil *palā*, *palavu*, *pilā*, Malayalam *pilāvu*, *plāvu*, *plā-kkāyi* 'jackfruit' (3290): Toda *paḡof* 'id.'. **palāvu* is indicated as the origin of the Toda form.

Of these three, Kota has for the last *pala·v*, which corresponds exactly to the Toda form. For the other two, Kota has forms which do not correspond: (1184) *kanen* 'dream', with which compare Kannaḍa *kana*, *kanasu*, *kanasa*, Koḍagu *kenaci*, and Gondi verb forms *kansk-*, *kanck-*, *kanjk-* 'to dream'; *tigḷ velp* 'moonlight' (i.e. light [*velp*] of the moon [*tigḷ*]).³

Another noun shows this type of formation only in Kota and Toda, viz. Kota *ma·ta·v* 'white clothes', Toda *mo·toḡ* 'beautiful clothes' (3960), in which Kota *a·* in the second syllable is represented by Toda *o* (< **a*, as in the other examples). The verb **mārr-* 'to change (transitive)', to which this noun derivative **mārrā*, **mārrāvu* belongs, probably is used in the context of

¹ This paper is offered to my colleague and friend in admiration for his scholarship and in gratitude for much. I must thank Dr. George L. Hart III for instruction in matters of Tamil grammar.

² Such numbers as this refer to entries in *DED*, *DEDS*, and 'DEN', without distinguishing between the three publications, since all of them use the same number system. It must be understood that reference to Kannaḍa items usually conceals the assumption that it is the Badaga dialect of Kannaḍa, spoken in the Nilgiris, that is involved; Badaga material would be quoted if it were available.

³ Subrahmanyam (1976), 113, n. 10 notes this rule for these three words.

changing clothes, putting on gala or freshly washed clothes, in all or most of the languages, although *DED* has recorded only Tulu māpuni and Toda mo·t- (which must be a borrowing from a neighbouring language, because of -t- rather than -ṭ-). Various noun derivatives in the record have the meaning 'change of clothes' (Tamil māru, mārru, Malayalam mārru).⁴

Several Toda buffalo names end in -of. One such name is Negof, which presumably is 'moonlight', an epithet applied because of the animal's beauty. The other names with this ending, however, viz. Kieyof, Nō·rof, Po·lof, Korof, Nō·rof, Pičof, seem to be complex forms ending in -of, since the first three have initial elements that are otherwise identifiable. For kisy, see Emeneau (1974a), 48, n. 22; nō·r might be 'sun' or 'bangle (in dairy)' but there is no certainty which; po·l might be equivalent to po·s 'milk'. This being so, -of is to be interpreted as a shortening, in a highly unified compound, of the noun *ā, *āvu (283); in Tamil ā means 'female of ox, sambur, and buffalo', in the other languages (Malayalam ā, Kota a·v, Kannaḍa ā, āvu, Telugu āvu, Kuṛux ōy, Malto ōyu) the forms mean only 'cow'. Toda, then, has *āvu > -of 'female buffalo', only in these names, with which Negof shows convergence of some sort. This equation has already been proposed in Emeneau (1974a), 43, n. 19a.

Two case endings are explicable through the rule. -mil 'upon, over, concerning' derives from *mēl (4173; Tamil, Malayalam, Kannaḍa mēl 'that which is over or above', Toda me·l 'up, high', etc.). In this use the noun form, through construction in a highly unified compound, has become a case ending and shows shortening of the vowel; the change of quality is discussed below. Kota in an equivalent construction has -dan-me·l, i.e. with the long vowel retained.

A suffix of the sociative case ('with') is -wīr. Tamil and Malayalam have -otu, -ōtu (as well as -uṭan; 798), but since Kota has only -o·r, it is evident that Toda -wīr is from *-ōtu. Since there is evidence for *oṭan as a free form (independent word or first member of a compound verb), the case ending must have begun as final member of a compound.

The 'all' forms in 718 include *ellā, which like the nouns ending in -ā, has the alternative form *ellāv(u). To these is added the totalizing particle *-m/*-um, yielding Tamil ellām 'whole, all', Malayalam ellām, ellāvu 'all'. Derived from *ellām, Toda has elom, which has been found with 1st plural inclusive and 2nd plural pronouns: om elom 'all of us', nīm elom 'all of you'. The form, especially as concerns the totalizing particle, has been discussed in Emeneau (1974b), 104-5 and n. 6.

The particle -ton (-θon, -don) 'only, just (that and nothing else)' (= Sanskrit eva) corresponds in usage to Tamil -tān; *ā > o is another instance of the rule.

In verb inflection, there are numerous examples.⁵

Many of the negative forms contain an element -o-. One of the 3rd person finite forms is -oθ. The verbal noun (adjective) of the negative paradigm ends in -o or -oθ. The adverbial form continuative ends in -oθ, adverbial past in -oc. Another adverbial form, very frequent in songs, but uncommon in prose, ends in -ogy. The negative imperative 2nd singular is sometimes in

⁴ Tamil kaṭā, kaṭavu 'male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo', Malayalam kaṭā, kiṭā, kiṭāvu 'male of cattle, child' (943) is not represented in the Nilgiris languages unless Kota ke·v 'calf of buffalo or cow, under one year' (in *DED* with query) is derived from *kiṭāvu (> *kre·v > ke·v). Kota ke·n, in: ke·n im, ke·no·r im 'buffalo with its calf', ke·n a·v, ke·no·r a·v 'cow with its calf', may be from *kiṭā with the same developments.

⁵ Much of what follows is set forth in greater detail and with more exemplification in my forthcoming grammar of Toda.

songs -oṭ, otherwise with the declarative suffix -i, i.e. -oṭi; the plural is -oṭṣ(i). The subordinate negative form with a subject of any person (e.g. 'when he had not yet done, before he did') ends with the complex -onwī; -n is a 3rd personal ending, -wī is the sociative/instrumental case suffix given above. Subrahmanyam (1971), 383-5, §4.23 rightly reconstructs for the negative suffix PDr. *-ā-, as seen in Tamil 3rd personal finite -ātu, adjective -ā, adverbial -ātu. Kota has -a·d and -a·, and Toda has -oθ and -o, derived from *-ātu and *-ā (Subrahmanyam records Toda adverbial -ōθ, but this is certainly not what I heard). The remaining Toda forms as listed above need not be discussed here, but it seems that all contain PDr. *-ā-.

Historical explanation of the peculiarities of the personal inflections of the verb is much furthered by application of this rule. A partial statement of the personal inflections was presented earlier (Emeneau (1957), 43-4). A better focused and more exact statement is now possible (depending on my forthcoming Toda grammar).

In the 1st person most of the verb paradigms have endings: 1sg. -en, 1pl. exclusive -em, 1pl. inclusive -um, which are suffixed to various stems, viz. in the tenseless paradigm S² (= South Dravidian past stem), in the negative S¹ (= South Dravidian 'verb base' in the terminology of Subrahmanyam (1971)), in the present-future paradigm I S²-p-, in the past paradigm I S²-š-p-, in the dubitative S¹-š-p-, in a tenseless paradigm of the 'be' verbs various stems plus -f- (viz. o·f-/e·f- from o·x-, o·y- 'to become, be', o·rθ-f- from o·rθ- 'not to be in a place, not to exist', wiłd-f- from wiłd-/wiłd- 'to be in a place, exist'). The voluntative has the formation: S¹-k- with the inflexional endings: 1sg. -in, 1pl. exclusive -im, 1pl. inclusive -u. The forms of the present-future and the past labelled as paradigm I are found when the declarative particle -i is added to the forms; this formation has assimilation of e in 1sg. and 1pl. exclusive to the particle -i, i.e. 1sg. -ini, 1pl. exclusive -imi (as do the corresponding forms of the dubitative and of the 'be' verb wiłd-, but not the corresponding forms of the negative or of the -f- paradigm of the 'be' verbs o·x-, o·y- and o·rθ-). These paradigm I forms are also the verbal noun forms congruent with 1st personal subjects. Corresponding paradigm II forms occur: (1) when the verb form is followed by the interrogative particle -a·ç, (2) when it is preceded somewhere in the sentence by an interrogative word, (3) when it is the first verb in an alternative question (followed by the same verb in a negative form, e.g. 'Did you do so-and-so or did you not?'), (4) optionally when it is final verb in a quotation, immediately followed by the quotative verb -in-, iđ- 'to say so-and-so'. The paradigm II forms are: 1sg. -n, 1pl. -m, and there is no distinction between exclusive and inclusive in the plural. They are suffixed in the present-future paradigm II to S², in the past paradigm II to S²-š-. The voluntative negative ('I shouldn't do', 'do not let me do!') has these inflexional suffixes following S¹-š-.

The two sets of endings, then, are:

	I	II
1sg.	-en/-in	-n
1pl. { exclusive	-em/-im	} -m
inclusive	-um	

On the basis of the rules already set forth, we should suppose that the vowelless forms have lost a short vowel and the forms with short vowel have developed this from a pre-Toda long vowel; we should reconstruct for pre-Toda:

	I	II
1sg.	*-ēn	*-en
1pl. { exclusive	*-ēm	*-em
{ inclusive	*-ō/ūm	*-o/um

For 1pl. inclusive we cannot at this point in the reconstruction be sure of the vowel quality; we can only suggest that on the analogy of the height of the vowel in the other two persons, *ō and *o are more probable.

Examination of the comparative data finds in Kota: 1sg. -e·n, 1pl. exclusive -e·m, 1pl. inclusive -o·m. This in itself is enough to enable us to choose for the pre-Toda 1pl. inclusive *-ōm and *-om (rather than *-ūm and *-um). Commentators on the Tolkāppiyam give for Old Tamil 1pl. exclusive -em/-ēm and 1pl. inclusive -am/-ām. Reconstruction for Dravidian (Subrahmanyam (1971), 407-9) yields 1pl. inclusive *-ām/*-am. This will not do as an origin for Kota -o·m, Toda -um, and their vowel *ō must for the time remain unexplained; the corresponding pronouns yield no clue: Kota a·m (both exclusive and inclusive), oblique inclusive am-; Toda om.

Nor is it possible at the moment to trace historically the split in usage between the Toda forms with vowels and without vowels, derived respectively from pre-Toda long-vowel forms and short-vowel forms. In Tamil the reference books find the difference between such forms in the presence or absence of a suffix between the stem and the inflectional ending, e.g. 1sg. vant-an-en: vant-ēn. Although Tamil vantēn 'I came' corresponds exactly to the Toda tenseless paradigm 1sg. poden, there is nothing in Toda corresponding to vantānen and nothing in Tamil corresponding either in form or in usage (so far as I know) to Toda podn (1sg. present-future paradigm II).

The inflection of the 2nd personal singular shows similar alternation. It has -i in the subordinate paradigm with final suffix -k: S² + inflectional endings + k. The schema for the paradigm is:

1sg.	S ² -en-g
1pl. exclusive	-em-g
1pl. inclusive	-u-k
2sg.	-i-k
2pl.	-š-ik
3	-n-g

This paradigm's final -k is not yet explained historically, but the final -k of the Kota argumentative paradigm: S² + inflectional endings + -k, is to be compared. The 1st personal endings are derived from *-ēn, *-ēm, *-ōm, as we have already seen. The 2sg. -i is to be compared with Kota -i (in the argumentative paradigm 2sg. vadi·k 'you came, as I must remind you'). In most other paradigms the 2sg. ending is -y: present-future paradigm I, past paradigm I, tenseless paradigm, negative paradigm, voluntative. This is to be related to *-i, as reconstructed by Subrahmanyam (1971), 409 f. from numerous languages. The present-future paradigm II has -ty and the past paradigm II (and the voluntative negative) -š, which is a simplification of *-š-ty, -š- being the past suffix in all forms in both paradigms I and II. This 2sg. -ty is to be related to the suffix -tt-/t- which appears in Old Tamil texts in the 1st plural and the 2nd personal forms of a future tense paradigm, and in the 2sg. has the inflectional suffix -i (e.g. alitti 'you will pity'; Subrahmanyam (1971), 243-4, 313-16). This connexion can be made even though in Tamil the formation is based on the 'verb base' (i.e. our S¹) but in Toda

on S² (the past tense stem of Tamil). The Toda present-future and past are both entirely based on the old past tense stem, including present-future paradigm I forms for 1st person and 2sg. which have a suffix -p- between the stem and the personal endings: S²-p-(-en, -em, -um, -y). In these -p- corresponds to Tamil -pp- of the future tense of 'strong verbs', which follows the 'verb base', i.e. S¹ (Subrahmanyam (1971), 242-3, 304-7; e.g. koṭuppēn 'I will give').

The 3rd personal forms of the verb show great diversity. One of the forms is relevant here, viz. that of the present-future paradigm II, S²-u, e.g. podu 'he/she/it comes, they come'. Kota has 3rd person present-future S²-o-, e.g. vado-. Toda -u, then, represents pre-Toda *-ō.

The declarative particle found as last element in most finite verb forms that end non-interrogative sentences (including negative imperatives, but not positive imperatives) is -i. Parallel to this is Kota -e-, the Tamil 'emphatic' suffix -ē, etc. The reconstructed form is *-ē.

In a number of the reconstructions already set forth, there are shifts of vowel quality accompanying the shortening of long vowels. One set shows a consistent type of shift:

	pre-Toda	Toda
'upon'	*mēl	-mil
1sg.	*-ēn	-en/-in
1pl. exclusive	*-ēm	-em/-im
declarative particle	*-ē	-i
1pl. inclusive	*-ōm	-um
3rd personal	*-ō	-u

The mid vowels, front *ē and back *ō, are raised, upon shortening, to the corresponding high vowels i and u. This statement holds for four of the six equivalences. For the remaining two, 1sg. and 1pl. exclusive, *ē > i only in the volutative paradigm and in some of the other paradigms before the declarative particle -i; before the declarative particle, e remains in the negative paradigm (e.g. po-reni 'I will/do/did not come') and in the paradigm with -f- of two of the 'be' verbs, o-x-, o-y- and o-ṛθ- (i.e. o-feni and o-ṛθfeni). How to reconcile these discrepancies is not yet clear.

There are several other instances of shortening of long vowels, but the details of development are complicated and in part obscure. We need only mention that such a development is seen in the desiderative formation S¹-s-e- which is inflected as equivalent to an S² stem (e.g. pašepini 'I desire to come'); e is a development of o-y-, the S² stem of o-x- 'to become, be'. The additive particle -m is derived from *-um with loss of the short vowel; its alloforms -em and -um have shortenings of long vowels, but the origins are too problematical to be stated here.

One more development may be stated. Equational predications of subject and predicate nouns in the 3rd person often have, in constructions where a paradigm I verb form would occur, a suffix -iy added to the predicate noun. To this is added the declarative particle -i, yielding -iyi which by a phonological rule simplifies to -īi. Also, when the predicate noun is final in a quotation and followed by in-, iḍ- 'to say so-and-so', it has either -u (like -u in the present-future paradigm II) or optionally -iy or -iyi. Exx. i o-ḷ, pilyxo-ṛnīyi. 'This Toda is a sorcerer' (pilyxo-ṛn 'sorcerer'); 'tōwiy' iḍ, o-ḷa-m ṛštyt 'that of which the Todas say, "It is a god"' (literally, that of which they tell [ṛštyt], saying [iḍ], 'It is [-iy] a god [tōw]'). This ending -iy(i) is also found

as 3rd person in the negative paradigm I; e.g. *po·riyi* 'he/she/they does/do/did not come'. Attempts to find an etymological connexion for the suffix *-iy* have not yielded very satisfactory results. However, if the shortening rule is invoked, Tamil *-i* or *-iia* may be what we are looking for. Phonologically, this may be unexceptionable, since in numerous etymologies **i > Toča i*; i.e. first there would be shortening of **i > *i*, then **i > i*. Whether *i* in *ti* would yield Toda *y*, or whether *iy* in the adjective form must be invoked to yield Toda *y*, is still a problem, as is the question whether **i* would be expected to yield Toda *i* or *i*, since the conditioning for the Toda divergent developments of **i* cannot yet be stated with accuracy. On the other hand, there is certainly a semantic gap between the Tamil formations and the Toda ones. In Old Tamil (Subrahmanyam (1971), 110 f.) *-i* is found in past non-finite verb forms, and followed by the adjective suffix *-a* (i.e. *-iia*); there are also past tense forms containing *-ii* (e.g. *viṭ·ii·n·ān* 'he fell'). In Toda *-iy* is a 3rd personal inflection added to nouns and a 3rd personal inflection in the negative paradigm of verbs. There is no overlap; at best, the verbal adjective form in Tamil might be thought to be somehow related to (the origin of ?) the Toda noun predicative inflection—but to connect this Toda usage with that in the negative is difficult in itself.

For some words there was uncertainty or vacillation in recording at dictation the length of vowels in non-initial syllables. These words were most often compounds (noun plus noun constructions). The uncertainty, which was (I am sure) the informants' as well as the recorder's, arose from the slowness of utterance in the artificial conditions of dictation. This resulted in recording forms with vowel lengths belonging to levels prior to and following the shortening rule. One notable example was the form taken by *twi·* 'corral, pen' (2905) in compounds. What the pre-Toda form was is uncertain, since Tamil has both *toṛu* and *tōṛ*, Kota has *to·y*, and Toda has *tu·* as first member in the compound *tu· fo·g* 'entrance of pen'. But whether the PDr. form of the Toda word had a long or a short vowel is probably irrelevant. Pre-Toda can, I think, be assumed to have had a long vowel, on the evidence of *tu· fo·g* and of *twi·* itself. As second member of compounds the word was recorded by myself with *u·* or *u*, by Sakthivel 1976 with *u*, and by Rivers 1906 with *û*, *u*, and *o* (which suggest *u* or *u·*). 'Stone wall, stone pen', which is a compound of *kaṣ* 'stone' and *twi·*, was recorded by myself in texts as *kaṭwī·*, *kaṭu·*, or *kaṭu*, and the plural as *kaṭua·m* or *kaṭu·a·m* (this in a sentence immediately after one with *kaṭwī·*); Sakthivel has *kaṭu* Rivers *kātû*. Numerous proper names of buffalo pens, hamlets named after pens, and men named after pens or hamlets, show similar vacillation. Most of them, but not all, were recorded by myself with *wi·*. Rivers used *û*, *u*, or *o*. A hamlet of the *Ka·g* clan was always recorded by myself as *Kūṣu* (1974a, 52, K24), and by Rivers as *Kuzhû*; my invariable recording, combined with Rivers's spelling, suggests that in all the names fast speech has *-u*. Two other hamlets were recorded by me with *-wī·*, by Rivers with *û* or *u*: *Kaṣwī·* (ibid., 64, E81; Rivers: *Kuzhû*, *Kushu*) and *Mozwī·* (ibid., 74, K144; Rivers: *Madsû*); the latter is also a man's name (ibid., 76, name 651). Of men's names I recorded *Piṣwī·* or *Piṣu* (ibid., 72, name 514; Rivers *Pursu*; Prince Peter's spelling, 1963, table 22, *Purshwo*, suggests that he heard a diphthongal pronunciation). Other names (to be found in Emeneau (1974a)) are: *Po·ṣwī·*, *Ka·ṣwī·*, *Ko·ndwī·*, *Pinaṭwī·*, *Na·gwī·* (Prince Peter (1963), table 24: *Narjueh*).

Some *prima facie* exceptions to these rules are regular according to other rules.

The word for 'navel', *piku*· (3652) has an unshortened long vowel which represents **u* as attested by Kannaḍa *pokkuṛ*, *porkuṛ*, and by Kolami-Naikṛi *bogur*; Toda *i*, rather than *u*, is still unexplained (cf. Kota *puku*·).

Numerous disyllabic words end in *-ŷl*, the short vowel being in most instances *i*, in a few instances *a*, *o*, or *i*. Most of these words have etyma of similar structure, i.e. with second (or final) syllables containing a short vowel followed by *l*. In Toda *l* does not occur immediately following a consonant, i.e. a statement of consonant clusters will not include *Cl*, with four exceptions, viz. *arl*, *erl*, *i·gl*, *koyl* (for which see *DED*). The words ending in *-ŷl* have been treated by Subrahmanyam (1976), 106 n. 8, 113. He has come to the conclusion that they are all loanwords, for several reasons. Perhaps the most cogent is that it is expected that in words of this structure the short vowel should be deleted and **l* should become Toda *g*. This development is seen in: *kōks* in- 'to make noise of laughter' (1608; Tamil *kekkaḷ*-, Telugu *geggalu*); *koḍḍg* 'wasp' (938), with which cf. Malayalam *kaṭannaḷ*, *kaṭunnaḷ*, i.e. **kaṭa*/untal; and *paṭḡg* 'large, broad-mouthed clay pot' (3230), cf. Tamil *patalai*. In the third of these instances all the phonetic developments seem to be regular (Subrahmanyam (1976), 95 gives this as an example of the **a* > *a* rule before final **-ay*); in regard to the second, **t* should normally > *r*, but as first member of consonant clusters it shows a split development to *r* and *ḍ*, and we do not yet have the rule for the split. Both of the last two words are still a little doubtful as between genetic inheritance and borrowing, since we must note moreover that the kind of pot denoted by *paṭḡg* may be a borrowed article (no Kota etymon was recorded, unfortunately).

The development of **l* to *g* is seen in the locative case. Reconstruction of the locative (Shanmugam (1971), 381-3), as regards the origin of the Toda suffix, has not so far been quite convincing. It has been assumed that Tamil-Malayalam *-il* represents the form (presumably SDr.) **-il* from which Kota *-l*, Toda *-g* (< **-l*), and Kōḍagu *-lī* developed. But these last three languages have no trace of the vowel *i*, and for them we should reconstruct the suffix as **-l*. Tamil-Malayalam *-il* with the vowel *i* is not in fact paralleled in any other language. To find evidence for the form in the parallel **-in*, which is Tamil, Naiki (Chanda), and Gadba, seems unwarranted; i.e. *-il* and **-in* should be dealt with separately at the first level of reconstruction. It seems to follow that, whatever the ultimate relationship may be (and I still find it uncertain) of Tamil-Malayalam *-il*, Kota-Toda-Kōḍagu **-l(i)*, and Kannaḍa *-al*, *-alli*, Parji *-el* (< **-al*), *-k-el*, Malayalam *-kal*, we must derive Kota-Toda-Kōḍagu **-l(i)*, not from **-il* (or **-al*), but from the consonant alone, **-l(i)*.

We have, then, good evidence for the development of **l* to *g*, and in some of the instances for loss of a preceding short vowel. The retention of *-ŷl* is consequently unmotivated by any conditioning rule. Many of the instances are related to Tamil and Kannaḍa noun derivatives from verbal bases with the suffix **-al* (Subrahmanyam (1971), 436-7; cf. also the Kota verbal noun with suffix *-l*, often in the dative, e.g. *ka·vlk* 'to watch', analysed in Emeneau (1944), 31, word 13). In attempting historical analysis of the Toda desiderative formation *S¹-g-e*, it was found that *-e*, which is inflected as an *S²* stem, is derived from the verb *o·x-*, *o·y-* 'to become, be', and that what precedes, *S¹-g*, is a verbal noun whose suffix *-g* represents exactly the verbal noun suffix **-al*. This, then, is the correct Toda development, and *-il* is a borrowing in such verbal nouns as *ko·fil* 'act of watching' (1192; Tamil-Malayalam-Kannaḍa *kāval*, Kota *ka·vl*); cf. also *ku·sil*, *kwizil*, *mizil*, *o·fil*, *taḍgil*. Other noun-deriving suffixes of the same or similar form are represented in the same

way in Toda; e.g. ofil 'puffed rice' (1976; Tamil aval 'rice obtained from fried paddy by pestling it', Malayalam avil, Kannaḍa aval; the article is a recent introduction to the Todas); cf. also kubīl, kōḍōil, kvaṛcīl. Suffixal material of less transparent nature is represented in the same way; e.g. magīl 'slope of hill' (3861; borrowing from Kannaḍa maggal, maggil, maggul 'side', which is < *marg- < *maruṅk- as in Tamil marunkul); ioīl 'pollution of birth, death, or leavings of food' (666; Tamil eccil 'pollution of bodily secretions, including saliva and leavings of food', Malayalam eccil, Kota eol); kwiḍōil 'stammerer' (1418; Kannaḍa kodala); wīkīl 'family' (782; Tamil okkal); kwiḍbīl 'family' (1379) has -īl from wīkīl added to kwiḍb iḍ., which is < Tamil kuṭumpam, Kannaḍa kuṭumba < Sanskrit kuṭumba-. petīl (eg) 'betel (leaf)' (4539), along with the article it denotes and the custom of chewing it, is a borrowing, probably from Tamil verṛ-ilai, with vernacular Tamil t instead of the expected Toda $\frac{t}{i}$ (for *rr). paḥīl 'retaliation; instead of, in place of' is of Arabic origin, borrowed through Hindi and (possibly) Kannaḍa badal (contrast paḥs given above). Other vowels occur in: aṇil 'squirrel' (1911; Tamil-Malayalam aṇil, Kannaḍa aṇal, aṇil; the vowel i is that of the language from which the word was borrowed); keḇal 'termite' (1296; Kannaḍa gejjalu; the vowel a is that of the Kannaḍa word); kaṣṭal, ketal 'darkness' (in the song language; 1073b; Kannaḍa kartale, kattale; the vowel a is that of the Kannaḍa words); kopol 'boat' (1022; Tamil kappal; though normally *a > Toda a before l, Subrahmanyam (1976), 93, 95, the vowel here is assimilated to o of the first syllable; boats are not native in the Nilgiris); poxol 'daytime, day' (3151; Tamil-Malayalam pakal, Kannaḍa pagal; the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to that of the first); poxol 'entrance', which occurs only in a song-unit: o kwa·t foxol 'entrance of a bungalow', looks as if it were related to Kannaḍa bāgil, bāgal (4386) with shortening of the vowel of the first syllable (Toda prose po·s is derived from a form like Tamil vāyil, vāyal; cf. Kota va·l). Of these forms, four, viz. the two homophones poxol, and wīkīl and kwiḍbīl, were noted in Emeneau (1971), p. xv, as occurring in song-units which have four syllables instead of the regular three, e.g. poxol wīḍ i·sk, poxole i·t; o kwa·t foxol; mu·r si·my wīkīl; pot o·t xwiḍbīlkm (pot o·t xwiḍbīk also occurs). These forms then are metrically equivalent to monosyllables, as if *poxl, *wīkl, *kwiḍbl. Is it possible that at some time prior to the present they were monosyllables with consonant clusters ending in l, and that a vowel (echo-vowel?) was inserted not long before the present? If that were so for these four words, would it be so also for all the others which now end in -īl? But, whatever the solution of these problems, the relevant point in the present connexion is that the short vowels in these non-initial syllables are systematically of a different nature from those that result from the shortening of long vowels.

Examination of the syllabic structure of words also yields similar statements about the distribution of l and r. There are, without exception, no occurrences of l and r as finals in consonant clusters; when such would be expected, i or rarely u appears before l or r. The normal developments in this context are: *l > ḷ, *r > ṣ.

Subrahmanyam (1976), 114-18 deals with *l and concludes that the few words ending in -Ṽl are borrowings, viz. kubīl, muxul, tiḡil. The last, the word for 'moon' (2626) gives one pause, but it is possible that neg of originally, as in some languages in DED 3113, meant 'moonlight, moon' and that the latter meaning was displaced by a borrowed word. We might add tobiḷ 'Tamil language' (2509), a recent borrowing from a vernacular Tamil form with l (< r).

Subrahmanyam (1977) deals with *r*. An instance of $*r > \check{s}$ after *t* is *nötš* 'blood' (3106) in a song-unit: *nötš xar* 'juice which is blood'; it is said to be from Badaga *netru*, for which cf. Kannaḍa *nettar*, Kota *netr* (the Toda prose word for 'blood' is 4370 *po·x*, with a query), but it is not clear whether this song word is borrowed or an archaism, $*r > \check{s}$ in the latter case being correct.

A form that was noted earlier (Emeneau (1957), 59) is *wiṣołyš*, which may alternate with *wiṣoły* *ir* 'buffalo of the wiṣoły dairy', i.e. with loss of *i* and $r > \check{s}$; this is not attested in texts (nor in Rivers 1906), but elicited sentences were: *ay ir wiṣołyšiyi*. 'That buffalo is a wiṣoły buffalo'; *ay wiṣołyš fatypini*. 'I'll catch that wiṣoły buffalo'.

The 2nd plural verb inflection has in most paradigms a suffix *-š*. This is preceded in the present-future paradigms I and II by *-t-*, whose relationship to *-tt-/t-* in a future tense in Old Tamil has been stated above in connexion with the 2nd singular verb inflection. The suffix *-š* is to be connected with the reconstructed $*-ir$, but it does not seem plausible that $*i$ can be involved. $*-ir$ would be better, through an intermediate stage $*-yr$, with *y* producing the palatal position of the sibilant, and *-ir* is the form that Old Tamil has in the future with *-tt-/t-*, as well as in the past when the suffix *-an-* precedes (e.g. *vantanir*); cf. also Kannaḍa *-ir*, Koḍagu *-ira*.

Once development of $*-CVr > -Cš$ has been established, the instances of Toda *-Ũr* can be suspected of being borrowings, and *kōŭr* 'horse' (1423) and *efir* 'bean' (224) are clearly so since the articles denoted are not native to the Nilgiris. *uŭr* 'life' (554; Tamil *ucir*, Malayalam *uŭir*, Kannaḍa *usir*, *usur*, Kota *ucr*) has a synonym *ü·r*, related to Tamil-Malayalam *uyir*, and has the regular development of $*uyŨ-$, while *s* in such a context, not being final in *S*² of a verb, is probably a mark of borrowing. In *ōŭr* 'place or position facing, openly, (to lie) on one's back' (680; Tamil-Malayalam *etir*, etc.), there is no indication of borrowing except the syllabic structure. Two other words, *uŭur* 'gums' (521) and *e·mŭr* 'wintergreen' (303), have in one case a doubtful etymology, in the other obscure phonetic equivalences (Kota *a·mi·r*).

Again, as in the case of words ending in *-Ũl*, these occurrences of *-Ũl* and *-Ũr* have no relevance for the rule on shortening of long vowels in non-initial syllables.

The previous treatment does not exhaust native Dravidian material which might bear on the operation of the rules, but we cannot be entirely exhaustive in this paper. We should, however, notice that borrowed material, much of it obviously borrowed since it comes from or through Indo-Aryan, is somewhat inconsistent in treatment. There are instances of a long vowel retained in a non-initial syllable: *oḍyo·lm* 'a sign, token' occurs in a text of non-Toda origin and is borrowed from Tamil *aṭaiyālam* (79); *sumo·r* 'approximation to, about' is a commonly used word, whose proximate source is colloquial Tamil *cumār*, but whose ultimate derivation is from Persian *šumār* ('DĒN' *DBIA* S11). There are instances of a short vowel retained in a non-initial syllable; e.g. *uturm* 'order (i.e. reply handed down in answer to a petition to government official)' < Tamil *uttaram* < Sanskrit *uttara-* 'reply' (*DBIA* 45). There are instances of lengthening of a short vowel in a non-initial syllable; e.g. *müdu·rm* 'official's ring' (*DBIA* 305), cf. Kannaḍa *modira* 'ring' < Sanskrit *mudrā-* 'ring, seal-ring', but Kota *mudu·rm*, like Toda with lengthening in second syllable. Finally, the rule for shortening of a long vowel in a non-initial syllable sometimes works, as in *aboym* 'danger' < Tamil *apāyam* < Sanskrit *apāya-*. Sometimes, since it is not always clear from which

intermediary language the borrowing took place, one cannot be sure where in the chain of transmission to place shortening; e.g. kuposm 'coat' (DBIA 106) is ultimately < Sanskrit kūrṇāsa- through Prakrit kuppāsa-; Tamil kuppācam and Kota kupa·cm have the long vowel, but Kannaḍa kuppasa, kub(b)asa have a shortened vowel. In some words, not completely naturalized in Toda usage, there is still vacillation of quantity: müdu·rm 'ring' was also recorded as müdur̄m, although the former pronunciation seemed to be favoured.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE *JĪVAKA-PUSTAKA*¹

By R. E. EMMERICK

The India Office Library MS Ch ii 003 contains 73 folios of a medical text written alternately in Sanskrit and Khotanese. The folios are numbered from 44 to 116. Although the text ends in the middle of a Sanskrit recipe, the beginning of the text has survived. As no title and no colophon are extant and as the text has not been traced elsewhere H. W. Bailey assigned the text the convenient label *Jivaka-pustaka* 'The Book of Jivaka'. The text begins as an exposition made by the Bhagavant to the famous physician Jivaka, called elsewhere in Khotanese 'the king of physicians'.²

The *Jivaka-pustaka* (*Jp.*) is a collection of medical prescriptions divided into three sections: 1. ghees (Skt. *ghṛta*); 2. oils (Skt. *taila*); 3. powders (Skt. *cūrṇa*). In the edition and translation by S. Konow³ the text has been divided into 92 sections and a number has been assigned in principle to each prescription. Although it will need to be modified in a future edition, this system of reference is convenient and I adopt it here in addition to the reference to folio and line.

The usual advantage of having a bilingual text is largely lost because the Sanskrit text of the *Jivaka-pustaka* MS is so corrupt that it can hardly be read. As Konow said⁴ 'it is hardly likely that the writer of our manuscript has properly understood it, as it now stands'. This applied also to the Khotanese translator.

In his review of Bailey's edition of the *Jivaka-pustaka* in *KT* 1.136-195 J. Filliozat⁵ drew attention to the fact that it is possible to find some of the

¹ The main conclusions of this article were made known in a German summary presented as a lecture under the title 'Beiträge zum *Jivaka-pustaka*' at the XX. Deutscher Orientalistentag in Erlangen on 4.10.1977. The article was, however, conceived and written in honour of Professor Burrow in recognition of his valuable contributions to Indian and Central Asian studies.

The abbreviations and editions referred to are those listed in my earlier articles on Indian medicine in *BSOAS*, xxxiv, 1, 1971, 91-112, and xxxvii, 3, 1974, 628-54. In addition note the following:

Amarakośa of Amarasiṃha, ed. H. Śāstrī (Kāśī Sanskrit Series, 198), Varanasi, 1970. Tibetan version: *The Amarakośa in Tibet*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (Śatapitaka, xxxviii), New Delhi, 1965.

Anantakumāra, *Yogarātnasamuccaya*, Pt. 3, ed. V. A. R. Śāstrī (University of Travancore, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 152), Trivandrum, 1947.

Bheḍa = *Bhela-saṃhitā*, ed. Girijādayālu Śukla (Vidyābhavan Āyurveda Granthamālā, 25), Varanasi, 1969.

M = Mādhava.

N = *Nāvanītakam or The Bower manuscript*, ed. K. B. Singh Mohan, Lahore, 1925.

Paris = The Paris *Siddhasāra* described by me in *BSOAS*, xxxvii, 3, 1974, 636. Meantime, I have received photographs kindly taken for me in Madras by Prof. Dr. O. von Hinuber, Mainz, of the original Madras MS from which the Cordier MS was copied: Madras R. No. 799. This MS differs from the Cordier MS in that it contains additional matter in Telugu script. The initial pages were kindly examined for me by Prof. Dr. S. A. Srinivasan, Hamburg. They seem to contain no information concerning the compilation of the MS. but make it likely that it was copied from a still earlier MS in Nāgarī script.

Śā. = *Śārngadhara-saṃhitā*, ed. Dayāśankara Pāṇḍeya (Haridās Sanskrit Series, 151), Varanasi, 1968.

Soḍhala, *Gadanigraha*, 2 vols., ed. Gaṅgā Sahāya Pāṇḍeya (Kāśī Sanskrit Series, 182), Varanasi, 1968-9.

² *Jivai vijā re* (Mañj 358 KBT 131).

³ *A medical text in Khotanese, Ch. II 003 of the India Office Library*, with translation and vocabulary, ed. S. Konow, Oslo 1941 (Avhandlingler utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1940, No. 4).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ *JA*, cccxxv, 1946-7, 134-5.

prescriptions of *Jp.* elsewhere. For five prescriptions he gave references to Caraka. These passages have been printed in transcription on pp. 195-6 of Bailey's reprint of *KT* 1-3 (Cambridge 1969). The first of these passages, however, corresponds only in content, not in formulation. It has nevertheless proved possible to identify this passage also.

Prescription [28] *triphalādi-ghṛta* occurs in Cakrapāṇidatta, *Ci.* 59.164. The *Candraprabhā* commentary attributes the prescription to Ravigupta and the prescription is in fact found in the *Siddhasāra* in Bailey's edition p. 131, lines 11-12, as pointed out by Filliozat. I have been able to trace a considerable number of prescriptions to the *Siddhasāra* and have found others elsewhere. The state of progress is represented by the following table :

- [5] = *Si.* 5.97-8
- [8] = Bheḍa, *Ci.* 5.17-19
- [14] = Suśr., *Utt.* 42.27-8 = Vāgbh., *Ci.* 14.9-10 = VS *gulma* 26-7
- [18] = Car., *Ci.* 18.39-42 (Filliozat)
- [20] = Car., *Ci.* 18.125-8 (Filliozat)
- [21] = VS *grahāṇī* 60-2 = *N* 2.2.48-50
- *[25] = *Si.* 14.8 = Cpd., *Ci.* 8.54-5 = Vr. 8.19-20 = Paris pp. 4, 24
- [26] = *Si.* 9.14
- *[28] = *Si.* 26.60 (Filliozat) = Cpd., *Ci.* 59.164 (Filliozat)
= Anantakumāra, *Netra-roga* 274
- *[29] = *Si.* 26.61-4 (26.61 = VS *netra-roga* 274, 423)
- [37] = Car., *Ci.* 5.118-21 (Filliozat)
- [38] = *Si.* 12.11
- [39] = *Si.* 9.26
- [41] = Car., *Ci.* 11.35-43 (Filliozat)
- [43] = *Si.* 8.20
- [44] = *Si.* 12.10
- *[50] = *Si.* 21.11
- *[56] = *Si.* 26.68 = Anantakumāra, *Netra-roga* 565 = Paris p. 110
- [59] = VS *mukha-roga* 65-8
- *[60] = *Si.* 21.12
- *[61] = *Si.* 21.14
- *[63] = *Si.* 26.79 = Bhāva, *Ci.* 65.40 = Cpd., *Ci.* 58.5 = M 9.182 = Śā. p. 246
= Vr. 60.5 = VS *nāsā-roga* 32
- [81] = VS *raktapitta* 93-9 = Sodhala, *Gada-nigraha*, *Cūrṇādhikāra* 64-8
- [85] = Vāgbh., *Ci.* 9.110-13 = VS *grahāṇī* 195-7 = *Si.* A^o 6.52 + 1-4
= Sodhala, *ibid.* 32-4
- [86] = Vāgbh., *Ci.* 9.113-15 = *Si.* A^o 6.52 + 5-8 = Sodhala, *ibid.* 37-8
- [90] = *Si.* 8.12
- [91] = *N* 2.1.64-5
- [92] = Car., *Ci.* 8.141-4 = Cpd., *Ci.* 14.14-17 = *N* 2.1.14-17 = VS *arocaka*
32-5
= Vr. 14.12-15 = *Yogarātnākara* p. 380 (1-5)
- [93] = Sodhala, *Gada-nigraha*, *Cūrṇādhikāra* 164-6.

The last of these [93] is not found in Konow, as it occurs at the end of the text without Khotanese rendering. Only one line of the Sanskrit text is missing in the *Jp.* MS. The Khotanese version no doubt was contained on the missing folio 117 together with the remaining line of the Sanskrit text.

* Additional verses found in MS A of the *Siddhasāra*.

Elsewhere⁷ I have pointed out how Mādhava in his compilation of medical lore has chapters that consist entirely in verses drawn from the three classical authors plus Ravigupta, whereas Ravigupta has virtually no verse in common with the classical authors. It is clear that the author of *Jp.* has made his compilation on similar lines. The *Jivaka-pustaka* is therefore later in date, probably considerably later, than the *Siddhasāra*, which I date to about mid-seventh century.⁸

A further consequence of the identification of the source of those prescriptions accompanied by an asterisk in the above table is that it is now possible not only to read the Sanskrit original but also to use a Tibetan rendering and to compare two Khotanese translations. In both cases the Khotanese translations are more elaborate than the Sanskrit original. In the case of the *Siddhasāra* this is accounted for by the fact that the translation follows the Tibetan closely and the Tibetan rendering includes much explanatory and commentatorial matter.

The most striking feature of the Khotanese translation of *Jp.* is the insistence on specifying in each instance the appropriate quantity of each drug and the amount of milk, water or oil required, even when those items are not found in the original Sanskrit. For this purpose a great variety of terms of measure is used: *thamga*-, *prūyā*-, *mācāmgā*-, *śiṃga*-, *ṣaṃga*-, *vaśīya*-. These terms are found in the other unidentified medical texts in Khotanese containing the recipes for pills (Skt. *piṇḍī*): P 2893.32-267 *KT* 3.84-93 and Ch ii. 002 fol. 100⁹ *KT* 1.34. But the particularly characteristic terms *śiṃga*, *ṣaṃga*, and *thamga* are not found at all in the *Siddhasāra*.

In the Tibetan translation of the *Siddhasāra* all the various Sanskrit terms of measure that occur in *Sī.* (*akṣa*, *āḍhaka*, *karṣa*, *kuḍava*, *tulā*, *droma*, *pala*, *prakuñca*, *prastha*, *mānī*) have been expressed in terms of three Tibetan measures: *phul*-(*bu*), *srañ*, and *zo*. *srañ* translates Skt. *pala*, while *phul* and *zo* are used in multiples to express various Skt. measures. Thus, *zo* occurs usually as *zo gñis* '2 *zo*' to render Skt. *akṣa* or *karṣa*.¹⁰

Tibetan *phul* occurs much less frequently than *srañ* and *zo*, and it is not found in any passage for which the Khotanese has survived. The Khotanese translator of *Sī.* has equated Tibetan *srañ* (= Skt. *pala*) with Khotanese *sera* and Tibetan *zo* with Khotanese *mācāmgā*. He has accordingly no need of such measures as *śiṃga* and *ṣaṃga*.

The Tibetan translators regularly treated both Skt. *kuḍava* and *mānī* as *srañ bryad* '8 *pala*', whereas according to Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa the *kuḍava* is only 4 *pala*. Similarly, they always treat the frequently occurring *prastha* as *srañ* 32 '32 *pala*' instead of 16 *pala* and the *āḍhaka* is *srañ* 128 instead of 64 *pala*. Wherever the Khotanese translation is extant it follows the Tibetan exactly.

When, on the other hand, the measures are expressed in terms of Tibetan *phul*, there can have been no doubling of the Sanskrit measures if *phul* has

⁷ *BSOAS*, xxxviii, 3, 1975, 649-50; *Indologica Taurinensia*, iii-iv, 1975-6 [1977], 209-21.

⁸ *Indologica Taurinensia*, *ibid.*

⁹ Note the similarity between the *kāmja* recipe in Ch ii 002 100 v 4-5 and that in P 2893.186-9 *KT* 3.90.

¹⁰ As also in the Tibetan translation of Vāgbhaṭa, e.g. *karṣa* at *Ci.* 5.56; 9.113 tr. *zo gñis* (Peking 154 a 3; 171 b 5). In Vāgbh., *Sū.* 19.44 *karṣārāham* '½ *karṣa*' is also rendered *zo gñis* (Peking 60 b 7), but the rendering may imply a reading *karṣāṃsam*, although the reading *karṣārāham* is the only one attested and it is also confirmed by the commentaries of Indu and Parameśvara, as kindly pointed out to me by Prof. Dr. C. Vogel, Bonn. In *Sī.* 13.21 *zo gñis gñis* corresponds to Skt. *prakuñca*, which is there the equivalent of *pala* according to the commentators and as would be expected from Vāgbh., *Ka.* 6.27. The reason for the discrepancy is not clear.

the value 4 *sraṇ* (= 4 *pala*) traditionally assigned to it. Tibetan *phul* is said to be the equivalent of Skt. *kudava* (= 4 *pala*) in Vāgbh., *Ka.* 6.22-3 (Pek. 222 b 2) and in *Amarakośa* 2.9.89 (Tib. 123 a 3). Thus, *Sī.* 16.15 has *ekam ādhakam* tr. *phul-bu* 16, i.e. $16 \times 4 \text{ sraṇ} = 64 \text{ pala}$ (not 128 *pala*); *ardhādhakam* in *Sī.* 30.58 tr. *phul* 8, i.e. $8 \times 4 \text{ sraṇ} = 32 \text{ pala}$; *drona* in *Sī.* 8.24, 25; 11.17.5; 13.23 tr. *phul* 64, i.e. $64 \times 4 \text{ sraṇ} = 256 \text{ pala}$.

The reason for the double measure from the *kudava* upwards is presumably the rule given by Caraka, *Ka.* 12.98-9 and Vāgbh., *Ka.* 6.23, according to which the stated measure is doubled for fresh or liquid drugs except when the measure is stated in terms of *pala* or *tulā*. Thus, in *Sī.* 8.25 *dhātūrī-prastham* is explained as *skyu-ru-ra rlon-pa sraṇ sum-cu-rca gñis / skam-na sraṇ bcu-drug dan /* (Pek. 181 b 3) '32 *sraṇ* (= *pala*) of fresh emblic myrobalan (= *dhātūrī*), 16 *sraṇ* (= *pala*) if it is dry'.

The Tibetan translators of Ravigupta and Vāgbhaṭa seem not to have confined the doubling process to the higher units of measure. The term *zo* was traditionally held to be the Tibetan equivalent of Skt. *akṣa* or *karṣa* (= $\frac{1}{4}$ *pala*) as in *Amarakośa* 2.9.85 (Tib. 122 b 2); *Mahāvvyūṣṭi* 6767; *Che-rin dbaṅ-rgyal* 150 b (*Dictionnaire tibétain-sanscrit*, ed. J. Bacot, Paris, 1930). Curiously enough, in the Tibetan translation of the section in Vāgbh., *Ka.* 6 that explains the Skt. measures, the Tibetan term *zo* is not used. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, both in the Tibetan translation of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* and in that of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅghrdayasamhitā*, Skt. *akṣa* or *karṣa* is regularly rendered *zo gñis* '2 *zo*', twice the amount expected.

The units of measure used in the Tibetan translation of the *Siddhasāra* may accordingly stand in the relation 1 *phul* = 4 *sraṇ* = 16 *zo*, parallel to Skt. 1 *kudava* = 4 *pala* = 16 *akṣa/karṣa*. This agrees with the lexica, and in the case of *phul* = *kudava* and *sraṇ* = *pala* conforms to the explanation of the measures in Vāgbh., *Ka.* 6 (Tib. Pek. 222 b). The equation implies, however, that measures expressed in terms of *zo* are always doubled, those in terms of *sraṇ* sometimes, and those in terms of *phul* never.

It is nevertheless probable that measures in terms of *phul* were sometimes doubled. The situation may have been like that obtaining in the case of Tibetan *bre*, which is used in Vāgbhaṭa in passages corresponding to passages in Ravigupta where the Tibetan rendering has *phul*. According to the *Amarakośa* 2.9.88 (Tib. 123 a 3) a distinction was made between *bre chen* 'a large *bre*' = Skt. *ādhaka* and *bre chuṇ* 'a small *bre*' = Skt. *prastha*. In the Tibetan translation of Vāgbhaṭa *bre gaṇ* 'a full *bre*' is frequently used to translate Skt. *prastha* (e.g. *Sū.* 18.31 = Pek. 58 a 2; *Cī.* 5.22 = Pek. 152 b 6; *Cī.* 8.66 = Pek. 163 b 5) and the same value is implied for multiples of *bre*, e.g. *bre* 16 tr. Skt. *drona* (*Cī.* 8.68 = Pek. 163 b 6); *bre* 4 tr. Skt. *ādhaka* (*Cī.* 3.55 = Pek. 144 b 8; *Utt.* 30.19 = Pek. 288 a 8). It is possible that the addition of *gaṇ* or its implication may serve to indicate the need to double the quantity. In the case of *phul* we find once in the *Sī.* the form *phul-bu* with the diminutive suffix *-bu* used with barley, a dry measure not needing to be doubled. Thus, *Sī.* 16.15.3 *yavādhakam* is rendered *nas phul-bu bcu-drug* '16 *phul-bu* of barley', i.e. $16 \times 4 \text{ sraṇ} = 64 \text{ pala}$. The passage corresponds to Vāgbh., *Cī.* 3.128, where the Tibetan (Pek. 147 b 5) has *nas sraṇ drug-cu-rca bzi* '64 *pala* of barley'. In the following verse *Sī.* 16.15.4 *jala-pañcādhake* is rendered *chu nas-kyi lra-hgyur* 'five times as much water as barley'. That is probably not $5 \times 64 \text{ pala} = 320 \text{ pala}$ since in the case of water *phul* will not be a *phul-bu*, a diminutive of *phul*, but double the quantity. Thus, we have $5 \times 16 \times 8 = 640 \text{ pala}$ in accord with Vāgbhaṭa *chu sraṇ drug-brgya bzi-bcu*.

With this background knowledge we can now approach the question of the values of the Khotanese measures *śiṃga* and *ṣaṃga* found in P 2893 and in non-medical documents as well as in *Jp*. The latest statements are by Bailey in *Saka documents Text volume*: 'Measures are here: *kūsa*-receptacle, equal to 9 *ṣaṃga* (32 b 2-3), which in turn is used to render BS four *prastha* (Jiv. 64 v 4), and KT III 124, 86 *a'nda*, *ṣaga* with *ādha*- = four *prastha*. The *ṣaṃga* is equal to eight *śiṃga* (BSOAS, x, 602)' (p. 4) and 'Elsewhere 1 *ṣaṃga* equals 8 *śiṃga* (Chin. 卅 K 873 *śing* from *śieng*) rendering BS *prastha* *caturguṇa* four *prastha* (Jivaka-pustaka 64 v 4, 78 v 2)' (p. 37). These cryptic statements are perhaps slightly clarified by reference to Bailey's earlier comment in BSOAS, x, 3, 1941, 602: 'Ch ii 003. 21 v 4 *śau ṣaga* "one *ṣaṃga*" renders Skt. *prastham* ca *caturguṇa* "4 *prasthas*", Ch ii 003, 33 v 2 *haṣṭa śiṃga* "eight *śiṃga*" = Skt. *caturguṇa* "4 (*prasthas*)"'. According as we take a *prastha* to be 16 *pala* as in Skt. or 32 *pala* as in Si. Tibetan and Khotanese, so we have, if we follow Bailey, 1 *ṣaṃga* = 64 *pala* or 128 *pala* and 1 *śiṃga* = $\frac{1}{8}$ *prastha* (i.e. 8 *pala* or 16 *pala*). This value for *śiṃga* agrees with Konow 'Chinese *śieng*, half a *prastha*', but according to him both *ṣaṃga* and *sera* translate Skt. *pala*.

The equations proposed by Bailey appear to be based on *Jp*. 64 v 4 and 78 v 2, which seem to be the same passages as those earlier numbered 21 v 4 and 33 v 2. For 64 v 4 [18] we have had thanks to Filliozat the possibility of comparing the Khotanese translation with Car., Ci. 18.39-42. The Sanskrit has the usual quantity of ghee '*ghṛtāt prastham*' and the usual quantity of milk '*caturguṇe kṣīre*', that is, four times as much milk as ghee.¹¹ We can obtain from [18] the correspondences:

$$\begin{aligned} 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ mācāṃga} &= 1 \text{ karṣa} = \frac{1}{4} \text{ pala} \\ 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ śiṃga} &= 1 \text{ prastha} = 16 \sim 32 \text{ pala} \\ 1 \text{ ṣaṃga} &= 4 \text{ prastha} = 64 \sim 128 \text{ pala.} \end{aligned}$$

The equation $2\frac{1}{2} \text{ mācāṃga} = 1 \text{ karṣa}$ differs from the regular correspondence in the *Siddhasāra* of $2 \text{ mācāṃga} = 1 \text{ karṣa}$. It is true that *hālā* 'half' is only half present but the equation is confirmed by *Jp*. [5] [37] [50] [86]. This last recipe even has $5 \text{ mācāṃga} = 2 \text{ karṣa}$.¹² That *hālā*- means 'half' (and not merely 'direction') is confirmed by many passages in the *Siddhasāra*, e.g. *hālai sera* Si. 130 v 3 KT 1.62 [21.15] tr. Tib. *srañ-phyed*, Skt. *palārdham*.

What does not emerge from the correspondences obtained from [18] is Bailey's equation ' $1 \text{ ṣaṃga} = 8 \text{ śiṃga}$ '. If we conclude anything from these data alone it would seem to be $1 \text{ ṣaṃga} = 4 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ śiṃga} = 10 \text{ śiṃga}$. Konow's equation of *ṣaṃga* with *pala* seems wide of the mark.

The other passage referred to by Bailey [33] 78 v 2 is a prescription whose formulation has not yet been traced elsewhere. But the corrupt Sanskrit appears to contain the usual formulas *kṣīre caturguṇe* and *ghṛta-prastham*. If this is so we have the correspondences:

$$\begin{aligned} 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ śiṃga} &= 1 \text{ prastha} \\ 8 \text{ śiṃga} &= 4 \text{ prastha.} \end{aligned}$$

It looks as though Bailey has combined the correspondences:

$$\begin{aligned} 1 \text{ ṣaṃga} &= 4 \text{ prastha [18] and} \\ 8 \text{ śiṃga} &= 4 \text{ prastha [33]} \end{aligned}$$

¹¹ Cf. R. R. Pathak, *Therapeutic guide to Ayurvedic medicine*, Varanasi, 1970, 261: 'Milk if mentioned should be four times of the ghee'.

¹² So also [41] 84 v 3; but see below.

to obtain the equation $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{ṣaṃga}} = 8 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}}$. But this ignores the equation $2\frac{1}{2} \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}} = 1 \text{ } \textit{\text{prastha}}$ attested in [5] [8] [18] [33] [39] [50] [61]. The only way to obtain order and justify the equation $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{ṣaṃga}} = 8 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}}$ is to assume that the halves have been added 'for good measure' and do not really correspond. This brings the $2\frac{1}{2} \text{ } \textit{\text{mācāṃga}} = 1 \text{ } \textit{\text{kārṣa}}$ into line with $2 \text{ } \textit{\text{mācāṃga}} = 1 \text{ } \textit{\text{kārṣa}}$,¹³ which we know from the *Siddhasāra*. Furthermore, the equation $2 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}} = 1 \text{ } \textit{\text{prastha}}$ can be deduced from [25] [30] [60] etc.

Further confirmation of the equation $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{ṣaṃga}} = 8 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}}$ may perhaps be sought by comparing the formulas used in connexion with describing the process of adding water to the drugs and boiling them up so that a certain quantity remains. We find most frequently *khu ra va śau ṣaṃga harśta* 'so that one *ṣaṃga* remains there' [4 9 12 19 20 21 22 47 48 50 51] and *khu ra va haṣṭa śiṃga harśta* 'so that eight *śiṃga* remains there' [4 6 10 23 30 33 34 41 61 66 68]. But there are two reasons for caution. The reduction to one *ṣaṃga* is normally made with 4 *ṣaṃga* of water (once 6 *ṣaṃga* [47] 90 v 4, twice 3 *ṣaṃga* [50] 94 r 4, [51] 95 r 4), whereas the reduction to 8 *śiṃga* is normally made with 3 *ṣaṃga* of water (once with 32 *śiṃga* [61] 99 v 2, once with 24 *śiṃga* [66] 101 r 5). Secondly, a great variety of reductions is found to 1 *śiṃga*, 2 *śiṃga*, $2\frac{1}{2} \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}}$, 4, 5, 6 *śiṃga*.¹⁴

The value obtained from [18] and elsewhere for *ṣaṃga* seems to be confirmed by the Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual P 5538b 86 *KT* 3.124, where *a'ṇḍa*, that is, presumably Sanskrit *āḍhaka*, is rendered by Khotanese *ṣaga*. Moreover, in [20] 1 *ṣaṃga* renders Skt. *āḍhaka*, that is, 64 *pala* according to Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa.

Where, however, the *prastha* is expressed in terms of the smaller unit, the *śiṃga*, it is by no means certain that the rendering of 4 *prastha* by 8 *śiṃga* implies that $8 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}} = 64 \text{ } \textit{\text{pala}}$. Indeed, it is more likely, since we are dealing with liquid measures, that $8 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}} = 128 \text{ } \textit{\text{pala}}$, giving a value $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}} = 16 \text{ } \textit{\text{pala}}$. This would mean, of course, that *śiṃga* was the Khotanese equivalent of Skt. *prastha*. It would also mean that the apparently self-evident equation $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{ṣaṃga}} = 8 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}}$ is after all incorrect, because in fact we have $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{ṣaṃga}} = 4 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}}$ parallel to Skt. $1 \text{ } \textit{\text{āḍhaka}} = 4 \text{ } \textit{\text{prastha}}$.

Above we saw how Skt. *kārṣa* was rendered, not by its equivalent *zo* (= Kh. *mācāṃga*), but by *zo gñis*, its double. The equation $2 \text{ } \textit{\text{śiṃga}} = 1 \text{ } \textit{\text{prastha}}$ found in [25] [60] etc. is evidently based on the same principle.

At this stage it may be appropriate to put forward the conjecture that the additional half measures, apparently thrown in 'for good measure' in the *Jp.* as opposed to the *Si.*, may, at least originally, not have been half measures but indications that the Skt. measure was expressed as half the amount actually used. Thus, *dva śiṃga hālai* may have been '2 *śiṃga* (half)' in the sense that 2 *śiṃga* are taken for half that amount in the Skt. text.

The addition of the half is found only sporadically and apparently arbitrarily. But there are occasional instances where the half seems to have been counted as in the case of 5 *mācāṃga* for 2 *kārṣa* [41] [86] instead of $4\frac{1}{2} \text{ } \textit{\text{mācāṃga}}$. Has $4\frac{1}{2}$ been rounded up or is 5 really used as $2 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$? We have to bear in mind that the text as we have it is extremely corrupt. We find also 1 *mācāṃga* [87] for 1 *kārṣa* and 3 *mācāṃga* [32] [33] for 1 *kārṣa*, unfortunately

¹³ So also [41] 84 r 5.

¹⁴ It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the proportions of milk to ghee, as it is exceptional to find as in [18] and [33] that the proportion is milk 4 to ghee 1. There is always at least as much milk as ghee except in [22] 67 v 3, where the proportions are ghee 1 *ṣaṃga* to milk 4 *śiṃga*. Here *ṣaṃga* is presumably a mistake for *śiṃga*.

in prescriptions whose Skt. is not yet fully explicable. In [8] 3 *mācāṅga* translates Skt. *akṣa* (= *karṣa*).

The text of *Jp.* abounds in discrepancies. Let us look at some of the measures occurring in prescriptions whose Skt. text it is now possible to read.

In [5]a (*kalyāṇaka-ghṛta*) the correspondences are as in [18] discussed above, but in the *mahākalyāṇaka-ghṛta* [5]b (50 v 5-51 r 4) the amounts of milk and ghee seem to be equal. The Skt. has only *kṣīreṇa* 'with milk' but the Tibetan translators of the *Siddhasāra* have *ho-ma mar-gyi bzi-hgyur-gyi nañ-du bskol-to* 'boils them in four times as much milk as ghee' in accordance with Indian medical tradition (Suśr., *Utt.* 39.235; 62.25; Vāgbh., *Utt.* 6.32).

In [20] we find 1 *ṣaṅga* corresponding to Skt. *ādhaka* as expected.

In [25] we have 5 *mācāṅga* for Skt. *akṣa-mātrair*, whereas the *Sī.* has the expected 2 *mācāṅga*.

In [37] the 4 *pala* of *trāyamāṇā* are explained as 40 *sera* (i.e. 40 *pala*!). They are boiled in ten times as much water (= 40 *pala*). This is impossibly rendered by 2 *ṣaṅga*. One could account for the 40 *sera* as displaced (that is, belonging to the water), but it is difficult to account for 2 *ṣaṅga*. The water and *trāyamāṇā* are boiled down to a fifth, that is, to 8 *pala*, for which we find 2 *śiṅga* (= 32 *pala*). This decoction is mixed with a paste made from 1 *karṣa* each of *rohini* etc. (= 2½ *mācāṅga*). Then 8 *pala* of the juice of *āmālaka* is added (rendered 40 *sera*, i.e. 40 *pala*!). In the Khotanese the order of procedure is reversed, which may have had some influence on the measures. The 8 *pala* of milk appears here as 8 *śiṅga* (= 128 *pala*!). The ghee is not clearly indicated: only *rrūm* occurs (for *gvi'ha rrūm*?).

In [38] a paste is made of 31 items. The ghee is as usual four times the amount of paste (*pāda-kalkītam/sarpir*): $31 \times 2 \text{ mācāṅga} = 62 \text{ mācāṅga}$, for which we find 2 *śiṅga* (= 32 *pala* = 128 *mācāṅga*). The water is 8 times the ghee (*aṣṭaguṇe toyē*): $8 \times 2 \text{ śiṅga} = 2 \text{ ṣaṅga}$. The emblic myrobalan is twice the ghee (*dvi-guṇāmālaka-dravam*): $2 \times 2 \text{ śiṅga} = 4 \text{ śiṅga}$ (rendered 6 *śiṅga*!).

The *ṣaṭpalaka* ghee [39] is so called because it is made with one *pala* of each of six items. The Khotanese rendering *ṣaṣṭapala* is therefore liable to mislead. Here *pala* = 1 *sera*. According to the Skt. *tulya-kṣīraṃ ghṛta-prastham*, correctly rendered by the Tibetan *mar dan ho-ma srañ sum-cu-rēa gñis gñis*, 1 *prastha* of milk and 1 *prastha* of ghee are prescribed. Here *Jp.* has 1 *prastha* of ghee (2½ *śiṅga*) but 4 *prastha* of milk (8 *śiṅga*)! It is surprising that *Jp.* does not here mention the water as it usually does. It is not mentioned in the Sanskrit but the Tibetan translators state that it is four times as much as the ghee. According to Aruṇadatta on Vāgbhaṭa, *Ci.* 5.22 the water could be three or four times as much as the ghee (*jalam snehāc caturguṇam triguṇam vā deyam*).

In [41] the order of procedure is different from what is expected. The *vidārī* and the honey seem not to have been included. According to the Skt., 1 *karṣa* is to be taken of the drugs *jīvaka* . . . *abhiṣuka*, whereas the Khotanese has 2 *mācāṅga* (= 1 *karṣa*) of most of them and 4 *mācāṅga* of others. It is not clear how 2 *sera* of *ikṣu* (reduced after boiling to 8 *śiṅga*) can be reconciled with the *prastha* of the Skt. Similarly 4 *sera* of sugar seems irreconcilable with Skt. *śarkarārḍhatulām* (= 50 *sera*). Closer to *ardha-tulā* is the rendering of Skt. *tulārḍha* by 25 *sera* in [50]. Here the Tibetan translation of *Sī.* correctly has *srañ lña-bcu* and the Khotanese *pajsāsā sera* (*Sī.* 129 r 5).

In [50], where 3 *ṣaṅga* of water are reduced to 1 *ṣaṅga* we might have expected 4 *ṣaṅga* to have been reduced to 1 *ṣaṅga*. The formulation in the *Sī.* does not specify the quantity of water but a somewhat similar recipe is

known elsewhere. In Cpđ. 22.141-5 = Vr. 22.114-18 the formulation contains *jala-drone* 'mśa-śeṣitam, where Śrīkaṇṭhadatta explains *amśa-śeṣitam* as *pāda-śeṣitam*. That is, four *ādhaka* of water (*jala-drone*) are reduced to 1 *ādhaka* (*pāda-śeṣitam*).

In [60] the Skt. has *mūlakānām rasa-prasthais* 'with 1 *prastha* of the juice of radishes', and this is found also in the Tibetan and Khotanese versions of the *Siddhasāra*. *Jp.* explains the procedure: '1 *thamga* of dry radish is to be boiled with 22 *śiṅga* of water so that there remains there 2 *śiṅga*'. Here the 2 *śiṅga* will represent the *prastha*, but there is no way to determine the value of *thamga* here. *Jp.* has 2 *śiṅga* also for the quantity of curds, which is an *ādhaka* in the Skt. text and correctly so rendered in the Tibetan and Khotanese of the *Siddhasāra*. For the sesame oil *Jp.* again has 2 *śiṅga*, corresponding to Skt. *taila-prastham*. For *taila-prastham* in [61] *Jp.* has 2½ *śiṅga* 'for good measure'. Here *Jp.* fails to give the quantity of milk (*taila-prastham payas-tulyam*). The *ādhaka* of *śvadamśtrā* in [61], correctly understood by the Tibetan and Khotanese translators of the *Siddhasāra*, seems correct here: 8 *śiṅga*. But *Jp.* has 2 *sera* of ginger against the Khotanese *haṣṭa sera* in *Śi.* 130 r 5, which is correct for Skt. *māni* (= 8 *pala* = 8 *sera*).

Skt. *ṣaḍ-guṇa-sitaiḥ* is not clear in [85] and Aruṇadatta on Vāgbh., *Ci.* 9.110-13 suggests 108 or 48 parts of sugar. Neither quantity seems compatible with the 10 *sera* of *Jp.*

In [86] *Jp.* has correctly 2½ *mācāṅga* for Skt. *karṣonmūā*, 5 *mācāṅga* for *dvi-kārśikam*, 1 *sera* for *palāmsakam*, 8 *sera* for *palāni* ... *aṣṭau*. But the quantity of sugar is not clear: *sītāyāś caikataḥ kṛtaḥ*. According to Aruṇadatta: *sītāyā apy aṣṭau palāni* '8 *pala* of sugar also'.¹⁵ If this was so understood by the translator of *Jp.* we then have the value of 1 *thamga* = 8 *pala*.

The measure *thamga* occurs only four times in *Jp.* [60] [74] [75] [86]. No clue is yielded by [60] to the value of the *thamga*, and [74] and [75] have not yet been identified. In both these cases it is used of the quantity of sugar as in [86]. [75] seems to support the assumption of a value of 8 *pala* since the corrupt Skt. text has *śarkarā aṣṭa-bhāga*. [74] remains unclear: it appears to have *ṣaḍ-guṇa*-, the significance of which is uncertain as in [85] above.

The value of 8 *pala* for 1 *thamga* would also indirectly confirm the value of 16 *pala* for 1 *śiṅga* rather than 8 *pala* as Bailey suggested, since otherwise *thamga* and *śiṅga* would have the same value. I know of no evidence to support Konow's statement (p. 91) that *thamga* 'translates Skt. *prastha*'. On the word *thamga* see also Bailey, *KT* 4.156; *Saka documents Text volume*, p. 57.

In [90] [91] and [92] sugar is measured in *sera*. In [90] the sugar is said to be eight times as much as the long pepper, that is, 8×4 *mācāṅga* = 32 *mācāṅga*, but *Jp.* has 5 *sera* instead of 8 *sera*. Another mistake occurs in [90]. The quantities of *tātisa*, *marica*, *śunṭhī*, and *kṛṣṇā* are said to be *bhāgottarair* 'in ascending portions', that is, 1 part *tātisa*, 2 parts *marica*, 3 parts *śunṭhī*, 4 parts *kṛṣṇā*. But *Jp.* has 2 parts (2 *mācāṅga* according to *Jp.*'s system) for both *tātisa* and *marica*. This leads to *ardhāmsīke tvag-ele* being rendered 'tvag, elā—1 *mācāṅga* each' instead of ½ *mācāṅga* each. The Tibetan rendering of the *Siddhasāra* correctly has *bal-buhi chad-kyi phyed phyed* 'each half the measure of the *tātisa*'.

In [91] the six drugs involved are likewise said to be *bhāga-vivardhitaiḥ*, and the rendering is consistent according to the system of *Jp.* if we allow for the fact that the numerals have been omitted after the second and third

¹⁵ So also in the Tibetan translation of Vāgbh.: *kha-ra sran brygyad* (Peking 171 b 6).

items. There is said to be an equal quantity of sugar (*samā śarkarā*), that is, $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 = 21$ *mācāṃga*, here rendered 7 *sera* instead of the mathematically correct $5\frac{1}{4}$ *sera* ($21 \times \frac{1}{4}$).

In [92] *śarkarāyās ca catvāri palāni* appears as 'sugar 8 *sera*' instead of 4 *sera*. But if 8 *sera*, why not 1 *thamga*?

Leaving the measures in their confusion I would like to point out that the identification of [29] with *Śi.* 26.61-4¹⁶ proves that the text of *Jp.* is corrupt even apart from the question of measures. Evidently the compiler of *Jp.* wished to include the *rāsnādyam ghṛtam*, which is 26.61 in the *Siddhasāra* and twice quoted by Vaṅgasena. These two verses form the conclusion in the *Siddhasāra* of the section on eye diseases. In MS A the chapter formula follows. *Śi.* 26.62-4 form the introductory verses to the section on ear diseases. They have nothing to do with 26.61 and do not provide a prescription. The scribe seems to have carried on copying from the *Siddhasāra* mechanically. However, when he came to translation he translated 26.61-4 as if nothing were amiss. The appended heading *utrāphalāda rūm* 'triphalaḍi-ghṛta' applies to [28] and has nothing to do with [29]. It is not clear how it got there.

That the translator was unable to understand the Sanskrit text in the form in which it stands seems clear from his rendering of *śāmyakhi* in [28] by *iha' rāha' jīmḍa* 'it destroys pains in the mouth'. *śāmyakhi* is corrupt for *piśā-mukhe* 'at the beginning of evening'. The Khotanese version of the *Siddhasāra* (153 r 1) correctly renders *pa'sā' hālai va*, where *pa'sā'* is 'evening'.

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26.61	<i>rāsnā-phala-traya-kvāthe daśa-mūlasya ca śrtam</i>
	<i>kalkena jīvanīyānām ghṛtam timira-nāśanam</i>
26.62	<i>karṇayoh śūla-bādhurya-nāda-srāvāh samīraṇāt</i>
26.63 + 64	<i>pittogma-kapha-samsosāj jāyate karṇa-gūthakah.</i>

‘HE COOKS SOFTLY’: ADVERBS IN SANSKRIT GRAMMAR¹

By RICHARD GOMBRICH

*kimapi kimapi mandam mandam āsattiyogād
avicalitakapolam jalpator akramaṇa
asīhīlaparīrambhavyāpṛtaikaikadoṣhor
aviditagatayāmā rātrir eva vyaramsīt.*

‘Gently, gently this and that we murmured without sequence, our cheeks unmoving, so close were they pressed, each arm employed in tight embrace, and so its watches passed unnoticed and the very night would cease.’

Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacarita*, 1, 27.

‘Compound adjectives may be used adverbially in the same way as simple adjectives, and as such normally appear in the accusative singular neuter. This is common with bahuvrīhis and in the classical literature long conglomerations of this nature are frequently so used.’

T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit language*,² 216.

1. It has been recognized from the earliest times, i.e. from Kātyāyana (K) on,³ that, although Pāṇini’s description of Sanskrit is miraculously concise and almost equally comprehensive⁴ in those topics it covers, it requires some supplementation. Even so, P’s inadequate treatment of adverbs is noteworthy,⁵ and the more so as the tradition was remarkably slow to supplement this deficiency. This paper deals with two connected topics: (i) conceptualization and naming of the adverb; (ii) grammatical descriptions of adverbial usage.

Professor George Cardona’s paper, ‘Indian grammarians on adverbs’,⁶ does not have the temerity to speak of a deficiency in the tradition and does not deal with my categories (2) and (3) below. Moreover, Cardona treats the question more or less synchronically. I hope, therefore, that our articles may complement each other.

1.1. It is not possible to deduce from P the three adverbial usages in the first couplet of Bhavabhūti’s beautiful verse which heads this article: (1) *mandam*,

¹ In this article I use the term ‘Sanskrit grammar’ as a translation of *vyākaraṇa śāstra*; i.e., it refers to the traditional study of the subject, not to the subject itself. Similarly, by ‘Sanskrit grammarian’ I mean *vaiyākaranika*.

² 2nd ed., London, 1965.

³ The relative chronology of the great Sanskrit grammarians is certain, as each comments on his predecessors. Their absolute chronology is notoriously uncertain—and not relevant to this article. But I assume the following approximate dates (and use these abbreviations): Yāska fifth century B.C., Pāṇini (P) fourth century B.C., Kātyāyana (K) third century B.C., Patañjali (Pat.) second century B.C., Bhartṛhari (Bh.) fifth century A.D., *Kāśikādhī* (Kv.) seventh century A.D.

⁴ A notable example of the incompleteness of P on a topic central to his concerns is his treatment of *kṛt* affixes; see G. B. Palsule, *Some primary nominal formations missing in Pāṇini*, Poona, 1968.

⁵ While Professor S. D. Joshi was teaching me the *samāsa* section of P at Poona University, I queried P’s failure explicitly to mention the type of adverbial compound to which my quotation from Professor Burrow refers. This article arose from that query. Though Joshi is, of course, not responsible for what I have written, his contribution is so great that I can perhaps best sum it up by saying that I merely asked questions to which he supplied answers.

⁶ *Issues in Linguistics; papers in honor of Henry and Renée Kahane*, ed. Braj B. Kachru et al., Urbana, 1973, 85–98. I am grateful to Mr. Dominik Wujastyk for drawing my attention to this article, and for reading a draft of my paper critically—the adverb is essential.

(2) *avicalitakapolam* (the usage to which Professor Burrow refers), (3) *akrameṇa*. Let me give three further examples parallel to these :

- (1) *sa śighram gacchati* — ' he goes quickly '
- (2) *sā vividhaprakāram pacati* — ' she cooks in various ways '
- (3) *aśvo javena dhāvati* — ' the horse runs swiftly '.

On the other hand, it is possible to deduce from P the adverbial usages :

- (4) *atra tiṣṭhāmi* — ' here I stand '
- (5) *sa tūṣṇīm āste* — ' he sits in silence '
- (6) *sa ciraṃ svapiti* — ' he is sleeping a long time '.

2. Professor S. D. Joshi has⁷ discussed ' parts of speech ' in the early Sanskrit grammarians (mainly P and Pat.) and shown that our ' adjective ' lacks a precise equivalent in their terminology. *Guṇa-vacana* (' quality-word ', i.e. adjective) occurs a few times in P as a semantic term but does not designate a part of speech, i.e. a morphological category. Pre-Pāṇinian tradition, represented by Yāska, recognized just four parts of speech: *nāman* ' noun ', *ākhyāta* ' verb ', *upasarga* ' preverb/preposition ', and *nipāta* ' particle '. Under this classification our adverbs in exx. (1)–(3) are ' nouns ' and those in exx. (4)–(6) are ' particles ' ; and we shall see that this dichotomy persists throughout the grammatical tradition : the two groups are never assimilated.

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3. P ultimately allows only two categories of words, which one may very loosely call ' nouns ' and ' verbs ' ; he calls them *subanta* ' ending in a case affix ' and *tinanta* ' ending in a finite verbal affix ' respectively. All words but those we would call finite verbs come under the first heading. At the highest level of generality, then, all our six exx. are *subanta*.

3.1. A sub-category of *subanta* is the *avyaya* ' indeclinable '. A word in this category loses its (fictive) case affix by P 2.4.82. P defines the *avyaya* at 1.1.37–41. The adverbs in our exx. (4)–(6) are covered by this definition: *atra* by 1.1.38, which says that a nominal stem derived from another nominal stem and not declining in all cases is an *avyaya*⁸; *tūṣṇīm* and *ciraṃ* by 1.1.37, which refers to a list (*gaṇa*) of words beginning with *sva*r which it classes as *avyaya*.

3.1.1. The nature and content of this *gaṇa* require a few words. We have no direct evidence what words were in the *Gaṇapāṭha*, the full collection of these lists, in P's day. Our earliest evidence for their contents is the *Kv.*, a commentary on P which reproduced the full *gaṇas* at the relevant points, i.e. when commenting on the *sūtras* which refer to them. However, this does not dispose of all difficulties, because the text of the *Kv.* is often doubtful. We can say that the generally accepted text of the *svarāḍi gaṇa* in *Kv.* on P 1.1.37 contains about 80 items. In later texts the list increases, until in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, a thousand years after the *Kv.*, it has approximately doubled. This development is allowed for by the theory. As early as Pat.,⁹ *gaṇas* are classified as either fixed, complete (*vrta*) or open, sample lists (*ākṛti-gaṇa*). The *svarāḍi gaṇa* is of the latter type. However, we do not know whether this classification is

⁷ S. D. Joshi, *Adjectives and substantives as single class in the ' parts of speech '*, Poona, 1966.

⁸ *Atra* is derived from the pronoun *idam* by the addition of the *taddhita* affix *tra*. The full *prakriyā* (derivation) of the form is given by the following *sūtras*: 1.1.27, 7.2.102, 6.1.97, 7.2.113, 5.3.1, 5.3.10.

⁹ On P 2.1.59.

as old as P, and we shall see below (section 4) that Pat. cannot have read the common adverbs *suṣṭhu* 'well' and *duṣṭhu* 'ill' in his version of the *gaṇa*, because he did not class them as *avyaya*. They are not in the *Kv.* version of the *gaṇa*. Böhrtlingk prints them in the *Ganapāṭha* at the back of his 1887 edition of P, but he has used a late version of the list.

I had hoped for enlightenment from Ayachit's critical edition of the *Ganapāṭha*.¹⁰ But his version of the *svarāḍi gaṇa*, which contains only 75 items, omits for example *sahasā*, which is in every printed edition of the *Kv.* I can find.¹¹ He prints supplementary lists of 50 + 10 + 15, following the *Siddhānta-kāumudī*, but *sahasā* figures neither in them nor in the variant readings. To play safe I have chosen examples, *tūṣṇīm* and *cīram*, which are in every version of the original list.

There are certainly indeclinables which are not in any version of the list, e.g. *svairam* 'at will'. But since it is an *ākṛti-gaṇa*, this is not an objection to the list.

3.1.2. We may note a difference between *tūṣṇīm* and *cīram*. The former is indubitably indeclinable, to our way of thinking, and cannot be derived from any other word in the lexicon. But *cīram* is related to the adjective *cīra-* 'long-lasting'; so why does P classify it as indeclinable? In his system neither *tūṣṇīm* nor *cīram* can be derived; both are *avyutpanna prātipadika* 'underived nominal stems'. He does not deal with the derivation of words which in his system have no syntactic function, and the words in the *svarāḍi gaṇa* have no such function. For P such words are formally nominative (i.e., the case affix which has been lost by 2.4.82 is *su*), because, lacking syntactic function, they are merely *prātipadikārtha* 'conveying the meaning of the stem'. Moreover, for P each *avyaya* should form a separate lexical item: the adjectival stem *cīra-* and the indeclinable *cīram* should be separate entries.

3.1.3. *Cīram* is an interesting example, because there are adverbs from this stem in all cases of the neuter singular: *cīram*, *cīreṇa*, *cīrāya*, *cīrāt*, *cīrasya*, *cīre*.¹² However, these words in their adverbial usage are not derivable from the stem *cīra-* by any general principle. They are not in complementary distribution, and each would be considered by P to be a separate indeclinable item—after all, there are no adverbs formed from the dual or plural of *cīra-*. Thus for P the terminations of *cīram*, *cīreṇa*, etc., are not real case affixes. We may perhaps express P's treatment of these words as *avyaya* by saying that none of them are liable to transformation.

3.1.4. There is another difference between *tūṣṇīm* and *cīram*, one of semantic category. The former is an adverb of manner, the latter of time. The *svarāḍi* list contains several examples of both; but in general P covers adverbs of time much more fully than adverbs of manner. In 5.3.15–22 he prescribes various temporal adverbs in the sense of the locative (i.e., 'time at which'). Those formed from pronominal stems are covered as *avyaya* by 1.1.38; but 5.3.22 lists 14 temporal adverbs which are not in the *svarāḍi* list. There seems to be no pattern here: *hyas* 'yesterday' and *śvas* 'tomorrow' are in the *svarāḍi gaṇa*, while *adya* 'to-day' and *anyedyus* 'the following day' are in

¹⁰ S. M. Ayachit, *The Ganapāṭha, a critical study*: Ph.D. thesis, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1959.

¹¹ I include the critical edition, ed. Sharma and Deshpande, Hyderabad, 1969–70, which was not of course available to Ayachit.

¹² *Cīreṇa* to *cīrasya* inclusive are in Ayachit's first 'supplementary list'; *cīre* is in no list I have seen, but is attested in Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English dictionary*, which also quotes a neuter noun *cīram*, derived from P 6.2.6. *Cīre* is altogether a marginal case—see note 16—but this does not affect the argument.

5.3.22. P refers to another list of adverbs in his *avyayībhāva* section (see 3.3.3.1 below on *tiṣṭhadgu*), and most of those are temporal too.

We have now dealt with our *exx.* (4)–(6).

3.2. Our first three examples are far more problematic. *Prima facie* none of the three looks to us modern grammarians like an indeclinable. They look to us like declining nominal stems ending in case terminations; the first stem we would identify as that of an adjective, the second as that of an adjective formed from a nominal compound (a *saṁāsa*), and the third as that of a noun. However, P did not clearly differentiate between adjectives and nouns as morphological categories. He has the pair (2.1.57) *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*, 'qualifying' and 'qualified',¹³ but, as Professor Joshi has shown,¹⁴ these do not correspond to 'adjective' and 'noun'; it suffices to mention that the *viśeṣaṇa* may be a noun, as in 'oak-tree', or the *viśeṣya* an adjective, as in 'blue-green'. Had P wished to say that in adverbial usage adjectives appear in the neuter singular accusative but nouns in the instrumental singular, he might have encountered a difficulty, in that he would have had to use his terms *sattivavacana* ('substantive') and *guṇavacana* ('adjective'), which elsewhere for him are *semantic* categories, as morphological categories.

3.3. Let us turn from what we might say to what P did say. His system includes a kind of nominal compound (which, strictly speaking, means a compound including at least one nominal stem) called the *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5–21). This is strictly a formal category: any indeclinable nominal compound is an *avyayībhāva*. Incidentally, an *avyayībhāva* is thus itself an *avyaya*, and therefore formally nominative. Most *avyayībhāvas* are in fact adverbs, and most of them have an indeclinable as first member. Exceptions to both these norms are *sūpapraṭi* 'a little soup' (formed by 2.1.9) and *trimuṇi* 'the three sages' (formed by 2.1.19), both nouns; in *sūpapraṭi* the indeclinable is the second member, in *trimuṇi* there is none. However, the typical *avyayībhāva* is indeed a word like *sajavam* 'speedily', an adverb with an indeclinable (here *sa*) as the first member, and many western grammars¹⁵ notice only this category.

3.3.1. Note that *all* indeclinable compounds rank as *avyayībhāva*, so that it is possible for a compound to belong to two categories. *Trimuṇi* is both *avyayībhāva* and *dvigu*; *daṇḍādāṇḍi* 'stick to stick' (e.g. a fight), formed by 2.2.27, is both *avyayībhāva* and *bahuvrīhi*. These rather outré examples are furnished by the tradition. I am about to argue that the same holds of much commoner kinds of words: that *vividhaprakāram* (our *ex.* (2)) is also both *avyayībhāva* and *bahuvrīhi*, and that an adverb like *asvasīghram* 'swiftly as a horse' is both *avyayībhāva* and *karmadhāraya*.

3.3.2. We now face the question whether our *exx.* (1) and (2) are accounted for by P. It seems to me that they are not. Certainly the concept of an adverb is not there, either as a logical, semantic category or as a formal grammatical category: there is no process for deriving adverbs from adjectives. Such words as *śīghram* and *mandam* must for P be indeclinables, and so should come into the *svarādi gaṇa*. But, even though this is an open *gaṇa*, this interpretation is far-fetched; for the kind of words which Sanskrit grammarians included in

¹³ These terms might be better translated 'particularizing' and 'particularized', but I have retained the translation which is in general use.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, especially pp. 28–9.

¹⁵ Even so careful a grammarian as Macdonell slips up quite badly on the *avyayībhāva*: he presents it as a sub-class of *karmadhāraya*! (A. A. Macdonell, *A Sanskrit grammar for students*, 175, § 188.3.a.) To over-simplify by presenting only the commonest kind of *avyayībhāva* is perhaps excusable in an elementary grammar, but it is bad to omit mention of the essential criterion by which a compound is so classified, namely that it is indeclinable.

the *gana* are not those simply derived from adjectives. Since any adjective can be thus turned into an adverb, the list, taking account only of unpounded words, would indeed be long!

3.3.3. The case is even more clear-cut with our ex. (2): as any *bahuvrīhi* can be turned into an adverb, the number of adverbs of this formal character is in fact infinite. Of this *avicalitakapolam* is a good example. Theoretically the same holds for adverbs based on *karmadhāraya* adjectives, like *asvaśighram*, but as these are less common I shall keep to *bahuvrīhi* examples. One may argue that the very free use of adverbs exemplified in *avicalitakapolam* was typical of later Sanskrit, not of the Sanskrit of P's day (whenever that was); but no one denies either that *avicalitakapolam* is correctly formed or that rather simpler examples like *vividhaprakāram* were known to P.

3.3.3.1. Is there any *sūtra* which would allow the formation of an *avyayībhāva* like *vividhaprakāram*? Only two *sūtras* allow for *avyayībhāvas* containing neither an indeclinable nor a numeral. 2.1.21 allows the formation of indeclinable proper names from *bahuvrīhi* compounds, e.g. *lohitaṅgam*, which would be a place name 'Red River'. Though this *sūtra* allows the derivation of an infinite number of *avyayībhāvas*, they would function as nouns, not adverbs, and are clearly not relevant to our quest. The only *sūtra* left which might help us is 2.1.17, *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca*, which says that the words in the list which starts with *tiṣṭhadgu* are *avyayībhāvas*. The reference is to a *gana*. *Tiṣṭhadgu* means 'while the cows are standing', and the *gana* begins with a list of temporal adverbs, many of an agricultural character; it then becomes a somewhat heterogeneous list and includes some adverbs of manner, e.g. *viṣamam* 'unevenly'. In the *Kv.* version, though not in that printed by Böhtlingk, it also includes *daṇḍādaṇḍi*, cited above in 3.3.1. But this is not an *ākṛti-gana* (see 3.1.1 above). It is a list of words, some of them decidedly curious, which do not invite imitation: one cannot generate analogical forms such as **tiṣṭhadasvam* 'while the horses are standing'. Thus, although this *sūtra* covers a few odd adverbs which would otherwise be missed, it by no means meets the case.

3.3.4. We turn now to our third category of examples, of which *javena* and *akramena* are instances. First we must justify the choice only of instrumental examples, for the example of *cira-* (3.1.3 above) shows that, to our way of thinking, Sanskrit has adverbial formations in every oblique case.¹⁶ However, those in the dative and genitive are very few and sporadic, while those in the ablative and locative are deducible from the uses prescribed for those cases.¹⁷ One would have expected the use of nouns in the instrumental as adverbs of manner to be sanctioned by P, but it is not.

3.3.4.1. The main meanings P assigns to the instrumental case are agent and instrument (2.3.18: *karṭṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*) and cause (2.3.23: *hetau*). But if the horse runs swiftly, it is not 'because of' or 'by means of' swiftness. Certainly K felt that there was a deficiency, for to 2.3.18 he appended the *vārtika*: *tṛtīyāvīdhāne prakṛtyādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*: 'in prescribing the instrumental case, supplement, because of words like *prakṛtyā* ("by nature")'. To illustrate this *vārtika*, Pat. supplies a rather heterogeneous list of phrases containing words in the instrumental in adverbial usage, e.g. *prakṛtyā darsanīyah*

¹⁶ For a longer discussion of 'Case-forms used as adverbs', see W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit grammar*, §§ 1110-17. Most adverbial forms are singular; an example of a plural form is *uccaiḥ* 'aloud'.

¹⁷ This may be why *cira* is not in the *svarāḍi gana*; but in that case *cirāt* should not be there either, as both forms could be derived from a noun *cīram* by 2.3.7.

'naturally handsome'; *samena dhāvati* 'he runs evenly'; *viṣamena dhāvati* 'he runs unevenly'. However, even this list is far from covering the adverbial use of the instrumental *in general*. The usages in it are peculiar ones, e.g. *samena* and *viṣamena* are adverbial instrumentals formed from adjectives not from nouns. Note that *viṣamena* is thus quite differently classified from the synonymous compound adverb *viṣamam*, which we met in the *tiṣṭhadgu gaṇa* above (3.3.3.1). So this *vārtika* does not account for usages like *javena* and *akramena*, common though they are.

3.3.4.2. Though the tradition seems to have nothing further to say about our ex. (3), it may be worth making an observation about their use in Sanskrit. All such instrumentals may be transformed, with perfect synonymity and grammatical correctitude, into *avyayibhāvas* beginning with *sa*, or, in the case of negatives, with *nih*. Thus *javena* in this usage is interchangeable with *sajavam*, *ādareṇa* with *sādaram* ('respectfully'), and *akramena* with *niṣkramam*. One might have expected a further transformational possibility by which one could form a *bahuvrīhi* adjective agreeing with the subject of the verb: **aśvo sajavo dhāvati*. But this is in fact bad Sanskrit, because P 2.2.28, which lays down the use of *sa* and *saha* in *bahuvrīhis*, says that the usage is confined to cases of 'equal application' (*tulyayoge*). This means that there must be two items: *aśvaḥ sasārathīr āgataḥ* 'the horse came with the charioteer' is correct; but the horse cannot come 'with speed' in the same sense: speed and horse are not on an equal footing. Though I am not aware of a rule prescribing it, the negative corollary apparently holds: *akramena jalpati* can be transformed into *niṣkramam jalpati* but not into **niṣkramo jalpati*. This serves to show that what I persist, despite lack of justification in P, in calling an adverb really is felt in the language to be qualifying the verb, not the subject.

3.4. To summarize: words which appear to us to be adverbs, or used adverbially, are heterogeneously classified by P. True, all come into the category of *subanta*, but that category embraces all words but finite verbs, so it does not advance us very far. Certain simple (i.e. uncompound) adverbs are listed as *avyaya* in the *Ganapāṭha*, but very few of those which appear to us to be derived from adjectives or nouns current elsewhere in the language figure in that list—and indeed it fits P's (implicit) theory of what an *avyaya* is that this should be so. A few more adverbs of time are added by 5.3.22. Applying P's explicit criterion for the *avyaya* as simply an indeclinable word, it is possible to argue that he took all adverbs to be *avyaya*, but this is implausible, and certainly the tradition did not argue for it. P laid down the rules for deriving all compound adverbs which begin with indeclinables, and a few more (e.g. *tiṣṭhadgu*); for the rest one has to argue as for the simple adverbs such as *śighram*. As for case usages, there is no explanation of the use of nouns in the instrumental as adverbs (usually adverbs of manner). P does not have an adverbial accusative at all; for him all indeclinables, including adverbs, are nominative—though we must remember that by this he does not imply that they can be or can agree with the subject of a sentence.

LATER GRAMMARIANS

4. The Sanskrit term for 'adverb' is *kriyā-viśeṣaṇam*, which literally means '(word) qualifying an action/verb'. The first use of this word seems to be in Patañjali,¹⁸ and even he uses it only in one passage.¹⁹ When Kātyāyana offers

¹⁸ The St. Petersburg lexicon quotes it from no authority earlier than the *Kv.*, and with a wrong reference at that.

¹⁹ I rely on S. D. Pathak, *Word index to Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya*, Poona, 1927.

his first definition of a sentence (*vārtika* 9 on P 2.1.1), *ākhyātam sāvyaayakāra-kaviśeṣaṇam vākyam*, which Joshi translates, 'A finite verb, together with indeclinable and noun (i.e. operator) and noun-qualifying word, receives the designation "sentence"',²⁰ Pat. adds *sakriyāviśeṣaṇam ceti vaktavyam*. However, we cannot simply translate this as 'with adverb'²¹ too'. Firstly, K and Pat. are still using P's category of *avyaya*: to illustrate this very definition of a sentence Pat. gives the example *uccaiḥ paṭhati*, 'he recites aloud'. In English we would call *uccaiḥ* an adverb, but it is an *avyaya*, not a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*. Thus *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* is a category narrower than our 'adverb' in at least one respect. Secondly, it is not definite that Pat. is referring just to adverbs in the narrow grammatical sense of words in the accusative singular neuter (see our opening quotation from Burrow and next section). The examples he gives are *suṣṭhu pacati* and *duṣṭhu pacati*, 'he cooks well' and 'he cooks badly'; these do not have corresponding adjectives, and presumably it is the mere historical accident that in Pat.'s time they were not in the *svarāḍi* list²² which disqualifies them from being classed as indeclinables like *tūṣṇīm*, *ciram* and *uccaiḥ*. Pat. then reports someone else's suggestion that it would be enough to define the sentence as *ākhyātam saviśeṣaṇam*, 'a finite verb with qualifying word(s)', because 'all these'—by which he can only mean *avyaya*, *kāraka* and *viśeṣaṇa*—are *kriyāviśeṣaṇāni*. If a *kāraka* can be a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*, the latter term here has a far broader referent than 'adverb'; it must have the general sense of 'qualifying an action'. Perhaps also in the previous line we should translate *sakriyāviśeṣaṇam ca* as 'with action-qualifying word too'; of course, such a word will usually be an adverb, but the definition is looser than 'verb-qualifying word'; maybe it is broader too, and would cover *javena* as well as *vividhaprakāram*, but I do not insist on this point.

From this discussion I conclude: (i) that certain words which semantically function as adverbs were never grammatically (morphologically) so interpreted, because they happen to be listed in the *Gaṇapāṭha* as indeclinables; (ii) that it is unlikely that even in Pat. the word *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* is yet a technical term referring exclusively to adverbs in the accusative singular neuter.

5. We find the same position in Bhartṛhari. Unfortunately most of his commentary on Pat. is lost, so evidence is sparse. Chapters 2 and 3 of the *Vākyapadīya* deal with syntax and semantics, and one might have expected some mention of adverbs. But in classifying the parts of speech Bh. retains Yāska's four categories and never mentions adverbs. He does talk about words 'qualifying actions', but in the same broad sense as Pat., and in the same context at that. Thus at 2.71 he speaks of *kriyā viśiṣṭā*, 'the qualified action', and the context makes it clear that *viśiṣṭā* refers to all words qualifying the action, e.g. the nouns—just as in the definition *ākhyātam saviśeṣaṇam* quoted in the previous section. Raghavan Pillai²³ here translates *kriyā* as 'action (i.e. the meaning of a verb)'. At 2.5 Bh. says that a vocative qualifies the action (*sambodhanapadam kriyāyā viśeṣakam*), and there is even a variant reading *kriyāyā viśeṣaṇam*, but the context is much the same: Bh., in order to solve a problem in the application of rules for accentuation, is just concerned to integrate the vocative into the sentence as one of the things that can go

²⁰ S. D. Joshi, *Paṭanjali's Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya, Samarthāhnikā*, Poona, 1968, 106.

²¹ I gloss over the fact that the compound could also mean 'with adverbs' in the plural.

²² *Suṣṭhu* and *duṣṭhu* occur as Nos. 123 and 145 in the *svarāḍi gaṇa* printed by Bohtlingk in his edition of P, but they are not in the critical edition of Kv. (see note 11 above), so would seem to be medieval additions.

²³ K. Raghavan Pillai, *The Vākyapadīya*, Delhi, etc., 1971.

with the verb. Raghavan Pillai is therefore wrong²⁴ to translate *kriyāyā viśeṣakam* as 'adverb'—even though the commentator Puṇyārāja mentions here that adverbs are accusative and neuter (*kriyāviśeṣaṇānām karmatvaṃ napuṃsakatā ca*)—and from our point of view the passage is a red herring. Thus, though both Pat. and Bh. use the term *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* or a very close synonym, these words do not correspond to 'adverb' as either a logical or a grammatical category.

6. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* ('Benares commentary') on P discusses adverbs in its comment on P 4.4.28, and makes a valiant effort to show that the *sūtra*—on which neither K nor Pat. commented—refers to certain adverbs which end in -am as accusatives. The *sūtra* is *tat praty anupūrvam īpalomakūlam*, and we read in *ṭhak* from 4.4.1 and *varṭate* from 4.4.27. *ṭhak* is meta-language for the suffix -ka or -ika with strengthening of a short first syllable; thus the rule derives *prātīpika* 'adverse to' from *prātīpam*.

tad iti dvitīyā samarthavibhaktiḥ. prati anu ity evampūrvabhyaḥ īpalomakūla-śabdebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo varṭate ity etasminn arthe ṭhakpratyayo bhavati. nanu ca vṛtīr akarmakāḥ tasya katham karmaṇā sambandhaḥ? kriyāviśeṣaṇam akarmakāṇām api karma bhavati. prātīpam varṭate prātīpikāḥ. . . 'The word *tad* is a syntactic accusative. [*Samarthavibhakti* is a technical term in the *taddhita* section of P, meaning the case in which the word from which the derivation is made is to be understood. Therefore *Kv.* means that the *sūtra* is operating on the accusative form *prātīpam*.] The suffix *ṭhak* is used in the sense "is" after the words *īpa*, *loma* and *kūla* in the syntactic accusative preceded by *prati* or *anu*. Objection: the root *vṛt* ("be") is intransitive, so how can it be connected with an object? Answer: an adverb is the object even of intransitive verbs. He is adverse [using the adverb *prātīpam*]: *prātīpikāḥ* "adverse" [the adjective].'

6.1. First let us note that the *Kv.* here uses the word *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*, and that I have translated it 'adverb', because it does designate a grammatical category: adverbs formed by adding neuter singular terminations, whether these are interpreted as accusative or nominative (see below). The term thus covers our examples (1) and (2) only. It is narrower than our term 'adverb', as in section 4, conclusion i; but it is no longer also broader, as it was in section 4, conclusion ii.

6.2. *Kv.*'s interpretation of the *sūtra* is perverse. It is far simpler to interpret *tad* as a nominative and the subject of *varṭate*. It is true that *prātīpikāḥ* is derived from the adverb *prātīpam*, but as *prātīpam* in fact has no other cases, P need not specify to which case (semantically) the affix is to be added. An even graver objection to *Kv.*'s interpretation is that for P *prātīpam* is not an accusative but a nominative; so even if *tat* in the *sūtra* should be accusative, it must be for some other reason than that given by *Kv.* 6.3. For *Kv.*, adverbs are accusative, because it has a syntactic theory of their use. They qualify the sense of the verbal root (*dhātvartha*), which is neuter singular, and they are in the accusative because that sense is always present as what we call an 'internal' accusative, whether the verb be transitive or intransitive. Thus one 'goes to a village' (*grāmaṃ gacchati*), but one also 'goes a going' (*gamanaṃ gacchati*), and the adverb, e.g. *śighram*, qualifies that 'going'. So far as I know, *Kv.* alludes to this theory of the adverb only in this passage.

6.4. *Kv.* apparently has nothing to add about our ex. (3), the instrumental used as an adverb of manner.

²⁴ Ibid., 163, n. 37.

7. The *Kv.* view of adverbs does not appear to have been embodied in a rule for their formation²⁵ till the twelfth century. Then rules were formulated by the Jain grammarian Hemacandra (1088–172) in western India and in eastern India by his approximate contemporary Śīradeva, who was probably a Buddhist.²⁶ However, I am unable to follow Cardona²⁷ when he presents as two separate possibilities getting the accusative singular neuter termination (a) by a rule, or (b) by semantic analysis; surely the two are not *pari passu*, but the rule is formed in accordance with the semantic analysis.

7.1. Hemacandra in his *Śabdānuśāsana* simply rules that adverbs are accusative: 2.2.41 *kriyāviśeṣanāt*; read in *dvitīyā* from 2.2.31. In his own brief commentary he gives the examples *stokaṃ pacati*, 'he cooks a little', and *sukhaṃ sthātā*, 'he will stay comfortably'.

7.2. Śīradeva's *Bṛhatparibhāṣāvṛtti* was much read till the eighteenth century, when it was eclipsed by Nāgeśa's *Paribhāṣendusekhara*. Strictly speaking, a *paribhāṣā* is a rule for interpreting other rules, i.e. a meta-rule. However, medieval collections of *paribhāṣās* also added new first-order rules they felt to be required, just as K added his *vārtikas*. So though Śīradeva's rule about adverbs is technically called a *paribhāṣā*, its logical status is that of a *vārtika*.

7.2.1. *Paribhāṣā* 54²⁸ reads: *kriyāviśeṣanānām karmatvam napumsakalingatā ca*: 'Adverbs are accusative, and neuter in gender'. Their being in the singular he evidently regards as too obvious to be worth mentioning.

7.2.2. Śīradeva himself comments on this rule at some length, to justify the statement that adverbs are accusative (not nominative). Basically he makes two points, and the same points are taken up by his successors Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and Haribhāṣaka. To present these texts with enough explanation to make them intelligible would make this article far too long, for they deal with abstruse technicalities of grammar and logic (*navyanyāya*).

7.2.2.1. Luckily Cardona has already covered the first of the two points.²⁹ It is a minutia of grammar. P rules that certain pronominal forms, when anaphoric, are merely permissible if preceded by a word, not itself initial in the sentence, which is in the nominative, but obligatory if the preceding word is other than nominative. These conditions are so complicated that there may be no evidence in spontaneous Sanskrit usage, i.e. in the extant Sanskrit of P's day. The point is scholastic, so it is not surprising if the examples the grammarians use sound scholastic. To decide whether in the sentence 'So in the village he cooks softly for you' (Śīradeva's example) we have to say *te* ('for you') or are also allowed *tava*, we need to know whether *mṛdu* ('softly') is nominative or not. Śīradeva's opinion is that we are *not* allowed *tava*, so that *mṛdu* cannot be nominative.

Cardona writes that this abstruse point is 'the only reason one might wish to have these forms derived with an accusative ending instead of a nominative ending'. That is not well put. It is the only *practical difference* made by one's decision on the case of the adverb. The *reason*, however, is the semantic analysis we have already met in *Kv.* (6.3 above), which, somewhat elaborated, constitutes Śīradeva's second point. Though Śīradeva says that the adverb

²⁵ In this section (7) it will be convenient, and unambiguous, to use 'adverb' as a simple equivalent of *kriyāviśeṣana*. Though in theory all that is said could apply also to my category (2), in fact grammarians before Haribhāṣaka give examples only of my type (1).

²⁶ I have no other source of information than K. V. Abhyankar, *Paribhāṣāsamgraha*, Poona, 1967, 29–30.

²⁷ Op. cit., 88.

²⁸ Abhyankar, op. cit., 221.

²⁹ Op. cit., 90.

cannot be nominative *because* we are not allowed *tava*, his real reasoning seems to be the other way round. This argument only concerns the case of the adverb, not its gender and number, and the semantic theory is still needed to account for those.

7.2.2.2. Śiradeva's second point, the rationale for the accusative singular neuter, is basically that of the *Kv.*, to which indeed he refers, but by now it has become much more complex. That action which is the object of a verb (as in 'he goes a going') has been dissected into several stages³⁰: desiring the result of an action, seeing the action as conducive to that result, resolving on the action, etc. Another kind of analysis, which originates with Bhartṛhari, is also relevant. A sentence is seen as changing a situation from A to B. When it begins, some elements in the situation are already the case, *siddha* 'accomplished', while others are to become the case, *sādhya* 'to be accomplished': the sentence gets us from A to B. Normally nouns are *siddha* and verbs are *sādhya*: in the sentence 'Hari cooks rice in the village', Hari, rice and village are already there before the sentence begins, so are *siddha*, but the cooking is to be done, *sādhya*. Now we analyse *pacati* 'cooks' as *pākaṃ/pacikriyāṃ karoti* 'does (the action of) cooking'. Is the noun 'cooking' *siddha* or *sādhya*? Śiradeva argues, in the spirit of *Kv.*, that essentially the action is still *sādhya* and can be accusative, and so is qualified by the accusative adverb. But another analysis is possible: *odanam pākena pacati* 'he cooks the rice by cooking'.³¹ Here cooking is the means, *sādhana/karana/nimitta*, as such in the instrumental, and *siddha*. This point, which is urged by an imaginary opponent, Śiradeva does not rebut outright, but concludes that the different parts or stages of the action are *sādhana* though its meaning is still *siddha*. We can see that he is dangerously near to letting the meaning of the verb be conceptualized as instrumental, and if this were to happen there would be nothing left for the accusative adverb to agree with.

7.3. The next grammarian to comment on the problem, Nilakanṭha Dikṣita, was a pupil of a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, author of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, and wrote a commentary on it; nevertheless, Abhyankar³² dates him to the first half of the seventeenth century, the same period as Bhaṭṭoji. In *paribhāṣā* 134³³ of his *Paribhāṣāṇṭī* he gives the rule that adverbs are accusative singular neuter, and then in his brief commentary attacks it as pointless. He raises four objections to it: (i) in the sentence *jyotiṣṭomena yajeta* 'one should sacrifice with the *jyotiṣṭoma* (the name of a particular sacrifice)', the *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* is in the instrumental; (ii) an earlier rule has already established that it is the object, i.e. accusative, when it qualifies the result; (iii) the principle that the neuter is the gender of generality establishes it as neuter; (iv) since it qualifies an action it is only logical that it be singular. Objections ii-iv are that the *paribhāṣā* is redundant, whereas the first is that it is in some cases wrong.

7.3.1. The second objection refers to yet another logical analysis of sentences, that into transaction (*vyāpāra*) and result (*phala*). Nilakanṭha's assumption that adverbs qualify the result suggests that he has in mind such examples as *mṛdu pacati*, which means 'he cooks (something) till it is soft'.

³⁰ S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen, *Paṇinī's Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya, Kārikāhnikā*, Poona, 1975, 123-4, and G. Cardona, op. cit., § 5B2b, 88-9.

³¹ This is a valid example in English, but would lose its validity if translated directly into Sanskrit, which has different words for raw and cooked rice, and no word common to rice in both states. In the sentence *pacati odanam*, 'he cooks (boiled) rice', the noun *odanam* is *sādhya*.

³² Op. cit., 30.

³³ Ibid., 315.

7.3.2. There are two possible explanations of the first objection. The simpler one is that Nilakanṭha is reverting to the broader sense of *kriyāviśeṣana* which we met in Pat. and Bh. To this interpretation one might object that *kriyāviśeṣanas* in that sense can be in any case; why single out the instrumental? A possible reply would be that Nilakanṭha is worried by our ex. (3) and is offering *jyotiṣṭomena* as an adverb of manner; but in view of what has been said at 3.3.4.1 above I find this unconvincing.

There is a different possible explanation, independent of the first but not incompatible with it. We saw above that *pāka* ('cooking') can be conceptualized as the meaning of the root *pac* ('cook'), and then be thought of as the instrument of an action, and hence in the instrumental. The same is true of *yāga* ('sacrificing') and the root *yaj* ('sacrifice'), and as *yāga* also means 'a sacrifice' it is intuitively easy for us to see in English how one can be said to sacrifice 'with a sacrifice' (*yāgena*). But the sacrifice is also the result (*phala*) of the sacrificing transaction (*vyāpāra*), which is called *yajikriyā* (cf. *pacikriyā* in 7.2.2 above). *Jyotiṣṭomena*, as a *kind* of sacrifice, qualifies *yāgena*, and thus we see that a word can qualify the result of an action and yet be in the instrumental.

7.4. Taken in isolation, the above explanation may seem over-elaborate, not to say tortuous. But it is the reasoning applied by our next author, Haribhāskara, so it is plausible to read it back into his close predecessor. Abhyankar says³⁴ that Haribhāskara's aim in his *Paribhāṣābhāskara* was to explain Siradeva 'lucidly and briefly'. His comment on the *kriyāviśeṣana paribhāṣā* (No. 56)³⁵ exemplifies neither adverb, but is interesting, for he in effect sorts adverbs (still in the most restricted sense) into three categories.

7.4.1. First he agrees with Siradeva, and for the latter's reasons, that in *mṛḍu pacati* the adverb *mṛḍu* must be neuter singular accusative.

7.4.2. He then says that it is necessary to specify that adverbs are neuter in order that stems of variable gender (i.e. what we call adjectives) become neuter when used adverbially; this will not apply to words of fixed gender (i.e. nouns). To bolster this novel argument he produces the strange sentence *ādīm pacati*, which does not look like normal Sanskrit but would presumably mean 'he cooks first'. Haribhāskara thus seems to be the first grammarian to posit an 'adverbial accusative'—and perhaps he was also the last. There is at least one valid example of this construction in Sanskrit which is quite common: the word *kāmam*, 'at will'. Why did he not use it? Bimal Matilal has suggested to me that as the final *-am* of *kāmam*, though masculine, formally coincides with the neuter, Haribhāskara chose an *-i* stem, in which the accusative could be seen not to be neuter.

7.4.3. Finally³⁶ he discusses the sentence *jyotiṣṭomena bhaktipūrvam yajeta* 'one should sacrifice devotedly with the *jyotiṣṭoma*'. So far as concerns *jyotiṣṭomena* he follows the second line of reasoning given in 7.3.2 above. What about *bhaktipūrvam*? Here Haribhāskara has recourse to a traditional distinction, going all the way back to Yāska, that verbs are mainly *bhāva* ('becoming') and nouns are mainly *sattva* ('being'). Only *sattva* can have a case relationship (*kāraka*). Here from the verb *yajeta* we can extrapolate the noun *yāga*; that is qualified by *jyotiṣṭoma*, not by *bhaktipūrvam*. We can also extrapolate 'the action of sacrificing', *yajikriyā*, but that is irreducibly verbal, i.e. *bhāva*,

³⁴ Ibid., 34.

³⁵ Ibid., 347.

³⁶ I am grateful to Professor B. K. Matilal for his help with this argument, part of which has appeared at 7.3.2 above.

and so has no case relationship. Since *bhaktipūrvam* qualifies that, it too can have no case relationship, so it cannot be an object, so it cannot be accusative. So it must be nominative. Why? Because the nominative is the residual case (see 3.1.2, above).

7.5. Finally Nāgeśa (*fl.* c. 1700), the greatest of the *paribhāṣā* writers, restores order to the subject. He declares³⁷ adverbs to be nominative, and thus formally unites our exx. (1) and (2) with our exx. (4), (5) and (6).

8. In following the trail of the *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* we have passed by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, as it has nothing to contribute on that topic. But we must return to it briefly for a last word relevant to our exx. (5) and (6). As it is a rearrangement of P, with commentarial amplification, no new developments are to be expected. But in commenting on P 1.1.37 (chapter 14, rule 447) Bhaṭṭoji adds to the *svarāḍī gaṇa*: *upasarga-vibhakti-svara-pratirūpakāś ca* 'also what look like (but are not) prepositional prefixes, words ending in case terminations, and vowels'. The second category, words which look as if they ended in case terminations, looks interesting: *prima facie* this could be construed as an attempt to bring all adverbs under one rubric. (For the argument why adverbs can be said to have no real case termination, see 3.1.2-3, above.) Unfortunately this does not seem (*pace* Cardona)³⁸ to be what Bhaṭṭoji has in mind. He gives the example *ahamyaṇi* ('egoistic'), where *aham* looks like a nominative, but by the theory of compound formation cannot really be one, as it should have lost its case affix, and must therefore be merely *vibhakti-pratirūpaka*. The further example *astikṣīra* suggests that the term *vibhakti* here covers also finite verb terminations, for *asti* here 'looks like' a finite verb, but by the theory of compound formation cannot be one.

CONCLUSION

9. From the point of view of comparative philology, the case of the adverb, our exx. (1) and (2), is of course accusative: Latin *nōmen*, Greek *ὄνομα*, Sanskrit *nāma*, 'by name', are adverbial accusatives,³⁹ also called accusatives of respect. However, Sanskrit grammar does not recognize this construction. The only grammarian we have encountered who envisaged a noun's being used in the adverbial accusative was the seventeenth-century writer Haribhāskara, and he introduced it in an apologetic context, with a rather implausible example. We suggested that as a better example he might have adduced *kāmam* ('at will'); but by his day *kāmam* was included in the *svarāḍī* list as an indeclinable, so he might not have felt free to derive it from the masculine noun *kāma*. This lack of recognition of the adverbial accusative construction corresponds to the fact that it is not freely productive in Sanskrit. S. D. Laddu⁴⁰ has drawn attention to an exception which (in the correct sense) proves this rule: *svacchandaḥ pibati rasam* (*Kuṭṭanāmata*, 714a). Here *svacchandaḥ*, apparently in the adverbial accusative, is a perfect synonym of *kāmam*.

Sanskrit grammar never evolved a description of adverbs or adverbial

³⁷ *Laghustabdendusekhara*, ed. Rāma Śāstri Mānavallī and Bhāradvāja Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, Benares, 1887, 313.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, § 5A, 88.

³⁹ Gonda in fact considers these forms nominative, but in this he is idiosyncratic. Jan Gonda, 'Some notes on adverbial case forms in the Veda', in Claus Vogel (ed.), *Jñānamuktāvalī: commemoration volume in honour of Johannes Nobel, Sarasvatī Vihara Series 38*, New Delhi, 1959, 66-76.

⁴⁰ 'On the recording of forms, indicating the parts of speech, and some other points', in A. M. Ghatage, R. N. Dandekar and M. A. Mehendale (ed.), *Studies in historical Sanskrit lexicography*, Poona, 1973, 73-5.

usage to unify our six examples. True, according to the broad definition of the term first found in Pat. they are all *kriyāviśeṣaṇa*; but so are any other nominal or pronominal words in a sentence. The medieval definition, first found in *Kv.*, aims at something very like our 'adverb', but only covers our exx. (1) and (2); (3) is ignored; and (4)–(6) are left outside the definition, being bracketed as indeclinables. Of this latter group, (4) alone is seen as a product of morphological formation (*prakriyā*); (5) and (6) are not analysed. The medieval grammarians attempt a *prakriyā* of exx. (1) and (2), and define them as neuter singular accusative; but they have abandoned P's pure formalism and wish to reason out the formation by semantic analysis, and this leads in Haribhāskara to the unsatisfactory conclusion that some adverbs can be analysed as accusative while others, formally similar, cannot. The solution is to return to formalism: exx. (1) and (2) end up, with (4)–(6), as nominatives, the nominative being the residual case.

The parallel with the western grammarians' view is striking. Gonda, following Delbrück, writes⁴¹ that 'the accusative, in opposition to the other *casus obliqui*, expresses an unspecified or unqualified relationship of a noun or a pronoun to a verb or another noun', and adds that 'those accusatives which, having petrified, adopted the character of adverbs may be expected to express the same vague, general, indeterminate relation'. Thus both traditions have concluded that adverbs are nominal stems with a case ending which is formally residual, semantically indeterminate.

bhaktipūrvam ahaṃ vande bhāṣāvidyālayaṃ gurum.

⁴¹ Op. cit., 68.

DIFFERENCES IN THE RITUALS OF THE RGVEDIC FAMILIES

By J. GONDA

Scholars seem to be almost unanimous in admitting that there must have existed striking differences between the ritual institutions which are more or less clearly alluded to in the hymns of the *R̥gveda-saṃhitā* and the systematized rituals described and discussed in the *brāhmaṇas* and ritual *sūtras*.¹ It has even been surmised ² that in *rgvedic* times there did not yet exist one elaborated and practically homogeneous ritual system. The probabilities would rather be in favour of the supposition that the chief Vedic families—in the first place those to which we owe some important collections of hymns—performed divine service according to substantially parallel but partly divergent traditions of their own, which, however, did not fail to influence each other. Evidence of these differences is expected from a careful comparison of the relevant facts found in the so-called family books of the *R̥gveda*.

That there did exist ritual differences between the chief *rgvedic* families and groups of worshippers is indeed according to expectation. First, because in the later Vedic period divergent ritual and textual particulars appear to have given rise to the development of numerous 'schools', traditions ³ and groups of worshippers; and secondly, because in the ritual of one and the same school exceptions to general rules or ordinary practices are sometimes made for members of a definite family.⁴ In corroboration of the thesis that the ritual reflected by the family books ⁵ was not completely homogeneous, attention has been invited ⁶ to the presence in the collection of the *Viśvāmitras* (book III) of some liturgical *sūktas* which have no counterparts in other family books; e.g. 3, 8; 28; 52. Moreover, the metres, which were closely associated with definite divisions of the ritual, and definite priestly functions seem to a certain extent to have been a subject for disagreement.⁷ For instance, the *āprī* *sūktas* ⁸ 2, 3; 3, 4 and 7, 2 are in the *triṣṭubh*, 5, 5 in the *gāyatrī* metre.

Now, as always in historical studies, what can be attempted is largely

¹ Abbreviations used: *ĀiĀ* — *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*; *ĀpŚS* — *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*; *BhŚS* — *Bhāradvājaśrautasūtra*; *JB* — *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa*; *KāthGS* — *Kāthakagrhyasūtra*; *KātyŚS* — *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra*; *KB* — *Kauṣītaki-* or *Śāṅkhāyanabrāhmaṇa*; *KhGS* — *Khādīragrhyasūtra*; *PB* — *Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa*; *RV* — *R̥gvedasamhitā*; *RVKh.* — *R̥gvedakhila*; *SB* — *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*; *ŚŚS* — *Śāṅkhāyanashrautasūtra*; *TB* — *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*; *TS* — *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*; *VS* — *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*.

² See especially A. Bergaigne, 'Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique', *Journal asiatique*, VIII, 13, Paris, 1889, 5 ff., 121 ff.; and recently T. Ja. Elizarenkova, *R̥gveda*, Moscow, 1972, 37 f.

³ I refer to J. Gonda, *Vedic literature* (A History of Indian Literature, I, 1), Wiesbaden, 1975, 29 f.

⁴ See, e.g., for a ritual peculiarity of the *Bhāradvāja* family—which developed into a 'school' with *sūtra* works of their own (J. Gonda, *The ritual sūtras* (A History of Indian Literature, I, 2), Wiesbaden, 1977, 518)—*ĀpŚS* 1, 14, 10. A modification of the full and new moon sacrifices (*KB* 4, 6, 1–11 Sarma; *ŚŚS* 3, 11, 1 ff.; *ĀpŚS* 3, 17, 12) was called after *Vasiṣṭha*; a similar modification was customary in the *Dāksāyana* family (*ĀpŚS* 3, 17, 4); and see *ĀpŚS* 22, 18, 12; 14. Compare also references such as *ĀpŚS* 2, 16, 5 (see also 24, 6, 13); 5, 11, 7. For special initiatives, achievements, situations of founders or members of families bearing upon ritual see e.g. *SB* 4, 3, 4, 21; *PB* 6, 6, 8; 11; *JB* 1, 80; *KātyŚS* 10, 2, 21; — *KātyŚS* 1, 9, 3; *ĀśvGS* 17, 9; — *ĀpŚS* 10, 20, 12; *BhŚS* 1, 15, 11; *KhGS* 2, 1, 17; 24; *KāthGS* 40, 2 ff.; *ĀiĀ* 1, 2, 2.

⁵ For reasons of space I shall confine myself to *R̥gveda* II–VII.

⁶ Bergaigne, op. cit., 20 ff.

⁷ See Gonda, op. cit., 177; Bergaigne, op. cit., 16; 18.

⁸ See below.

determined by the range of source material available. It may be true that the maṇḍalas II-VII fill several hundred pages and are an irreplaceable mine of information on religious belief and practice, but there are many aspects of religious life in the Vedic past left largely untouched in that source material and therefore inaccessible to examination. How far, therefore, will it be possible to gauge the extent of differences between groups within the same population and the same religion? It should be clear that the silence of the poets belonging to a definite family as to certain points of religious or ritual interest cannot be explained as proving that family to be unacquainted with these customs or practices. No Vedic group can be expected to give a more or less complete account of its religious ceremonial within the compass of forty or even eighty pages of hymns. Too often Vedic scholars have been inclined to rely on the *argumentum e silentio*. Only if two or more family books furnish us with pieces of information that are absolutely incompatible with one another can we be reasonably confident that, at least with respect to the relevant details, these families used different ceremonies or believed in different methods of worshipping the gods.

Leaving out of account those many functions, terms and concepts which the maṇḍalas II-VII have in common and the parallels between these books and the other parts of the R̥gveda-saṃhitā I propose to sketch some of the questions to be considered when a study of these problems is attempted.

Attention has more than once been drawn to the priestly functions mentioned in the Saṃhitā and their incomplete correspondence with the officiants of the later ritual.⁹ As to the *adhvaryu*, this appellation occurs (17 times) in the singular, in all maṇḍalas except VII; (35 times) in the plural,¹⁰ in all maṇḍalas except VI; and once (2, 16, 5) in the dual. If the poet of 2, 16, 5 refers to the same pair of functionaries as *KātyŚrS* 9, 8, 9, the *adhvaryu* and his first assistant of the later ritual, there called *pratiprasthātā*, may be meant (see also Sāyaṇa on *RV* 2, 16, 5 and the commentary on *KātyŚrS*).¹¹ If so, the conclusion that the presence of this helper in the *adhvaryu*'s occupation was a peculiarity of the ritual as performed by the Gṛtsamadas may be worth considering. I would, however, be very reluctant to believe that the Bharadvājas never spoke of *adhvaryavaḥ* (in the plural), and the Vasiṣṭhas never of one single officiant of that name. Nor could I readily subscribe to the thesis that the ṛgvedic *adhvaryu*, who in a large majority of cases is said to occupy himself with the offering of soma to Indra (or sometimes to another god), was only in the ritual of the Vasiṣṭhas entrusted with the cleaning and sprinkling of the *barhīs* (only 7, 2, 4) and concerned with the *pravargya* ritual (7, 103, 8 in a simile), or only in the Atri family employed to operate the pressing stones (5, 31, 12). In view of the fact that *adhvaryus* are described as offering soma to Vāyu also in 1, 135, 3; 6 and 8, 101, 10, the conclusion that the 'families' other than the Atris (5, 43, 3) and the Vasiṣṭhas (7, 90, 1) did not present the draught to this god would be as hasty as the inference, on the strength of 2, 5, 6 and 3, 5, 4 that only two families believed that Agni, who is so often called a *hotar*, could also function as an *adhvaryu*. It seems, on the other hand, difficult to refute the supposition that the five *adhvaryus* in the curious and

⁹ See e.g. A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series, XXXI-XXXII), Cambridge, Mass., 1925, I, 294 f.

¹⁰ Which in *ApŚS* 10, 29, 7 denotes the *adhvaryu* and his assistants; in the R̥gveda the singular may have had a somewhat more general meaning.

¹¹ For another use of the dual (in connexion with the Aśvins) see *RVKh.* 5, 7, 5, 11; *VS* 14, 1-5; *TS* 2, 6, 4, 1, etc.

isolated reference at 3, 7, 7 were, unlike the other 'group of priests'¹² with which they are coupled, as such not generally recognized by those who contributed their poems to the family books.

As to the other officiants, the term *hotar*—often applied to Agni—is also frequent in the maṇḍalas II–VII; no importance should be attached to the comparative rarity of its compounds such as *hotrvūrya* 'election of the hotar' (only 6, 70, 4); *hotram* 'the function or office of the hotar' is found only in II and III. The name *maitrāvaruṇa* of one of the *hotar*'s assistants in the later ritual is wanting but *prasāstar*, another name of this functionary, does occur (2, 5, 4) in a sūkta dealing with 'functional identifications'¹³; another name, *upavaktar*, occurs at 4, 9, 5 and 6, 71, 5; mention of the *udgātār* is made at 2, 43, 2, of the *sāmagā* at 2, 43, 1, of the *neṣtar* at 2, 5, 5 (cf. 2, 37, 3; 4), of the *potar* at 2, 5, 2; 4, 9, 3; 7, 16, 5; for an allusion to the *brahman* see 2, 5, 3, to the *agnīdhra* 2, 36, 4. No conclusions based on the *argumentum e silentio*—for instance as to a larger number of officiants employed by the Gṛtsamadas or Vāmadevas and to different stages in the development of the rituals—should be ventured. As already observed by Bergaigne¹⁴ the absence of the names *acchāvāka* and *brāhmaṇācchamsin*¹⁵ should not necessarily induce us to infer that their functions were unknown to the ṛgvedic Indians. The term *purohita* denoting the person who by being 'placed before' wards off evil and fulfils priestly functions is applied to Agni and other gods in II, III, V, VI; *purohiti*, his function, occurs at 7, 60, 12; 83, 4, but *purāṣ* and forms of the verb *dhā-* in all six maṇḍalas. The conclusion that the Vasisthas—whose ancestor was king Sudās's priest—did not know the term *purohita* would be absurd.

Although references to the soma draught are very numerous the family books contribute little to our knowledge of the process of its preparation.¹⁶ The conclusion that it was largely unknown to the poets of II–VII is as unacceptable as for instance the supposition that the addition of milk to the filtered soma was not generally practised by the ṛgvedic ritualists because the terms *gavāsīr* 'mixed with milk' and *āsīr* 'the milk which is mixed with the soma juice' occur only in poems of the Viśvāmitras (3, 32, 2; 42, 1; 7; 53, 14). With regard to the much less frequent *yavāsīr* 'mixed with corn' which is found at 2, 22, 1; 3, 42, 7 (and 1, 187, 9; 8, 92, 4), I am not so certain that such a supposition would be hazardous, the less so as *tryāsīr* 'with three kinds of admixture'—the third term is *dadhyāsīr* 'mixed with sour milk' at 5, 51, 7; 7, 32, 4—is only used in 5, 27, 5. The only reference to soma's three backs is found at 7, 37, 1 where *tripṛṣṭha* is applied to the juice; since however this epithet is elsewhere always found to characterize objects to which soma is compared, the question may arise whether the former use was really peculiar to the Vasisthas.

As to the words derived from or composed with soma, *somadhāna* 'containing soma' and *somavṛddha* 'invigorated by soma' occur in III and VI; *somapati* 'lord of soma' (Indra) in III and V; the noun *somapiti* 'the drinking or draught of soma' is common to all six maṇḍalas, but *somapeya* 'soma libation' is not found in IV; *somamad* 'intoxicated with soma' and *somaśīta* 'sharpened by soma' occur once in VII; *somasut* 'pressing soma' and the

¹² K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt* (Harvard Oriental Series, XXXIII–XXXV), Cambridge, Mass., 1951, I, 345; see also pp. 339 f. on 3, 4, 7.

¹³ L. Renou, *Études védiques et parvédiques (EVP)*, XII, Paris, 1964, 111.

¹⁴ Bergaigne, op. cit., 138.

¹⁵ Nor is mention made of the *grāvastut*, *prastotar* (cf. 1, 153, 2), *pratihartar*, *subrahmaṇya* (cf. 10, 62, 4), *unnetar*, and *pratiṣṭhātār*.

¹⁶ For this see Geldner, op. cit., III, 1 ff.

more frequent *somin* 'having or offering soma' in IV and VII, but the noun *somasuti* only in VII. Attention may be invited to *somapā* 'drinking soma' in II, III, IV, VI and the synonymous *somapāvan* in V and VII. All due to the merest chance.

Like the noun soma the much less frequent *aṃśu* 'the stalk of the soma plant which is pressed' and *andhas* 'the soma plant and its juice' as well as *mada* 'intoxicating draught', *madhu* 'sweet drink', *indu* 'the bright drop, i.e. soma' occur in all six family books. On the other hand, *pīyūṣa* 'beestings' is applied to the soma only in II, III and, probably, VI; *drapsa* 'drop'—much less common than *indu*—only at 6, 41, 3; the extraction of the juice is described by *duh-* 'to milk' (cf. e.g. 9, 80, 5) in III, V, VII (e.g. 7, 98, 1 the only place in the family books where the juice itself is qualified as a ruddy (*aruṇa*) liquid). The verbs *mṛj-* and the much less frequent *ā-dhāv-* used to express the 'washing' in and admixture of water occur—no doubt by chance—only in II, III and V, VII respectively. The abode (*sadhasṭha*) of the draught, more than once mentioned in IX, is referred to at 3, 62, 15. The question may arise whether the practice of placing the pressing stones on the *vedi*—'the sacrificial bank', not mentioned in III and IV—which is attested by the poet of 5, 31, 12 does not only differ from that of the later ritual¹⁷ but also from that of the ṛgvedic ritualists other than the Atris. References to all three daily soma services occur in III and IV, but a conclusion drawn from 5, 34, 3; 6, 47, 6 (where only two of them are mentioned) that other families pressed the soma only once or twice a day would no doubt be deceptive.

Mention of the small wooden sacrificial ladle (*śruva*) is made only in maṇḍala I, of the large ladle (*śruc*) in V, VI (and I, VIII, X), of the compound *yatasruc* 'stretching out the śruc' however in II, III, IV (and I, VIII). The curved wooden ladle called *juhū* occurs only at 2, 27, 1 and perhaps at 6, 11, 2, in both cases in a double entendre (*juhū* 'tongue').¹⁸ The *ghṛtācī*, the sacrificial ladle with which the ghee is poured out, is mentioned in all family books except II; the *camū*, a vessel (one of the receptacles) into which the soma is poured, in all except II and VII; the *kalāśa* 'jar' in III, IV, VI, but the wooden vessel (trough) called *drona* only in VI. For 'Indra's goblet' (*pātram indrapānam*) see 6, 44, 16. Although the above facts may point to certain differences in the relevant terminology or rather to a preference for definite terms, it is difficult to suppose that the 'families' had no perfect knowledge of the technicalities of the preparation of soma. References to technicalities are, it is true, few in number. Significantly enough, *pavitra* 'filter, strainer', frequent in IX and not absent in I, VIII, X, occurs only at 3, 36, 7 (and also in III 3 times metaphorically); *vāra* 'hair-sieve', almost limited to IX, is wanting. So are the application of *samudra* 'ocean' to the juice in the vat which is frequent in IX (compare however 6, 69, 6) and that of the adjectives *babhrū* 'brown' and *hari* 'tawny'. The drinking vessel of the gods, *camasa*, is only mentioned in connexion with the Ṛbhus, who are said to have made the one wooden cup which was the work of Tvaṣṭar into four (3, 60, 2; 4, 33; 35; 36); in I the word is connected with the Ṛbhus or otherwise, in X these mythical artisans are left unmentioned.

The picture of the *pravargya* ritual in honour of the Aśvins presented by the R̥gveda-saṃhitā is widely different from the ceremony of the same name known from the ritual sūtras.¹⁹ References to this ritual—that is, in most

¹⁷ Cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 2nd ed., Breslau, 1927, I, 411.

¹⁸ For *juhū* 'ladle' in I, VIII and X, see Renou, *EVP*, II, Paris, 1956, 107.

¹⁹ I refer to J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The pravargya*, Poona, 1968, ch. 1.

cases to the *gharma*, the kettle in which the milk was heated and the hot milk itself—are casual and incidental, part of them belonging to the books I, VIII and X. Is it due to the merest chance that most of the references found in the family books occur in V (cf. 5, 19, 4; 30, 15; 43, 7; 73, 6; 76; 77), one (3, 53, 14) in III and two in similes in IV and VII? Should we rather not shrink from the daring attempt at proving the poets of II and VI as well as Ṛtsamādas and Bharadvājas generally to have been as averse to or ignorant of this ritual as the Kikāṣas of 3, 53, 14?

References to particular rites, sacrificial ceremonies other than the above as well as to the relevant technical terms are too rare to admit of any conclusion²⁰: *atirātré* ... *sōme* 'at the over-night soma sacrifice' (7, 103, 7); *upasad* 'worship, adoration'. Is the statement *ubhā kṛvānto vahatī miyédhe* 'performing a double procession on the occasion of the sacrificial repast' at 7, 1, 17 the poet's, does it refer to a custom of the Vasiṣṭhas or was it a ceremony performed by the generality of the Vedic Indians? One would almost be tempted to regard the name of a patron, viz. Aśvamedha, in 5, 27, 4-6 as an indication of the author's acquaintance with the horse-sacrifice, but can a similar inference be drawn from the occurrence at 5, 1, 8 of the adjective *mārjāṭīya* 'fond of purification' with regard to the heap of earth of that name on which the sacrificial vessels are cleansed?

In cases where a term in the Saṃhitā as well as other Vedic texts is comparatively rare, certainty cannot always be in sight. The etymologically and semantically difficult *diviṣṭi*, translated by 'longing for heaven, worship, sacrifice', 'Opfer des (heutigen) Tages', 'sacrifice quotidien', 'Frühopfer', etc.,²¹ occurs at ṚV 4, 9, 3; 46, 1; 47, 1; 7, 74, 1 (and 5 times in I, 3 times in VIII)²²; were this term and the concept denoted peculiar to the Vāmadevas and Vasiṣṭhas?

In trying to discover the traces of differences between the rituals of the Vedic families we must rely almost entirely on their vocabulary. In doing so we are confronted with various difficulties. The collections are too short to make the application of statistical methods a success. The texts as we possess them have no doubt been subject to foreign influence. The vocabulary of the poets cannot be regarded as a true reflection of the language of their communities or of the lexical peculiarities of the ritualists employed by these communities. Yet it seems worth while to collect a number of terms of ritual interest even though most of them can serve no other purpose than to warn against hazardous conclusions. The absence of a technical term does not always point to the authors' ignorance of the idea denoted. For instance, references or allusions to the ceremony of carrying fire round a sacred place or object are not lacking in the Saṃhitā (1, 73, 1; 173, 3; 4, 9, 3; 10, 155, 5 and especially 4, 15, 1-3) but neither the adjective *paryagnīkṛta* and the verb forms *paryagnīkaroti* etc. nor the noun *paryagnīkaraṇa* are found to exist in its hymns, the former occurring in the later saṃhitās and the brāhmaṇas, the latter not before the ritual sūtras.

The solitary instances of *pūrvapā* 'drinking first (before others)' at ṚV 4, 46, 1 (cf. 8, 1, 26) and of *pūrvapeya* 'precedence in drinking' at 7, 92, 1 (also 1, 135, 4) in connexion with Vāyu should not suggest that the families

²⁰ Some terms occur in other maṇḍalas, especially X, not in II-VII: *avabhṛtha*, *ājya*, *iṣṭi*, *graha*, *prayāja*, *medha*.

²¹ See Geldner, op. cit., I, 55; Renou, *ÉVP*, III, Paris, 1957, 23 f. (with many references), IV, Paris, 1958, 32; xv, Paris, 1966, 103.

²² Moreover, in VS 27, 30 taken from ṚV 4, 47, 1, etc., in AśB 5, 6, 7 quoting ṚV 7, 47, 1-3; TB 2, 4, 7, 6 quoting ṚV 4, 47, 1.

other than the Vāmadevas and the Vasisthas were ignorant of this privilege of the god of wind ²³ (cf. also 8, 26, 35): at 5, 43, 3 he is explicitly invited to drink first (*prathamāḥ pāhī*); compare also 3, 58, 7.

The word for the pieces of wood used for kindling fire, *araṇi* or *araṇī*, is met with at 3, 29, 2; 5, 9, 3; 7, 1, 1 (and twice in I, once in X); the verb *math-* (and its compounds) 'to produce fire by rotating a stick' only in III, V and VI; that the technical term *adhimanthanam* ' (part of the) implement for producing fire ' ²⁴—which in the *samhitās* is a *hapax*—should occur only in 3, 29, 1 is not surprising, because this poem deals with the production of the ritual fire. The term *dakṣiṇā* 'offering presented to the officiants' and its derivative *dakṣiṇāvanti* occur only in III and VI; *prayatadakṣiṇa* 'having made such presents' only in VI (and I, X); *vṛjana* 'a group of men occupied with the performance of a rite' ²⁵ in II and VII and probably also in III and VI; *nṛṣadana* 'assemblage of (sacrificing) men' in V and VII; *brahmakṛt* 'producing a manifestation of brahman' and the likewise rare *namoṽrdh(a)* 'increased, increasing, by adoration' in III and VII; the verb *śam-* 'to exert oneself in performing ritual acts', which occurs 19 times in the *maṇḍalas* II–VI, and the noun *śamī* are not found in VII, the infrequent nomen agentis *śamītar* not in IV, VI and VII; the fairly frequent *saparyati* 'to worship' is wanting in IV and VII.

Words for 'not sacrificing' applicable to those enemies of gods and men who neglect their religious duties (*ayajña*, *ayajñasūc*, *ayajyu*, *ayajvan*) occur in VI (once), VII (4 times) and I, VIII, X; *asunvat* 'not pressing out (the soma juice)' is found in IV and V as well as I (3 times), VIII and X; the infrequent *asusir*, which expresses the same idea, only in IV and VI; the likewise comparatively rare *asuta* 'not pressed out (of the soma)' only in VI, VII (and VIII).

The combination . . . *yajāthāya devān* ' . . . the gods, to worship (them), to worship the gods ' (e.g. 3, 5, 9; 5, 1, 2) is foreign to II, IV, VI; *takṣ-* 'to form in the mind' with 'eulogy etc.' to III and IV; *yajñasya ketū* 'the banner of the sacrifice' to II, IV, VII; the expression 'a new eulogy' attesting to the belief that a new text is a means *par excellence* of exercising influence upon the powers that are responsible for renewal does not appear in III, IV, V. The phrase *adhvarasya hōtā* 'the priest of the sacrifice' is not found in II; the rare *adhvarasya prakatāḥ* 'the light of the sacrifice' occurs only at 7, 11, 1 (applied to Agni), the phrase *kṛtē svadhvaré* 'now a good sacrifice has been made ready' only at 5, 17, 1; *hōtāram mandrājihvam* 'the pleasant-voiced priest' only at 5, 25, 2; the expression *vidh- haviṣā* 'to worship or serve with an oblation' only in II and VI (and VIII, X).

In some of the cases, the rarity of an otherwise frequent ritual term in the *samhitā* or in its family books may be ascribed to the individual character of that corpus which, unlike the *brāhmaṇas*, etc., is not concerned with a discussion of the theory or a more or less regular account of the intricacies of the sacrificial ritual to which it alludes time and again rather than to the ignorance, on the part of some of the 'families', of the existence of a term and of the ritual detail which it denotes.²⁶ Thus the exclamation *vaṣaṭ* and its compounds

²³ See J. Gonda, *The dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam Academy, 1974, 223.

²⁴ Cf. ŚB 3. 6. 3. 10; *ĀpSS* 7, 3, 3; 12, 12.

²⁵ See Renou, *EVF*, III, 19 f.; iv, 69.

²⁶ If one wishes to call special attention to combinations of rare expressions in the same context one is studying stylistics rather than religion or ritual. So instances such as 5, 42, 1 *pṛṣadyoniḥ pāñcakotā* 'being in the spotted (sacrificial butter), attended by five *hotars*'—both recorded only once in the *R̥gveda*—can be left out of consideration.

(see e.g. *TS* 2, 6, 2, 5; 5, 1, 5, 2; 7, 5, 5, 2) occur only at 2, 36, 1 and three times in VII (also in I, VIII, X); *purodās(a)* 'a mass of ground rice rounded into a sacrificial cake' is not found in II, V and VII; *svaru* 'the stake used as a sacrificial post' not in II, V and VI.

There are good reasons for thinking that some of the minor gods and divine figures belonged, not to the pantheon of all Vedic Indians, but only to that of limited groups of worshippers. Although, here again, the absence of definite names in some of the family books does not prove that the corresponding 'families' ignored the figures that bore these names, it is worth dilating upon the distribution of these figures in the maṇḍalas under discussion. While the name of Vivāsvat is not found in V, Savitar and Apām Napāt not in IV, Rudra not in III, Ahir Budhnya and Brahmanaspati not in III and IV, Trita belongs only to II, V, VI, Aja Ekapād to II, VI, VII, Parjanya to V, VI, VII; Vāta, Aramati, Nirrti and Vāstospati occur in V and VII, Kṣetrasya pati in IV and VII, the name Mātariśvan in III and VI and Sītā only in IV. It strikes us that these occurrences do not completely correlate to the length of the maṇḍalas and the numbers of their sūktas. It is true that the longest maṇḍala (VII, 104 hymns, 79 pages in Aufrecht's edition) has 13 different names, V (87 hymns, 67 pages) has 11 names and VI (75 hymns, 70 pages) has 10, but the shortest maṇḍala (II, 43 hymns, 42 pages) has 8 of them and the longer books III (62 hymns, 56 pages) and IV (58 hymns, 54 pages) only 4 each. An examination of the names of the dual deities does not lead to wholly dissimilar results. Whereas Heaven and Earth and Mitra and Varuṇa belong to all family books, Dawn and Dusk are found in II, IV, V, VII, Indra and Agni in III, V, VI, VII, Indra and Soma in II, VI, VII, Indra and Viṣṇu in IV, VI, VII, Indra and Vāyu in II, IV, VII, Indra and Varuṇa in III, VI, VII, Sun and Moon in V, Indra and Bṛhaspati in IV, Indra and Brahmanaspati, Indra and the Maruts and Soma and Pūṣan in II, Indra and Pūṣan in VII, Soma and Rudra, Agni and Parjanya, Parjanya and Vāta in VI, and Indra and Parvata in III.²⁷ Here VI, VII, and II head the list with 9, 9, and 8 different names; III has 5 of them; IV has 6 and V has only 5. If one would like to leave chance out of account, one might hazard the conjecture that the Ḡṛtsamadas were most and the Viśvāmitras and Vāmadevas least inclined to invoke or mention minor and dual deities, while the Vasiṣṭhas recognized the largest and the Viśvāmitras the smallest number of them.

In view of the fact that the majority of the passages of the hymns dealing with Rudra are concerned with deprecating his wrath and averting his weapon and malevolence²⁸ and of the frequent occurrence of the verb *nir-ava-dāti* (*dyati*) 'to appease or satisfy (him) by giving him (a share)'—less frequently *ava-dyati* (PB. 16, 1, 12; ŚB. 1, 7, 2, 6)—the absence of the former and the rarity of the latter compound, which occurs only in 2, 33, 5 in the R̥gveda-saṃhitā (for the act compare 7, 40, 5), cannot in my opinion be regarded as a weighty argument in favour of the supposition that most r̥gvedic families were hardly acquainted with this practice.

Unlike Agni's names and epithets *jātavedas* 'knower of beings', *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ* 'son of overwhelming power', and *yaviṣṭha* 'the youngest' which occur in all six maṇḍalas, *vaiśvānara* 'belonging to all men' is wanting in II; *apām napāt* 'descendant of waters' and *ūrjo napāt* 'descendant of strength' in IV; *grhapati* 'master of the house' in III; *viśpati* 'chief of the settlement'

²⁷ There are some names of single and dual deities that are foreign to these maṇḍalas.

²⁸ See especially H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 4th ed., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1927, 307 f.

in IV; *damūnas* 'belonging or devoted to the house' in II and VI; *triṣadastha* 'having a triple seat' occurs in V and VI; *vediṣad* 'sitting on the vedi' in IV. Whereas I would attach no importance²⁹ to the above names there cannot be dispute over the fact that the opinions of the 'families' were divided over a representative of Agni in the comparatively old Āpri formulary. With two exceptions (3, 29, 11; 10, 92, 2) Agni's epithet *tanūnapāt* always occurs in the second stanza of the Āpri hymns (also in 3, 4, 2), but not in the Āpri hymns of II, V and VII (2, 3, 2; 5, 5, 2; 7, 2, 2); in IV and VI there are no Āpri hymns. These facts may suggest that the Viśvāmitras had a predilection for this name, while the other families tried to avoid or ignore it. Another name for the same god, *narāśaṃsa*, occurs in the second stanzas of the Āpri hymns 2, 3; 5, 5; 7, 2 and at 2, 3, 2 and 3, 29, 11.³⁰

²⁹ Most compounds with the very frequent *ṛta* 'sacred' Order' are, though rather rare, fairly well distributed: *ṛtaci* 'conversant with Order' (4 occurrences) is found in IV, V, VII; *ṛtajāta* 'born of *ṛta*' in III, V, VI, VII; *ṛtajāna* 'knowing *ṛta*' in IV, V, VII; *ṛtanī* 'leading in accordance with *ṛta*' only in II; *ṛtapā* 'guarding *ṛta*' in VI and VII, etc.

³⁰ See also Bergaigne, op. cit., 18.

AVESTAN *dušərəθrīš* (Y 49.1)

By F. B. J. KUIPER

It is a common experience in Avestan studies that a seemingly novel explanation on closer inspection turns out to have already been published long ago but to have been disregarded by all later authors. A case in point is the Gāthic *hapax dušərəθrīš* in Y 49.1

aṭ mā yavā bəndvō pafrē mazištō
yē dušərəθrīš cixšnušā ašā mazdā

which Hanns-Peter Schmidt (1968), 172 translates as follows: 'Wahrlich, mit (Lebens-)Dauer erfüllt ist der Verpester, der sehr Grosse! Der ich auf die schlechtbehüteten (Kühe) hinhören will mit der Wahrheit, o Weisheit ...'. While the first line poses many problems, which, however, are not relevant in the context of this brief note, the general meaning of the second is not disputed.

The word *dušərəθrīš* was long one of the numerous obscure words of the Gāthic language. Cf., for instance, Spiegel (1869), 394, Geldner (1882), 8 and Darmesteter (1892), 391. Bartholomae (1904), 752 gave the following explanation, which he expressly characterized as 'uncertain': 'unter übler Obhut stehend, (in religiösen Dingen) verwahrlost' with the following comment: '*duš*+**harəθrī*- (Sva. *harəθra*-; aber die Bildung ist ungewöhnlich. Vgl. *dauiθrī*- No. 1); zum V. *har*-; *š* wie in *višāpa*-. Unsicher'. The reference to *višāpa*- 'dessen Säfte Gift sind', which is a compound of *viš*- and **sāpa*-, implies that *š* stands for *śs*, in whatever way this may be interpreted (see below).

Bartholomae's explanation has been accepted by most later authors, with some notable exceptions, such as Andreas ('denen es schlecht geht', reading *dušərəθrīš*, a variant reading recorded by Justi, see Lommel (1935), 140), Geldner (1926), 12 'seine üblen Ansichten', Duchesne-Guillemin (1948), 260 'les déshérités'. Note also Lommel's reservation (1971), 163: '... übernehme ich mangels einer befriedigenderen Deutung'.

Bartholomae (1904), 752, n. 3 and Lommel (1935), 140 (who in his brief note has given the best comment on this word) have pointed out that if the second element of the word had been **ərəθrī*-, the compound would have been **duš-ərəθrī*- in the Gāthic dialect. This disposes of such translations as 'schlechte Forderungen' (Geldner (1882), 8), 'denen es schlecht geht' and probably 'les déshérités' (if **ərəθrī*- is here taken in the sense of *aši*-, that is [rti-]). The only possible analysis thus left is **dušhəθrī*-, from an older **duš-səθrī*-. In other words, it contains a derivative of the Iranian root *har*- 'to watch over', cf. *nišharətar*- 'protector' (for [ni-šartar-]), fem. *nišanharəθrī*- (for [ni-šarθrī-]) and *nišanharəti*- 'the maintaining, protecting' (for [ni-šarti-]). The reason why in the case of *dušərəθrīš* the redactors have omitted to introduce the etymologizing spelling will be discussed below.

Clearly, an acc. plur. in -īš can be either a (masculine or feminine) form of a stem in -i- or a feminine form of a stem in -ī-. Lichterbeck (1893), 23 quoted *dušərəθrīš* under the first category, which may have reflected Bartholomae's view at that time. It is not clear to me for what reason Bartholomae later posited a stem *dušərəθrī*- (with a long ī) instead, in spite of the fact that he interpreted the form as a masculine plural. Although he referred to *dauiθrī*- (see below), his heading was bound to put later scholars on the wrong track. Duchesne-Guillemin (1936), 99 classed *dušərəθrī*- 'sous mauvaise garde' as a

derivative, along with *niṣaṇharəθrī-* f. 'surveillante', under the agent nouns in *-tar-*. Humbach (1959), 80 followed suit in assuming an ellipsis *dušarəθrīš* (*gā*) 'die übelbehüteten Kühe', literally 'einen schlechten Hirten habend'. As far as I can see, however, bahuvrīhis of this type are rare. The only R̥gvedic instances that I can find are not fully parallel. They are the four technical terms *pāñcahotr-* (5.42.1), *saptáhotr-* (3.29.14, 10.64.5), *kāñvaho-* (3.41.4) and *agního-* (10.66.8). But *súho-* (7.67.3) is 'der treffliche Priester' and *susanī-* (3.18.5) means 'guter Gewinner'. As for LAv. *hudōiθrī-* (Yt. 13.29), it is no doubt a bahuvrīhi and means 'schönäugig' (Bartholomae (1904), 1826), not 'gut sehend' (Debrunner (1954), 680). Apart from this semantic aspect, agent nouns in *-tr-* have as a rule (and in Vedic always) a full grade root vocalism (see Debrunner (1954), 673 f.). Insler (1975), 296, therefore, takes a further step and proposes to emend the form *dušarəθrīš* to **dušarəθrīš*. In the text tradition of the Gāthās, however, the distinction between *-ərə-* and *-ara-* is as a rule faithfully observed. Our conclusion, therefore, must rather be the other way round: on account of its meaning and of *-ərə-* the word *dušarəθrīš* cannot belong to the class of agent nouns.

While an agent noun is thus ruled out, it is quite possible to start from a noun of instrument in **-tra-*. Although in this class, too, the full grade has become the rule (Debrunner (1954), 708), the few Vedic instances with a weak grade of root vocalism have all (except *sūtra-* and *vibhītra-*) a correspondence in Iranian:

- AV *mātra-*: GAv. *mūθra-*
 RV *putrá-*: GAv. *puθra-*
 RV *vṛtrá-*: GAv. *vərəθra-* (Y 44.16)
 RV *mītrá-*: GAv. *miθra-*.

With *-atra-*:

- RV *d-ātra-*: GAv. *d-aθra-* (? cf. Kuiper (1974), 129, n. 15)
 RV *kṣ-atrá-*: GAv. *xš-aθra-*.

From these correspondences it can be inferred that the weak grade of the root vocalism was not uncommon in Proto-Indo-Iranian, although full-grade vocalism also occurred at that stage and became obligatory in new formations of later periods. The assumption of a Proto-Indo-Iranian word **sṛtra-* 'protection, care' is, therefore, quite in line with the principles of Proto-Indo-Iranian word formation. Most Avestan compounds date from a prehistoric period of Iranian when initial /s/ had not yet become /h/, cf. [ni-šartar-] 'protector', [hu-šaxā] 'good friend' (RV *su-śakhā*), which are written (and were pronounced, Karl Hoffmann (1975), 74) *nišharətar-* and *huš.haxā* in the Vulgate text. Therefore, **duš-sṛtra-* must have become **duššṛtra-*, with an early assimilation of /šs/ in this ancient word, and /šš/ may have been shortened to /š/ at an early date, in accordance with the general rule that was valid for the earlier periods.

Obviously, Bartholomae (1904), 752 had something similar in mind, for he referred not to the agent nouns but to the 'auffällige Bildung' *daoīθrī-* 'Spruch, Rede' in *ayqm daoθrim* (thus F1) *daomnō* 'speaking evil words' (Yt. 19.57, 60, 63, cf. Vend. 19.45). However, the few words in *-θrī-*/*-trī-*, such as *daoīθrī-* (for **davaθrī-* ?) and the late Vedic words *ŚB pātrī-*, *MŚS dogdhri-* (Debrunner (1954), 707) can safely be disregarded in this connexion. Since **dušṛθrī-*, as an early formation, must stem from Proto-Iranian, it is much more likely to be a derivative of the 'Mahlow type' in *-i-*, cf. RV *dhūmāgandhi-*

and *sugāndhi-* from *gandhā-*, *prātyardhi-* from *ārdha-*, Av. *avi.miθri-* (correct Brugmann (1906), 112, against Bartholomae (1904), 182), *daβrāmaēši-*, Lat. *inermis*, *sēmanimis*, *impiūne*, etc. See, e.g., Wackernagel (1905), 105 f., Brugmann (1906), 112, 146, 172. Lommel (1935), 140 had already diffidently ('vielleicht') suggested this explanation, but it has passed unnoticed. A direct Vedic parallel with *duš-* is *durgāndhi-* (AV 8.6.12).

The literal meaning of Av. [*dušθri-*] must accordingly have been 'having a poor protection' and since consequently the form *dušərəθrīš* is not necessarily feminine, there is no need to assume ellipsis of *gā* (Humbach, H.-P. Schmidt) or *gaēθā* (Hinz, Insler). Y 49.1b can be translated: 'I who try to satisfy with truth those who are poorly protected, O Wise One'.

This Gāthic *hapax* is the only and last trace of the prehistoric word (**sṛtrā-*)/**hrθra-*, which must have gone out of use at an early date. In Later Avestan its place was taken by *harəθra-* 'support', which was in current use. Cf. for instance *Vend.* 15 (passim) and especially *harəθrāi* 'for support' (Y 55.3, 58.2, 71.11, etc.). In none of these passages is there even a single instance of a variant reading **harəθra-*. Clearly, it is a more recent formation that has arisen in Avestan, just as *nišayharəti-* [ni-šarti-] was substituted for what must have been the older form, viz. **ni-šrti-*. This explains why *dušərəθrīš* was no longer analysable to the redactors of the Vulgate text and was left untouched.

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THE *PĒRIYA PURANAM* FRIEZE AT TĀRĀCURAM: EPISODES IN THE LIVES OF THE TAMIL ŚAIVA SAINTS

By J. R. MARR

(PLATES I-XII)

The sculptured frieze that forms the subject of this paper is carved on the main shrine of the Śiva temple at Tārācuram,¹ 5 km. south of Kumpakoṇam, a provincial town in Thanjavur District, Tamilnadu. Narrative friezes of the great Indian epics are a quite usual feature of Hindu architectural ornament both in India and beyond.² It is also the case that individual Tamil Śaiva saints, to whom the collective name in Tamil, *Nāyanmār*, sing. *nāyanār*, is applied, appear commonly in iconography in temples of the Tamil-speaking area.³ But the frieze at Tārācuram is exceptional in being a portrayal of the complete set of the 63 Nāyanmār as they figure in that closely-related group of Tamil medieval texts of which the most important is Cekkīlār's *Pēriya purāṇam*. Indeed, as will be shown, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Tārācuram frieze is virtually a set of illustrations to that work, and that the one would tend to confirm the date assumed for the other.⁴ Moreover, the various anomalies in *Pēriya purāṇam*, such as the total omission of Mānikkavācakar and the reversing of the logical order of events in the case of Nāyanār 51 (N51), Kaḷarciṅka nāyanār and N54, Pukaḷttunai nāyanār, are precisely mirrored in the Tārācuram frieze.

The frieze, executed in a cream granite flecked with grey, is approximately 18" high, and forms a band of sculpture running round the outside of the main shrine wall set about 8' above ground level. The principal deity at Tārācuram is Airāvateśvara, a form of Śiva. The frieze consists of 78 panels of varying lengths; in some instances the panels extend round the inside of a right angle. Each panel is separated from the next by a decorative medallion. Each of 62 panels represents an incident in the life of one saint, nine panels represent the nine groups of saints that figure as such in *Pēriya purāṇam* (*P*), while the remaining seven panels depict seven episodes in the life of Cuntarar, the author of *Tevāram* vii. Except for these seven panels, the order thereof exactly reflects the arrangement in *P*: Group of saints 1 (G1), *Tillai vāl Antamar*, is followed by N1–N38. Then comes G2, *Pōyyaṭimaiy illāta pulavar*, attested by an inscription carved above it. Thereafter follow N39–N55. Then, as in *P*, ensue G3–G9, followed by N56–N62. The last set pertains to N63, Cuntarar: seven episodes in his life, abbreviated hereafter as N63.1–7. It is only here that the frieze differs from the arrangement in *Pēriya purāṇam*. In *P*, the life of Cuntarar, who is of great importance to this whole tradition, is treated in two parts: in *caruḷkam* I, 5 *Taḷuttāḷkōṇṭa purāṇam*, and (after *P*, vv. 350–4228, that deal with saints G1 to N62) in *caruḷkam* XIII *Vellānai caruḷkam*. Moreover, at the end of each *caruḷkam* II to XI appears an individual verse in praise of Cuntarar and descriptive of some point in his life. Only *caruḷkam* XII

¹ The author takes this opportunity of thanking R. K. Swan for his kindness in making possible the visit to Tārācuram in November 1977 during which photography for this paper was carried out.

² Examples are the *Rāmāyana*-friezes at Halēbidu, Karnataka, and at Prambanan in Java.

³ e.g. the episode of Śiva garlanding Caṇṭecura nāyanār, the subject of a fine sculpture at Kaṇkaikōṇṭaṇṇapuram.

⁴ *Pēriya purāṇam* is usually ascribed to the reign of the Coja Kulottunga II, A.D. 1133–50, and the Tārācuram temple is regarded as the work of his successor, Rājaraṣja II, 1150–73.

is not so followed, presumably since the whole of the ensuing *carukkam* XIII of 53 verses treats of the later life of Cuntarar.

Tārācuram : the *Pēriya purāṇam* frieze (right to left)

South wall : G(= Group)1

N(= Nāyaṇār)1-N3

(Gaṇeśa above and between)

N4-N20 (N12 damaged)

(Dakṣiṇāmūrti above and between)

N21-N32 (end of *carukkam* VI)

West wall : N33-N38

G2

N39-N40

(Līṅodbhavamūrti above and between)

N41-N49

North wall : N50 (end of *carukkam* IX)

N51-N55

G3-G5

(Spout from *līṅga*)

G6-9

N56-N63.3

(Flight of steps)

N63.4-N63.7 (end)

The Tārācuram frieze was partially listed in *Annual Reports on Epigraphy*, Madras (*ARE*), July 1908, 80 f., wherein appear those episodes that have inscribed or painted captions over them. Line-drawings and descriptions thereof then appeared in *ARE*, August 1920, 102-7 and plates I to VI. In the 1908 publication, effectively 51 panels were listed,⁵ and in the latter 50 were illustrated and described. One of these, Tirukkuripputtōṇṭar, had not previously appeared in the 1908 list. On the other hand, of the 1908 list, Cīrappuliyāṇṭar and Comacimāraṇār, N34 and N32, do not appear in the 1920 survey. Neither account mentions the remaining panels that have neither inscribed nor painted captions over them.

In his brief and generally excellent survey, *Chola temples*, published by the Archaeological Survey of India (*Ct.*),⁶ C. Sivaramamurti describes the frieze, and notes of the panels 'some of which have labels in Tamil'.⁷ In fact, Sivaramamurti refers to 54 of the panels, including six of the seven episodes in the life of N63, Cuntarar. Unfortunately, he does not tell us that his account is incomplete in that 24 panels are not referred to by him at all. Since he clearly relied to some extent on the *ARE* (1920) survey, the confusions in his account were no doubt contributed to by it.

The *ARE* for 1908, closely followed by the 1920 one, listed the frieze's episodes in the reverse order from that of *Pēriya purāṇam*, and begins with

⁵ As (1) to (43) having inscribed captions. A further eight, unnumbered, were introduced as 'a number of other labels which are only painted with red paint, but not out. The alphabet of these labels is nearly the same as that of the foregoing'. *ARE*, 1908, 81.

⁶ 2nd ed., New Delhi, 1973, Appendix, pp. 40-6, 'Stories of Śaiva saints depicted at Dārāsūram'.

⁷ Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-4. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai's work in English, *Periya-puranam (the lives of the Śaiva Saints)*, Madras, 1955, is an incomplete survey, omitting N7-N22, N54, and N55, but reproducing most of the *ARE* (1920) illustrations of the panels; it is referred to below as JMN.P.

the seven episodes in Cuntarar's life (since all these have captions) and ends with N3, *Ṇaiyāṅkuṭi Māraṇ*. Since of course the Tamil script of the captions reads from left to right it was perhaps logical, if simplistic, to view the episodes similarly. Yet evidently the fact that this frieze is carved on the outside of the central shrine wall and not the inside of the outer wall was lost sight of. It is essential in the Hindu tradition that a shrine be circumanambulated clockwise, *pradakṣiṇa*, whereby the right shoulder is kept towards it as a mark of respect. Consequently, this sequence of episodes is to be viewed from right to left as one proceeds around the shrine's exterior.⁸ When this fact is realized, the order of episodes of the *Nāyaṇmār*, exactly that of *P*, becomes plain. There is sufficient 'iconography' in most of the panels to identify their subjects, even though they lack captions. A straight numerical count serves to fill in the remainder: one episode per single *Nāyaṇār*, one panel per Group, and seven episodes for Cuntarar.⁹

At this point it will be appropriate briefly to review the Tamil texts that express this tradition. These are: Cuntarar, *Tevāram* vii, *paṭiṣam* 39, known as *Tiruttōṇṭa tṭōkai*, (*T*), 'List of the holy devotees'; Nampiy āṇṭār Nampī, *Tiruttōṇṭar tiruvantāti*, (*NN*), of 89 verses preceded by an unnumbered invocatory verse and included in *Tirumurai* XI, Cekkilār's *Pēriya purāṇam* (*P*), and Umāpati Civācāriyar's *Pēriya purāṇa cāram* (*Pc.*), a later work of 78 verses clearly dependent upon the earlier three. For the purposes of this paper, the foregoing is taken to be the chronological order, and it will be seen that the first three represent a steady expansion of the original that is little more than a list in *Tev.* vii, *pat.* 39. The *Antāti* mentions some episodes connected with each *Nāyaṇār*, but does not necessarily note those that appear at Tārācuram. All of them, however, can be attested by reference to *P* and, in the survey of the sculpture-episodes in this paper, this has been done.

Pēriya purāṇam, being a hagiography of the 63 *Nāyaṇmār*, presupposes all of them, but it should be noted that, like Māṇikkavācakar, Nampiy āṇṭār Nampī does not figure in it, although his writing appears in *Tirumurai* XI. Cuntarar is generally held to have lived in the ninth century, and Nampiy āṇṭār Nampī to the tenth or eleventh.¹⁰ Cekkilār is ascribed to the twelfth century, specifically to the reign of Kulottuṅka II (A.D. 1133-50).¹¹ Umāpati Civācāriyar belonged to the fourteenth century, and is better known as one of the group of Śaiva Siddhāntist writers who flourished at that time. His text must be regarded as secondary, but is distinctive in treating of Cuntarar first and not reverting to him at any point in the remaining verses. Cuntarar is similarly treated in a Sanskrit work by Haraśarmamuni, *Śaṣṭhaktavivāsa*. This also may be regarded as a secondary work: it tidies up the story of N51 and N53, placing them in the reverse (and logical) sequence,¹² and the name-equivalents therein are, on occasion, misapprehensions, to say the least, as will be shown in the detailed survey.¹³

On the grounds therefore of generally accepted dates and of the expansion

⁸ At Prambanan this dilemma was avoided, since the 48 *Rāmāyana* episodes carved there are on the inside of the outer wall.

⁹ For their arrangement at Tārācuram, see list on p. 269.

¹⁰ See: Na. Ci. Kantaiaṇṭai Pillaṭ, *Tamilppulavar akarati*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1860, 186 and 251-4. See also K. Zvelebil, *The smile of Murugan*, Leiden, 1973, 191. He assumes that Cekkilār also made use of oral traditions, inscriptions and court-records and documents, but gives no references for the last two categories. Also see K. Nambi Arooran, *Glimpses of Tamil culture based on Periyapurāṇam*, Madurai, 1977. This is a particularly useful work.

¹¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India*, 4th ed., Madras, 1976, 778.

¹² *Infra*, p. 284.

¹³ *Infra*, pp. 282, 283, n. 62.

of the original material, the *Tiruttōṇṭattōkai* may be taken first. The first phrase of each of its 11 verses was taken as the name for each of *caruṅkam* II to XII of *Pēriya purāṇam*; these phrases are accordingly prefixed to the translations of the verses of *T* below ¹⁴:

Tillai vāl Antaṇar . . . (P II)

‘To the feet of the **Brahmans living in Tillai** (G1) I bow, as to those of **Tirunḷakāṇṭa Kkuyavaṇār** (N1). I am slave to **Iyaṇpakai** (N2) who never refused, and am the slave of **Ilaiyāṇkuṭi Māraṇ** (N3). Slave am I to **Mōyppōrul** (N4), adept in the path of victory, and to **Virāṇmiṇṭaṇ** of the Kunrai-people (N5); there are spreading groves there. To **Amarnīti** (N6) of the jasmine-garland slave am I, **Ārūraṇ** (N63), devotee of the Lord in Ārūr.’

Ilai malinta . . . (P III)

‘Slave am I to **Nampi Ēripattāṇ** (N7) of the spear sharp as a leaf’s edge, and to the devoted **Enāṭi nāṭaṇ** (N8). Slave am I to **Nampi Kaṇṇappaṇ** (N9). To the very feet of **Kalayaṇ** of Kaṭavūr (N10) am I enslaved. To the devotees **Māṇakkāṇṭōraṇ** (N11), the chieftain of the mountain-like shoulders, and the imperishable **Vāṭṭāyaṇ** (N12) am I in thrall. To **Āṇāyaṇ** (N13) from Maṅkai where beat the waves am I slave, I, **Ārūraṇ**, devotee of Ārūr.’

Mummaiṇṭal ulak’āṇṭa . . . (P IV)

‘To **Mūrṭti** (N14), ruler of the world through the three Śaiva precepts, slave am I; slave too to **Murukaṇ** (N15) and to **Uruttira Pacupati** (N16). To him who **Goes straight to God on the festive-day** (i.e. Nantaṇār) (N17) am I slave. I propitiate the feet of **Tirukkuṇṭippu tṭōṇṭar** (N18). To the Lord **Caṇṭi** (N19) am I slave, who was at the foot of the Lord and who with his axe hacked off the foot of his father who had committed many faults, and who from his previous birth had continued to worship the form of Śiva. I am **Ārūraṇ**, devotee of the Lord in Ārūr.’

Tiruninṇra . . . (P V)

‘I am the servant of the feet of **Tirunāṇvukk’araiyar** (N20), who took upon himself as truth indeed that truth that is joy in Śiva. To the great devotee **Nampi Kulacciṇai** (N21) am I slave. Bondsman am I to the mighty **Miḷalai Kkuraṇṇaṇ** (N22) and to the **Demoness** (N23) and slave to the great devotee **Appūti** (N24). Slave am I to **Nḷanakkāṇ** of Cāttamaṅkai (N25), surrounded by the sounding river. The holy bhakta **Naminanti** (N26) is master of **Ārūraṇ**, who is devoted to Ārūr’s Lord.’

Vamp’arū varī vaṇṭu . . . (P VI)

‘To my lord **Campantaṇ**’s (N27) feet I bow, he who cherished the feet of the Lord garlanded with honey-sweet cassia round which hum striped bees. **Kalikkāmaṇ** (N28), king of the Eyar, is my master. I salute the feet of our lord **Tirumulaṇ** (N29), to **Taṇṭi** (N30) who recovered his sight, and to **Mūrkkāṇ** (N31), slave am I. I am devoted to **Comācimāraṇ** of Ampar (N32) and I am **Ārūraṇ**, the slave of the Lord of Ārūr.’

¹⁴ *Tev.* vii, *pat.* 39, vv. 1–11. This is taken as having the earliest extant form of each *Nāyanār*’s name; these are in heavy type, followed by the N number in parentheses. The sequence is that adopted for the whole paper, and is based on the Tārāouram-frieze wherein Cuntarar appears as N63 and where the groups, clearly sculptured as such, are slotted into the sequence exactly as in *P*. They are numbered here G1 to G9.

Vār kōṇṭa vaṇa mūlaiyāl . . . (P VII)

'Servant am I of **Cākkiyaṇ** (N33) who threw the stone and who never forgot the anklets of the Lord half of whom is Umā of the lovely breasts who wears the sash. Slave am I of **Cirappuli** (N34), the famous chieftain, and of **Ciru ttōṇṭaṇ** (N35) who lived in Cēṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi. Devoted am I to him liberal as are the clouds, **Kalaṇṇarivār** (N36). I am at the feet of **Kaṇaṇāṭaṇ** (N37) of Kāli by the sea. The king of Kaṇantai, **Kūrṇaṇ** (N38) of the sharp spear, is master of **Ārūraṇ**, devotee of the Lord of Ārūr.'

Poyyatiṁaiy illata pulavar . . . (P VIII)

'Slave am I to those **Poets who are without base falsehood** (G2), and in thrall to **Pukaḷcoḷaṇ** (N39) who remained at the feet of the Lord in tree-lined Karuvūr, and I am slave to **Naraciṅka Mūnaiyaraiaṇ** (N40) the true devotee. My master is **Atipattaṇ** of Nākai (N41) girt by the sea with spreading waves. **Kalikkampaṇ** (N42) of the strong bow who cut off his wife's hand, **Kaliyaṇ** (N43) and **Catti** (N44) of the anklets, king of the Variṇcaiyar, are my patrons. To the devotee **Aiyaṭikaḷ** (N45), ruler of the Kāṭavar, I, **Ārūraṇ**, devotee of the Lord of Ārūr, am slave.'

Karaikkaṇṭaṇ . . . (P IX)

'To **Kaṇampulla Nampi** (N46) who took the anklet-adorned feet of the Lord of the stained throat as his protection I am slave; as also to **Kāri** (N47). To the devotee **Niṇṇaṇṇ Nēṭumāraṇ** (N48) who, with integrity of mind, conquered at Nēlveli, I am slave. To the devotee **Vāyilāṇ** (N49) from ancient Mayilai, where the beacon dispels darkness and red coral is washed ashore by the waves, slave am I. I am as a servant to **Mūnaiyaṭuvāṇ** (N50) whose spear is keen. **Ārūraṇ** am I, slave of Ārūr's Lord.'

Kaṭal cūḷṇta . . . (P X)

'To the devotee **Kalaṇṇiṅkaṇ** (N51), lord of the Kāṭavar, great one who protects all the sea-girt earth, slave am I. To **Iṭaṅkaḷi** (N52) who wears a petalled garland, and to **Cōruṭṭuṇai** (N53), chief of Taṇcai, slave am I. I am servant to **Pukaḷṭṭuṇai** (N54) who fixed his mind upon the golden feet while serpents weave about the tiger skin around his waist. Slave am I to **Koṭṭpuli** (N55) whose spear is garlanded with victory. I, **Ārūraṇ**, am devotee to the Lord of Ārūr.'

Pattarāy ppaṇivār . . . (P XI)

'Servant am I to all **Those who sing as devotees** (G3); I serve **Those who praise the supreme Lord** (G4). Slave am I to **Those whose minds are fixed upon Śiva** (G5); to all **Those born in Tiruvārūr** (G6) am I bondsman. I am slave to **Those who cherish the sacred form thrice** (G7), I am slave to those **Sages who are completely smeared in sacred ash** (G8). To those **Devotees elsewhere who have attained the Feet** (G9) I am in service, I, **Ārūraṇ**, devotee of Ārūr's Lord.'

Maṇṇiya cīr . . . (P XII)

'To **Pūcal** (N56) of Niṇṇavūr where they chant the Veda of undying fame, to **Māṇi** (N57) with her rows of bangles, and to **Necaṇ** (N58), slave am I, and slave too to **Cēṅkaṇṇ** (N59) the southerner who ruled the world. To the bard **Tirunḷlakaṇṭaṇ** (N60) I am slave. To my lord **Caṭaiyaṇ** (N61) who attained Śiva's feet and to **Icāiṇṇai** (N62) am I the son, and am master of Nāvalūr. Those who are such as listen to the devotions of **Ārūraṇ** will be those who bear love towards Ārūr's Lord.'

As will be seen from the above, *P* II is *Tillai vāḷ Antaṇar caruṅkam*, III is *Ilai malinta caruṅkam*, and so on. *Caruṅkam* I and XIII are, from their subject-matter, called *Tirumalai caruṅkam* and *Vēḷḷānai caruṅkam* respectively. The former tells of Cuntarar's life on Kailāsa before being born on earth, the latter of his return on a white elephant to the sacred mountain.

The translation may demonstrate how few are the episodes enshrined in *T*, which could hardly bear examination as a source for the episodes depicted at Tārācuram, only for the order of the *Nāyanmār* there. Only seven of the allusions are 'episodic': to N6, N17, N19, N33, N42, N48 and G7. With the exception of N48, Nēṭumāraṇ, whose victory at Nēlveli is mentioned, the episodes that do appear are commemorated at Tārācuram. For instance, the throwing of the stone by N33, Cākkiyaṇ, refers to his absent-mindedly, and in the manner of a naughty boy, throwing stones or bricks daily at the Śivaliṅga.¹⁵

When the *Antāti* (NN) is considered, the picture has been filled in considerably. Forty-eight of the episodes depicted at Tārācuram are referred to by NN: more properly, the text can be adduced to explain these. A further 11 panels are 'non-episodic', simply depicting a saint in an attitude of prayer, or a group of saints praying. They are, as it were, the visual counterparts of the conventional epithets employed in *T*. The 12 are: G1; N32, N34, N47, N48; G3, G4, G6 and G8; N61 and N62. In other words, they may or may not be supported by reference to the text of NN. The 48 episodic panels that are supported by NN are: N4-N12, N14, N16, N18-N21, N23, N25, N26, N29-N31, N33, N35, N40-N42, N44, N45, N49-N55; G5 and G7; N57-N60. NN either mentions the particular episode depicted or a particular attribute of the *Nāyanār* that makes his place in the sequence sure.¹⁶ This still leaves 19 panels that are unsubstantiated by NN or whereat his text recounts an episode not featured at Tārācuram. An instance of this latter point is N17, Tirunālaippovār (Nantaṇār), who NN, like *T*, says went straight to God on the festive day; in the presence of the Brahmins of Citamparam, NN adds.¹⁷ But the saint's immolation in the fire, clearly depicted at Tārācuram, is not attested by NN.¹⁸ The 19 are: N1-N3, N13, N15, N17, N22, N24, N27, N28, N32, N34, N36, N38; G2; N39, N43, N46 and N56.¹⁹

What is clear from the Tārācuram panels is that the Groups 1 to 9 were understood as such. This point is made since, in *T*, the undoubted plural suffix in *-ārkaḷ* only appears in the case of two groups, while NN makes it clear in the case of four groups that they were such.²⁰

Very different is the relationship between *Pēriya purāṇam* and the Tārācuram panels. All of these can be explained with reference to the text, and this is done in this paper. It is perhaps more than coincidence that the text and the carvings should reflect one another so closely, when one remembers how soon after the composition of the one was the fashioning of the other.

The manner in which the original list of devotees has been expanded may

¹⁵ See plate I, and *infra*, p. 281.

¹⁶ An example is N60, Tirunilakaṇṭa ppāṇaṇār. Non-episodic, the panel yet shows the saint as playing a bow-harp; both *T* and NN refer to him as a bard, in v. 11 and v. 83 respectively.

¹⁷ NN, v. 20.

¹⁸ But *P* covers this fully, see *P* IV, 4, vv. 1071-4.

¹⁹ Nor is there correlation between this set of 19 panels and the presence or otherwise of captions to them: 12 have captions, 7 do not.

²⁰ *T*, v. 10: Pattaṇṇāy ppāṇivārkaḷ (G3) and Tiruvārūr piṇṇāntārkaḷ (G6). NN, v. 49 (G2); v. 70 (G3); v. 72 (G5); v. 75 (G8). While appearing in the correct place in the sequence, G2 has been taken as singular in the Sanskrit *Śivabhaktavilāsa* (*Śv.*), being rendered as *Satyadāsa*! *Infra*, p. 282.

best be shown by the following sample table, relating to verse I of *T*. It may serve as a pattern for the whole :

<i>T</i> , v. 1	Primary				Secondary	
			NN, v.	<i>P</i> II, vv.	<i>Pe.</i> , 7.	<i>Sv.</i> (Skt.)
Line 1	G1	Tillai vāḷ Antaṇar	1	350-359	4	—
	N1	Tirunilakaṇṭa K	2	360-403	5	<i>adhyāya</i> 14
Line 2	N2	Iyarpakai	3	404-439	6	15
	N3	Ṭaiyāṅkuṭimāraṇ	4	440-466	7	16
Line 3	N4	Mēyppōruḷ	5	467-490	8	17
	N5	Kuṇṇaiyūr Viraṇ	6	491-501	9	18
Line 4	N6	Amarnīti	7	502-549	10	19
	(N63)	Cuntarar's refrain	8	550	(2-3)	(3-13)

It is worth reiterating that both secondary sources treat of Cuntarar (Skt. Sundara) first; indeed the *Sv.* has a very long portion, *adhyāyas* 3-13, that includes his 'life' on Kailāsa as Hālālasundara, one of Śiva's attendants. This is the subject of *P* I, *Tirumalai ccaruṅkam*. The primary sources revert to Cuntarar at the points equivalent to his refrain that forms the second part of the last line of each verse; indeed, NN has no prefatory matter on Cuntarar other than affirming that he 'uttered the Antāti which expands the Tōṇṭa ttōkai'—*Attōṇṭa ttōkai vakai palkum Antātitanai / cōṇṇa rārūkkula Nampī pōrpāta*. . . .²¹

Zvelebil²² regards *Pēriya purāṇam* as 'built into the story of Cuntarar' but it may be suggested that the process was the reverse—whereby the core-tradition of the 63 *Nāyaṇmār*, first enunciated by Cuntarar himself, became surrounded by puranic material relating to Cuntarar in his heavenly aspect on Mt. Kailāsa and his translation thereto at the end of the story. It is worth noting that neither the 11 verses in NN that occur at the end of each verse-set and corresponding to the refrains of the *T* verses²³ nor the 10 verses of *P* at the end of each *caruṅkam* that praise Cuntarar²⁴ mention the 'pre-human' career of Cuntarar, but start with his birth to Icañṇāṇi and Caṭaiyaṇār, and the obstruction by Śiva of his original marriage. These limitations are likewise observed in the Tārācuram panels: the set of seven that portray Cuntarar (N63.1-7) starts with his birth and Śiva's claim on him,²⁵ and finishes with his saving the Brahman boy from the crocodile. This, then, is the only anomaly at Tārācuram: Cuntarar is depicted last but, as if to emphasize his pivotal rôle in the whole *purāṇam*, is given seven panels as against the one allotted to each of the other 62 *Nāyaṇmār* and to each of the nine Groups.

These panels will now be given in detail. The saint's name appears at the beginning of each paragraph, either in the relevant inscription given in full in quotes, or in the form generally accepted that is usually followed by the title *nāyaṇār* (n.). It may be noted that this title does not appear in the texts of

²¹ NN, Invocatory verse, unnumbered in published texts.

²² *op. cit.*, 191.

²³ NN, vv. 8, 16, 23, 32, 40, 48, 57, 63, 69, 77 and 86.

²⁴ *P* vv. 550, 967, 1265, 1898, 3635, 3938, 4054, 4095, 4146 and 4170. Also in this category is the final *caruṅkam*, *Veṭṭāpaic.*, of 53 verses.

²⁵ Tārā. N63.1-3. The *ARE* (1920) author was almost certainly in error in stating that 'probably this refers to the birth of Hālālasundara' (p. 103). Possibly the fact that the extant *P* starts with the heavenly Cuntarar led the epigraphists to start at the wrong end of the Tārā. frieze in the first place. But of course the order within the set of seven Cuntarar is reversed in *ARE* too: the set as given there starts with the saving of the boy from the crocodile and finishes with the Saint's birth! See *ARE* (1908), 80-1 and *ARE* (1920), 102-3.

the primary sources, nor yet in the *Pc*. It may be suggested that it is a later addition on the part of commentators, since it appears regularly in colophons. In the *Śv.*, the title *nātha* is added to names at a number of points throughout the text thereof.²⁶ *Ta. nātan* appears only twice in *T*, as an element in the names of N8, *Enātinātan*, and N37, *Kāli Kkaṇanātan*.²⁷ When in colophons *nāyaṇār* comes to be added, it appears with *-nātan*, and not as a substitute, giving *Enatināta nāyaṇār* and *Kaṇanāta nāyaṇār*. It is therefore feasible to suggest that *Skt. nātha* in *Śv.* was intended to render *nāyaṇār*, since its occurrence is in the same slot, and statistically commoner.²⁸ Elements that are more likely as titles in *T* that mean 'devotee' are: *aṭṭiyār* (N12, N24, N26, N27–N29, N45, N48, N49, N51; G4 and G9) and *ūṇṭar* (N18 and N35). Titles for 'devotee' in the *Tārācuram* labels are: *āṇṭār* (N28, N34, N35, N37, N42, N44, N46, N52, N53, N55, N58 and N63.7) and *aṭṭikaḷ* for N26.

In the survey that follows, to the right after the saint's name as just noted is given the *P* reference for this saint's *purāṇam*, and at the end of the description of the incident portrayed at *Tārācuram* the *P* reference to that particular episode. In the case of 'non-episodic' panels, this latter is omitted. Roman numerals denote the *P caruḷkam*, the following arabic ones the *purāṇam* within that *caruḷkam*. Two notations for the verse-number that follows are given: the 'long count' verse-number for the whole *P* and, separated from it by an oblique stroke, the number of the same verse within the particular *purāṇam*. Thus, *P* V, 2, v. 1705/11 denotes *Pēriya purāṇam*, *caruḷkam* V (*Tiruninra caruḷkam*), *purāṇam* 2 (*Kulacciṇai n. purāṇam*), verse 1705 of the whole and v. 11 of *purāṇam* 2.

SOUTH WALL

Tārā. G1: *Tillai vāḷ Antaṇar* (plate II). *P* II, 1, vv. 350/1–359/10.

Three saints are shown in prayerful attitudes to the left of a shrine. The panel begins the set, and confirms that a group was meant. The *Ta.* forms in *-ar* were ambiguous at this period, denoting either honorific singular or plural. Both *P* and *T* have ... *Antaṇar*, and *NN* has ... *ceḷumaṇaiyōr* (v. 1). As with all groups save *G2*, this group is not listed in *Śv.*

Tārā. N1: *Tirunilakaṇṭa n.* (plate II). *P* II, 2, vv. 360/1–403/44.

A man and woman are shown seated near a shrine, each holding one end of a pole. The panel is erroneously stated by *Sivaramamurti*²⁹ to show 'Tirumular bathing with his wife in the tank beside the temple'. Since *Tirumūlar* is N29 in the sequence and two panels from this one is identifiable from its inscription as N3, *Ṭaiyāṅkuṭimāraṇ*, identification with *Tirumūlar* is unsupported. The episode of the pole is narrated in *P. Nīlakaṇṭan* was entrusted by Śiva with a bowl, which he carefully put away. When Śiva returned for it, it was missing (the god having caused it to disappear to try the saint). *Nīlakaṇṭan* could not swear on the body of his wife, as the god demanded, having forsworn all contact with her, so it was agreed that he

²⁶ e.g. *Śv. adhyāya* 26: *Kalānātha* for N10 *Kuṅṭillyakkalaya n.*; a. 29: *Gonātha* for N13 *Āṇāya n.*, a probable mistranslation of *Ta. -āyaṇ*, see *infra*, p. 277; a. 30: *Mūrtinātha* for N14 *Mūrtti n.* and a. 31 *Skandanātha* for N15, *Muruka n.*

²⁷ *T*, vv. 2 and 6.

²⁸ See *Śv.* further, a. 52, 57 and 64. *-bhakta* also appears as a devotee-title: *Śv.* 53 *Dapda-bhakta* for N30 *Taṇṭiyapka n.*; a. 59–62 *Dabhrabhakta* for N35 *Ṭiruttōṭṭa n.*

²⁹ *op. cit.*, 40.

swear, holding a pole of which she held the other end, that he had now so despised the pot as to lose it.³⁰ See *P II*, 2, vv. 395/36–398/39.

Tārā. N2: Iyarpakai n. *P II*, 3, vv. 404/1–439/36.

The saint is shown with his wife after he slew those relatives who had doubted his action in bestowing her on an ascetic who was none other than Śiva. See *P II*, 3, vv. 428/25–429/26.

Tārā. N3: 'Īlayamāraṅkuṭimāraṅ katai'.³¹ *P II*, 4, vv. 440/1–466/27.

The first (last!) noted by *ARE*, since it is accompanied by a caption quoted above. It is also noticed by Sivaramamurti. The story is of a charitable saint who used to feed Śiva-devotees. The god, to test him, came late at night and in pouring rain and demanded food. This the saint and his wife supplied. Ta. *Māraṅ*, with *vallina ra*, is a Pāṇṭiya royal name. Śv. inevitably, but perhaps unfairly, simply calls this saint Māra.³² See *P II*, 4, vv. 460/21 ff.

Tārā. N4: Mēyppōru' n. *P II*, 5, vv. 467/1–490/24.

A false devotee sought out this saint, demanding to know the True Doctrine (Ta. *mēyppōru*). An attendant, Tattan, suspected the man's true intentions, and rushed in to defend the saint who was indeed being attacked. It is this scene that is shown in the panel. See *P II*, 5, vv. 486/20–490/24.

Tārā. N5: Virammiṇṭa n. *P II*, 6, vv. 491/1–501/11.

This saint upbraided Cuntarar for turning aside from the devotees assembled at Tiruvārūr, not realizing that Cuntarar felt humble before them. Thereupon Cuntarar sang the *T* and Virammiṇṭar understood Cuntarar's piety. The panel shows this scene. The Śv. gives the Skt. equivalent for this saint's name as Viraminda in a. 18. See *P II*, 6, vv. 497/7 & 498/8.

Tārā. N6: Amarnīti n. *P II*, 7, vv. 502/1–549/48.

This saint's story has already been noted.³³ The Tārācuram panel shows the weighing in the scales of Śiva's cloth against Amarnīti, his wife and family (plate III). See *P II*, 7, vv. 542/41–545/44.

Unlike the primary texts NN and *P* that reflect Cuntarar's refrain in *T*, Tārā. does not interpose a Cuntarar-episode at this point, though it is interesting to note that the Virammiṇṭar-story, which involves Cuntarar, appeared at N5, above.

Tārā. N7: Īripatta n. *P III*, 1, vv. 551/1–607/57.

This saint was much admired by Pukaḷceolaṅ, who gives him his sword, the episode shown at Tārācuram. See *P III*, 1, vv. 593/43 & 594/44.

Tārā. N8: Enātināta n. *P III*, 2, vv. 608/1–649/42.

This was a warrior-saint who smeared himself with holy ash before going out to kill his enemies, as shown in the panel. Śv. misses the possible connexion between Ta. *enāti* and Skt. *senāpati*, and gives the form Enādinātha in 21. See *P III*, 2, vv. 642/35–646/39.

Tārā. N9: Kaṇṇappa n. *P III*, 3, vv. 650/1–830/181.

This is the well-known story of the saint who, seeing the eye-socket bleeding on the *līṅga* at Kālahasti, gouged out his own eye to replace it. When the

³⁰ This Job-like story may be compared with that of Amarnīti n. (N6) who mislaid the god's cloth given him to look after. Śiva was irate that Amarnīti should offer another cloth to replace it, produced another of his own and said that the loss would be acceptable if Amarnīti could balance its weight in the scales. He had to seat himself, his wife and children therein before this could be achieved and be pardoned by the god for his carelessness.

³¹ Painted.

³² Śv., a. 18.

³³ *Supra*, n. 30.

other eye of the god, too, was put out, the saint placed his toe against it, so as to use his leg to guide his hand when he had put out his own other eye for the god. This latter is the scene shown at Tārācuram. See *P III*, 3, vv. 823/174–827/178.³⁴

Tārā. N10: Kuṅkiliyakkalaya n. *P III*, 4, vv. 831/1–865/35.

This royal saint saw that the *liṅga* at Tiruppanantāl was leaning to one side. He tried to set it upright with ropes and elephants but failed. He succeeded only by roping himself to it. This panel is incorrectly described by Sivaramamurti as showing 'Mārkaṇḍeya . . . with the noose of Yama surrounding not only the neck of the adoring saint but also the *liṅga* itself'.³⁵ See *P III*, 4, vv. 853/23–858/28.

Tārā. N11: Māṇakkañcāra n. *P III*, 5, vv. 866/1–902/37.

His daughter was given in marriage to Eyarkon Kalikkāma n. (N28). During the ceremony, Śiva appears as a mendicant, saying he will bless the occasion. The *nāyaṇār* leads his daughter out, and Śiva requests her tresses to make himself a necklace. The saint cuts them off and gives them to the mendicant who disappears, at which Śiva and Umā appear in the sky. The hair-cutting and the appearance of the god and goddess in the sky are shown in the panel. Sivaramamurti notes this panel³⁶ without identifying the saint. See *P III*, 5, v. 895/30.

Tārā. N12: Arivāṭṭāya n. *P III*, 6, vv. 903/1–925/23.

This saint, through hunger, ate some grain prepared as an offering for Śiva, spilling the rest in a crevice. Filled with remorse, he was about to behead himself, when Śiva's hand came out of the ground and stopped him. As the Tārācuram panel is damaged, the exact topic therein cannot be ascertained.

Tārā. N13: Āṇāya n. *P III*, 7, vv. 926/1–966/41.

While grazing his cattle, Āṇāyaṇ saw the cassia tree blooming. Thinking of them as adorning the locks of Śiva, he blew the *pañcākṣara* on his flute. Śiva took pity on him, and revealed himself and Umā seated on Nandī. He is shown playing the flute, with the god and goddess showing themselves, in the panel. Āṇāyaṇ would seem to mean 'cowherd' from Ta. *āṇ*, 'cow', 'buffalo', and *āyaṇ*, 'person of cowherd class'.³⁷ For this name, Śv. has Gonātha, possibly interpreting *-āyaṇ* as connected with Skt. *ārya*, though Tamil forms of this are usually *aiyaṇ* or *aiyaṇ*. See *P III*, 7, v. 963/38.

Tārā. N14: Mūrṭti n. *P IV*, 1, vv. 968/1–1016/49.

The Jaina Pāṇṭiya king of Maturai denied sandal-paste for Śiva rites at Maturai to Mūrṭti. However, when the king died without issue, the royal elephant, blindfolded, chose Mūrṭti as successor. This selection is shown in the panel. See *P IV*, 1, vv. 1010/43–1012/45.

Tārā. N15: Muruka n. *P IV*, 2, vv. 1017/1–1030/14.

He wove for the god a garland of four sorts of flowers. The panel shows this being woven, and four rows of flowers are clearly visible in it. See *P IV*, 2, vv. 1024/8–1026/10.

³⁴ I follow here the text as edited by C. K. Cuppiramaṇi Mutaliyar, II, 1042–50. Hereat are textual differences that lie outside the scope of this paper.

³⁵ op. cit., 40.

³⁶ ibid.

³⁷ See Burrow and Emeneau, *Dravidian etymological dictionary*, p. 25, col. i, entry 283 (*DED*).

Tārā. N16: Uruttirapacupati n. *P IV*, 3, vv. 1031/1–1040/10.

He constantly bathed in a tank, standing in the water day and night, hands aloft in adoration, as is shown in the panel. See *P IV*, 3 v. 1036/6.

Tārā. N17: 'Tirunālaippovar' (painted). *P IV*, 4, vv. 1041/1–1077/37.

This lowly saint is better known as Nantaṇār, a name attested in *P* itself.³⁸ He was immolated in fire, and thus attained Śiva's presence, as the panel shows. See *P IV*, 4, vv. 1071/31–1074/34.

Tārā. N18: 'Tirukkuripputtonṭar'.³⁹ *P IV*, 5, vv. 1078/1–1205/128.

This saint was a washerman of Kāñcīpuram. Śiva, disguised as an ascetic, brought clothes to wash. They were not ready so, to make matters worse, the god sent a rainstorm. Concerned that the ascetic was shivering with cold, the *nāyaṇār* started to rub his washing-stone with his own head in penance. Beside the stone Śiva's hand appeared from the ground and stopped him. The rain ceased, and god and goddess revealed themselves. The panel shows the ascetic giving clothes and the saint rubbing his head, and the god's hand. See *P IV*, 5, v. 1202/125.

Tārā. N19: 'Ceynallūr piḷḷaiyār katai' (painted). *P IV*, 6 vv. 1206/59–1264/59.

The story of the boy who attacked his father for interfering with his worship of Śiva goes back to *T* as seen.⁴⁰ His given name of Vicāra Caruṁar is attested also by *Śv.* as Vicāraśarman, in *a.* 35. It was the kicking over by the father of the pot of milk the boy was using to bathe the *liṅga* that caused him to cut off his father's leg. This is the scene in the panel. Śiva blessed the boy by garlanding him and giving him the name Caṇṭi. See *P IV*, 6, vv. 1255/50 & 1256/51.

Tārā. N20: Tirunāvukk'aracu n. *P V*, 1, vv. 1266/1–1694/42).

The story of this saint, a convert from Jainism and the author of *Tevāram* iv–vi is well known. He is mentioned in Sivaramamurti's work⁴¹ but out of the correct order.

Tārā. N21: Kulacciṇrai n. (plate IV). *P V*, 2, vv. 1695/1–1705/11.

This saint was the minister of the Pāṇṭiya king Niṇṇacīr Nē-umāra n. (N48) and responsible for the impalement at Maturai of the defeated Jainas, the scene shown in the panel. This panel is erroneously ascribed to Tiruñānacampantar by Sivaramamurti, despite the fact that the panel to him, N27, is supported by the caption 'Āḷuṭaiya piḷḷaiyār' and referred to for its part in correct sequence by Sivaramamurti.⁴² It is true that this incident involved Tiruñānacampantar, for he defeated the Jains by submitting their works to a floating test on the Vaikai: only the Śaiva texts floated against the current, the Jaina ones were washed away by it. While the impalement is mentioned in *P* in connexion with Kulacciṇrai, the floating-test is not. The panel shows Campantar at the left, with the river and a text upon it, the king and his queen(s) and Kulacciṇrai in the middle, the impaled Jains on the right. This

³⁸ *P IV*, 4, v. 1061/11, line 4.

³⁹ The distinctions between *ḷ/e* and *ḍ/o* were not observed in medieval Tamil script, accordingly they are not separated here.

⁴⁰ *Supra*, pp. 271, 273.

⁴¹ *op. cit.*, 40, where Appar (Tirunā.) is mentioned first, and is said to be 'graphically depicted in a number of scenes'.

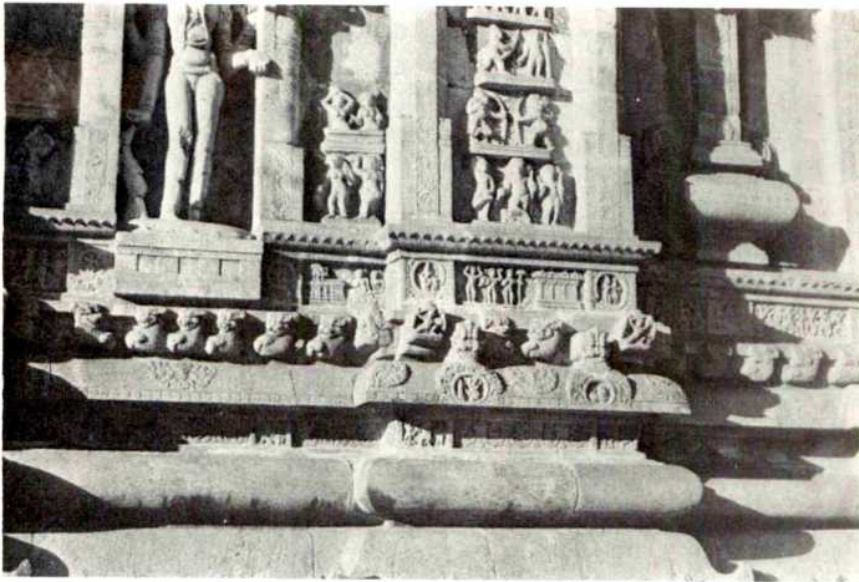
⁴² *op. cit.*, 41. Lacking a caption, Kulacciṇrai was not noticed by *ARE* (19:0), but Campantar, in the correct order, was; see p. 107.

PLATE I



N33, CĀKKIYAṆĀR THROWING A STONE AT THE LĪṄGA

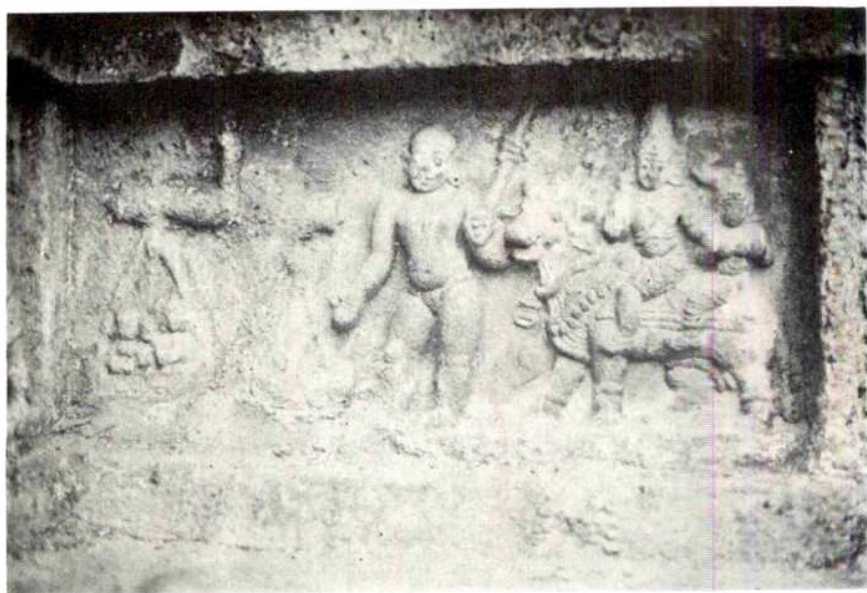
PLATE II



RIGHT CENTRE : G1, TILLAL VĀL ANTANAR, THE BRAHMANS AT CĪTAMPARAM ;
LEFT CENTRE : N1, TIRUNĪLAKAṆṬA NĀYAṆĀR SWEARS ON THE BODY OF HIS WIFE



PLATE III



N6, AMARNĀTI NĀYANĀR, BEING WEIGHED IN THE SCALES AGAINST THE CLOTH
OF ŚIVA

PLATE IV



N21, KULACCIRAI NĀYANĀR. THE IMPALED JAINAS ARE ON THE RIGHT



G2, PÖYYAṬIMAIYILLĀTA PULAVAR
(reproduced from Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras, 1920)



N46, KAṆAMPULĀṆṬĀR

PLATE VII

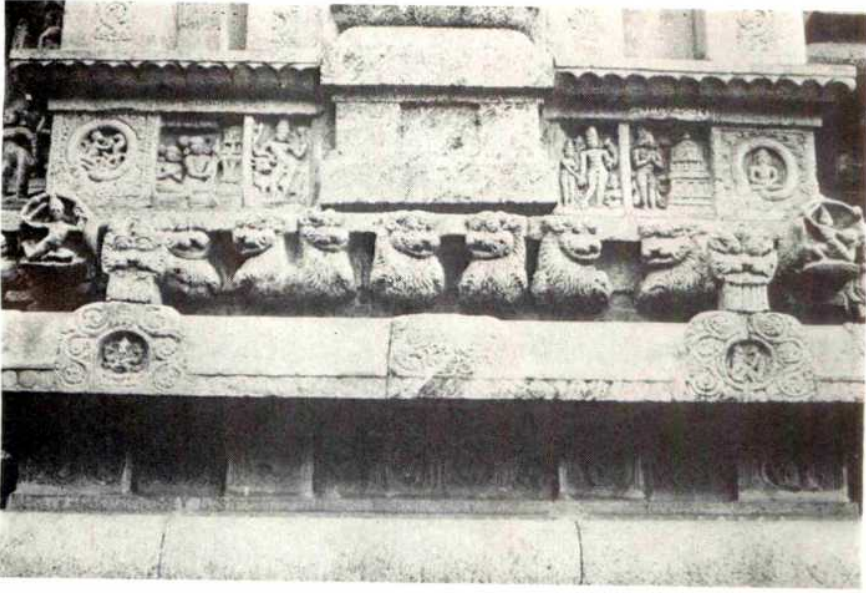


N51, KALARCIN̄KANĀR CUTTING OFF THE QUEEN'S HAND

PLATE VIII



N53, CĒRUTTUṆAIYĀṆṬĀR SEEN, LEFT, CUTTING OFF THE QUEEN'S NOSE AT
TIRUVĀRŪR

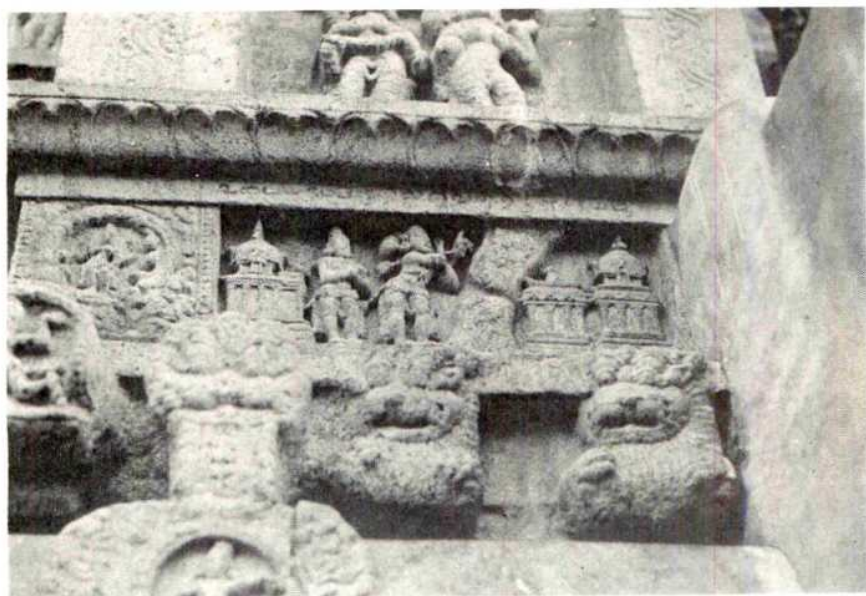


LEFT TO RIGHT: N60, TIRUNĪLAKANTAPPĒRUMPĀṆANĀR, ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA, ŚIVA AND UMĀ; N59, KO CIŅKAPPĒRUMĀL



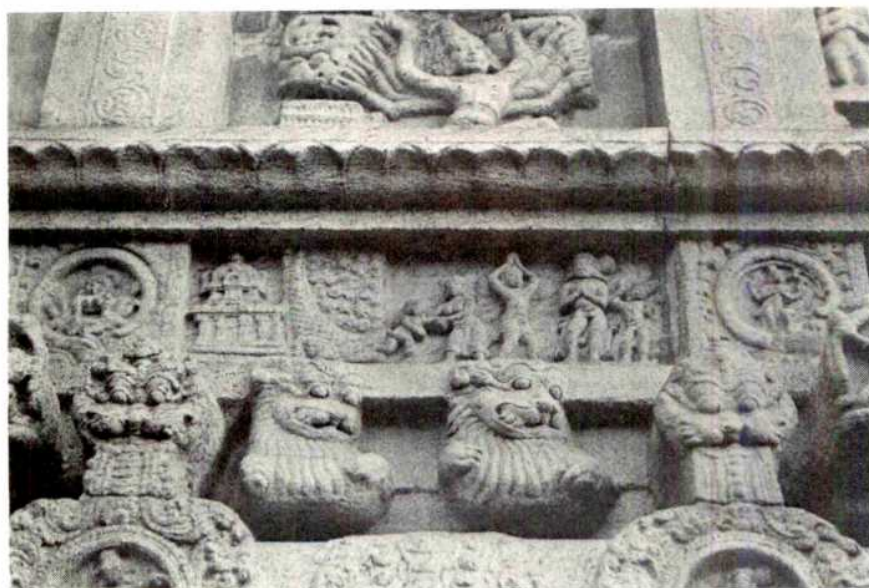
N63.1, UṬAIYANAMPI ĒLUNT'ARUḶUKIRĀR
(reproduced from Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras, 1920)

PLATE XI



N63.4, CUNTARAR CAUSES THE RIVER KĀVIRI TO PART AT TIRUVAIYĀRU

PLATE XII



N63.7, CUNTARAR AT AVINĀCI SAVES THE BOY SEIZED BY A CROCODILE

story is reworked by Parañcōti munivar in *Tiruvilaiyārtarpurāṇam*.⁴³ See *P V*, 2, v. 1705/11.

Tārā. N22: Pērumilalai Kkūrumpa n. *P V*, 3, vv. 1706/1–1716/11.

So impressed by Cuntarar was this chief that he meditated upon him constantly, and then upon Śiva, finally attaining *mokṣa* thereby. In the panel, he is seen both meditating and worshipping the god and goddess. See *P V*, 3, v. 1715/10.

Tārā. N23: Kāraikkāl ammayār. *P V*, 4, vv. 1717/1–1782/66.

This saint's popular title is attested in *P V*, 3, v. 1716/11, the 'link-verse' at the end of the previous *purāṇam*. Cuntarar refers to her as the Demoness, Peyār,⁴⁴ and her given name was Punitavatiyār.⁴⁵ She was dissatisfied with ordinary life, became an ascetic and mystic, and is one of the important Śaiva authors.⁴⁶ When she made her pilgrimage to Kailāsa, she decided that to go on foot was too easy, so she walked on her head and hands. She is shown in this position, surrounded by wild animals, at Tārācuram. See *P V*, 4, vv. 1771/75 & 1772/56.

Tārā. N24: Appūtiy aṭika' n. *P V*, 5, vv. 1783/1–1827/45.

Though a Brahman, he was a devotee of Appar (Tirunāvukk'aracu). The panel shows him and his family welcoming Appar at their house. See *P V*, 5, vv. 1799/17–1801/19.

Tārā. N25: Tirunilanakka n. *P V*, 6, vv. 1828/1–1865/38.

This saint's wife blew a spider off the *līṅga*, thus in the view of her husband defiling it. He decided to leave her, but was prevented by a dream in which he saw the god covered in sores save where his wife had breathed. See *P V*, 6, vv. 1839/12 & 1840/13.

Tārā. N26: 'Naminanti aṭikaḷ' (painted). *P V*, 7, vv. 1866/1–1897/32.

The Jains would not give oil for lighting the temple-lamps at Aranēri. Śiva told Naminanti to use water from the temple-tank to fill the lamps; this he did. The lamps lit, and shone brighter than ever. The panel shows the tank on the right, while to the left Naminanti fills the lamps. See *P V*, 7, vv. 1877/12 & 1878/13.

Tārā. N27: 'Āṇṭaiya pillaiyār' (painted). *P VI*, 1, vv. 1899/1–3154/1256.

Campantar, author of the first three books of *Tevāram*, is more extensively treated in *P* than any other saint.⁴⁷ Perhaps for this reason he is noticed in other panels, such as in N21 noted above. The panel shows an incident early in his life. His father had left him by the tank at Cirkālī while he went to bathe. The child began to cry with hunger; Śiva and Umā appeared, and the god urged her to comfort Campantar with milk from her breast. This she did, giving it to him in a golden cup. His father returned, and seeing milk dribbling from the baby's lips, was angry that some lower caste person might have fed him. But the child pointed up to heaven where Śiva and Umā were still visible, and started to compose his first hymn, *Toṭṭaiya cēviyaṇ* ... (*Tev.* i,

⁴³ Canto 63; the MS floating is mentioned therein in verse 64; the story is depicted in the *Tiruvilai* paintings in the Brhadiśvara temple, Tanjore.

⁴⁴ *T*, v. 4, line 2.

⁴⁵ *P V*, 4, v. 1718/2.

⁴⁶ An excellent study of Kāraikkāl ammayār is that of 'Kārāvēlane' pseud., *Kāreikkālam-meyār, œuvres éditées et traduites*, Pondichéry, 1956; pp. 1–4 contain a summary of her *purāṇam* as told by Cekkijār.

⁴⁷ There is a translation of the whole of Campantar's *purāṇam*, by S. Sabaratna Mudalhar *Life of Thiruv Gnana Sambanthar*, Madras, 1920.

pat. 1). The panel shows the boy being threatened by his father, with the god and the goddess on the left. See *P VI*, 1, vv. 1970/72-1972/74.

Tārā. N28: 'Eyarkon Kalikkāmāntār' (painted). *P VI*, 2, vv. 3155/1-3563/409.

This saint was indignant that Śiva so pampered Cuntarar as to mediate between him and his first wife, Paravaiyār over his bigamous marriage to Caṅkiliyār. To effect a meeting between Kalikkāmaṇ and Cuntarar, Śiva inflicted on Kalikkāmaṇ a muscular disease, and sent Cuntarar to cure him. The saint said he would rather die than be cured by the bigamist, and killed himself with a sword. Appalled, Cuntarar was about to kill himself too when, by Śiva's grace, Kalikkāmaṇ was restored to life and stopped Cuntarar from suicide. The two scenes, of Kalikkāmaṇ's suicide and his subsequent prevention of the same on the part of Cuntarar are both seen in the panel (right and left). See *P VI*, 2, v. 3551/397 (for right) and v. 3558/404 (for left).

Tārā. N29: Tirumūla n. *P VI*, 3, vv. 3564/1-3591/28.

To relieve some anguished cattle, Tirumūlar restored their dead herdsman to life by entering his corpse; when the man went home, he no longer recognized his wife and left her, returning to where he had left his original (Tirumūlar) body. By Śiva's grace it was no longer there, and the herdsman-saint went to Tiruvāṭuturai, sat under an *aśvattha*-tree and composed *Tirumantiram* (which is included in *Tirumurai* X). Having wrongly placed Tirumūlar near the beginning of his account, Sivaramamurti⁴⁸ has a gap of three panels at this point, but does not say so. The panel N29 shows the saint seated, a tree to the left, the reference perhaps to his composing *Tirumantiram*. See *P VI*, 3, vv. 3588/25-3590/27.

Tārā. N30: Taṇṭiyaṭika' n. *P VI*, 4, vv. 3592/1-3617/26.

Though blind, this saint started to dig the great Kamalālaya tank at Tiruvārūr, as a guide roping himself to a post at the centre of his dig. Scoffing Jainas took away his post and ropes.⁴⁹ Śiva appeared in dreams to him and to the king: he would recover his sight, and the king was to drive out the Jainas. In the king's presence, Taṇṭi plunged into the tank he had dug, his sight was restored and the Jainas blinded. The king pulled their temples down. The saint is shown in the tank he is digging. See *P VI*, 3, v. 3596/5.

Tārā. N31: Mūrka n. *P VI*, 4, vv. 3618/1-3629/12.

So liberal to *bhaktas* was this saint that he became a pauper, and took to gambling to recoup his losses and continue his largesse; at dice he would attack any adversary who cheated. Interestingly, Śv. does not restore the Skt. name, but calls him Bhaktārcaka, in a. 54, in view of his kindness to devotees. The two-tier panel shows his munificence (upper) and gaming (lower). See *P VI*, 4, vv. 3620/3-3621/4 (upper) and vv. 3623/6-3629/12 (lower).

Tārā. N32: 'Comācimāraṇār' (painted). *P VI*, 6, vv. 3630/1-3634/5.

The *purāṇam* is short and uneventful, and perhaps as a consequence the panel is non-episodic. He is shown perhaps performing a *homa*; *P* states he performed sacrifices. Though listed by ARE (1908), this panel did not figure in the 1920 issue. See *P VI*, 6, v. 3631/2 (*homa*).

⁴⁸ op. cit., pp. 40 and 42.

⁴⁹ In fairness it should be noted that Taṇṭi deliberately sought out that part of Tiruvārūr where the Jainas had their temples, and started his tank-digging there. An instance of the deep animosity between Śaivites and Jainas that informs the whole of *P*, and indeed other *Tirumurai*-works.

WEST WALL

Tārā. N33: 'Cākkiyaṇār' (plate I). *P VII*, 1, vv. 3636/1-3653/18.

The episode of this saint daily throwing stones at the *līṅga* was already mentioned.⁵⁰ He was originally a Buddhist, as the name suggests, and *ARE* (1920) is perhaps in error in calling him a Jain.⁵¹ Perspective in the panel shows plainly that the receptacle beneath the *līṅga* was square.⁵² See *P VII*, 1, vv. 3644/9-3651/16.

Tārā. N34: 'Ciraṇṇappuli āṇṭār' (painted). *P VII*, 2, vv. 3654/1-3659/6.

An uneventful and short *purāṇam* concerning a saint liberal to devotees. The panel shows him in the act of giving.

Tārā. N35: 'Ciraṭṭoṇṭāṇṭār katai'. *P VII*, 3, vv. 3660/1-3747/88.

As a test of this saint, Śiva in the guise of a guest, Vairavar, demands the flesh of his son as food; when this is served up, he then demands the head, but remarks that he cannot eat in a (seemingly) childless house. To the parents' consternation, he tells them to call their son from school. They comply and, miraculously, the boy comes in. In two tiers, the panel shows in the upper part the child rushing to the mother in the presence of Śiva and Umā; the lower panel is damaged. See *P VII*, 3, vv. 3740/81-3742/83.

Tārā. N36: 'Ceramāṇ perumāl katai'. *P VII*, 4, vv. 3748/1-3922/175.

This saint was the royal patron and friend of Cuntarar, and the title as at Tārācuram reflects that used in colophons. In texts he is also referred to as Kaḷarirraṇṇivār.⁵³ He made a number of royal journeys on pilgrimage, and in Maturai met the musician Pattiraṇār, referred to both in *P*⁵⁴ and *Tiruvīḷai*.⁵⁵ as Pāṇaṇār Pattiraṇār. This does not stop Ārumuka nāvalar, C. K. Cuppiramaniya Mutaliyār and Veṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār referring to this devotee as Pāṇapattirar, perhaps based on Skt. *Bāṇabhadra*.⁵⁶ The panel shows this meeting: the Cera king approaches Pattiraṇār on an elephant, with retinue. See *P VII*, 4, vv. 3773/26 & 3777/30.

Tārā. N37: 'Kaṇaṇātāṇṭār katai'. *P VII*, 5, vv. 3923/1-3929/7.

An admirer of Campantar, this saint was an exemplar to other devotees at Cirkālī, and the panel shows him leading them at prayer. Despite the inscription and the notice in *ARE* (1920), Sivaramamurti has omitted this saint.⁵⁷ See *P VII*, 5, vv. 3925/3 & 3926/4.

Tārā. N38: 'Kūrruvaṇār'. *P VII*, 6, vv. 3930/1-3937/8.

This saint had enormous wealth and power, lacking only a crown. The brahmans at Citamparam would not accept his regal pretensions, and left, save for one family, perhaps those shown with the saint on his dais in the panel.⁵⁸ See *P VII*, 6, vv. 3935/6 & 3936/7.

⁵⁰ *Supra*, p. 273.

⁵¹ *ARE* (1920), 106, § 43.

⁵² This point is made because of general and modern insistence that the receptacle signifies the female *yoni*, the influence presumably being Tantric. The author has seen two other square receptacles, one in the 'Coja' temple at Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka, another in the Kumbheśvara temple, Pāṭan, Nepal, a veritable stronghold of Tantrism! While not questioning Tantric belief, one may assume it was originally just a receptacle for liquid offerings.

⁵³ *T*, v. 6, line 3; *P VII*, 3, v. 3747/88.

⁵⁴ *P VII*, 4, v. 3773/26.

⁵⁵ *Tiruvīḷai*. 41, v. 6.

⁵⁶ e.g. C. K. Cuppiramaniya Mutaliyār *comm.* on *P*, vv. 3773/26 and 3777/30, vii, 30-1.

⁵⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 42; *ARE* (1920), 106.

⁵⁸ The *Śv.*, interestingly, calls this Coja 'pretender' *Parāntaka*, a name borne by two tenth-century Cojas, Parāntaka I (907-55) and II (957-73). See *a.* 65. The exiles may have formed the Nambūdiris of Kerala, as JMNPs suggests, see p. 101, n. The panels show the brahmans in G1 and herein as wearing 'buns'.

Tārā. G2: 'Poyyaṭimaiyillata pulavar'. *P VIII*, 1, vv. 3939/1-3941/3.

This group appears in exactly the slot in the sequence that it does in the primary texts, the remaining groups (G3-G9) appearing all together in *P XI*. The *purāṇams* describing them are all short. Nine devotees are seen in the panel (plate V). The *Sv.* notices only this group, but has made it into a single devotee, Satyadāsa, which name translates the Tamil epithet applied to the group, *pōyyaṭimaiyillāta*.⁵⁹ A tradition at variance with *P*, whose portrayal of these devotees is as non-committal as the panel G2, is recorded by NN and *Pc.* that these devotees were the 49 poets of the Tamil *Sungam*.⁶⁰ If so, it is hard to see how this number was symbolized by the nine figures shown at Tārācuram.

Tārā. N39: 'Pukaḷccolanār'. *P VIII*, 2, vv. 3942/1-3982/41.

He immolated himself in fire at Karuvūr, since among the corpses of his defeated enemy Atikaṇ he saw that of a saint with long hair. He ascended the pyre with the saint's severed head on a golden plate on his own head. On the right of the panel the king and his followers see the severed heads of captives; on the left he is immolating himself. See *P VIII*, 2, v. 3980/3f.

Tārā. N40: 'Naracinkamunaiyaraigar'. *P VIII*, 3, vv. 3983/1-3991/9.

Liberal to *Śivabhaktas*, he offended some by his generosity to one who was obviously a fraud. The panel shows him in the act of giving to the one in front of others. See *P VIII*, 3, vv. 3987/5-3989/7.

Tārā. N41: 'Atipattar katai'. *P VIII*, 4, vv. 3992-4011/20.

Ruler of the Paratavar, fisher-folk, he was a Śiva-devotee, and used to offer to the god the biggest of the day's catch by returning it to the sea. One day he fished up a golden bejewelled 'fish'. In two parts, the panel shows (left) the saint worshipping Śiva and Umā, and (right) the casting into the sea of a large fish. The perspective for the sea is as in the River Vaikai in the Kulaccirai story (plate IV). See *P VIII*, 4, v. 4000/9 (left) and vv. 4006/15-4008/17 (for right).

Tārā. N42: 'Kalikkampāṇṭar katai'. *P VIII*, 5, vv. 4012/1-4021/10.

He used to bathe and feed devotees. Once a former servant, who had been sent away in disgrace, came. Kalikkampan noticed that his wife hesitated to wash the old man's feet. He cut off her hand, and then washed the servant's feet and fed him. The panel is in two halves, at right angles: the left shows Kalikkampan cutting off his wife's arm, the right shows Kalikkampan feeding devotees. See *P VIII*, 5, vv. 4017/6-4019/8 (left) and v. 4020/9 (right).

Tārā. N43: 'Kaliyaṇār'. *P VIII*, 6, vv. 4022/1-4038/17.

A wealthy oilmonger of Tiruvōṇṇiyūr, he provided oil for the temple lamps, becoming poor through his munificence. He sold his house, and went forth with his wife, to sell her, resolving to die if he could not find money to provide oil for the temple. He was about to pour his own blood into the lamps by cutting his own throat, but Śiva intervened. The right half of the panel shows oil-pressing, the left the saint about to cut his throat before the temple. See *P VIII*, 6, vv. 4035/14-4037/16 (left).

Tārā. N44: 'Cattiyāṇṭar'. *P VIII*, 7, vv. 4039/1-4045/7.

A devotee from Variñcaiyūr, he used to cut out the tongues of those who spoke ill of Śiva's devotees. This somewhat unpleasant activity is seen in the Tārācuram panel. See *P VIII*, 7, v. 4042/4.

⁵⁹ *Sv.*, a. 64.

⁶⁰ NN, v. 49; *Pc.*, v. 45.

Tārā. N45: 'Aiyyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavar koṇār'. *P* VIII, 8, vv. 4046/1-4053/8.

Kāṭavar was one of the Pallava titles.⁶¹ This saint relinquished his throne in order to make pilgrimages from shrine to shrine. The scene of a devotee before a shrine is repeated four times in the panel, suggesting a pilgrimage from place to place.⁶² See *P* VIII, 8, v. 4051/6.

Tārā. N46: 'Kaṇampulāṇṭār'. *P* IX, i, vv. 4055/1-4063/9.

His wealth was dissipated in providing lamps at Citamparam and Tiruppulicūram, so he found work cutting grass and selling it. When no one bought it he used it for the lamps; when that was exhausted, he set light to his own hair and so attained the feet of Śiva. The panel shows him selling grass (right) and then setting fire to his hair before the temple. See *P* IX, 1, v. 4061/7 & 4062/8.

Tārā. N47: 'Kāriyār'. *P* IX, 2, vv. 4064/1-4068/5.

The panel here does not show anything that could be considered episodic. *P* states that Kāri wrote a work called *Tamiḷkkovai*.⁶³ This has been taken by some as referring to *Tirukkovaṭṭār*, the allegorical love-poem addressed to Śiva at Citamparam written by Māṇikkavācakar. Sivaramamurti identifies Kāriyār with Māṇikkavācakar, so does JMNP,⁶⁴ but C. K. Cuppiramaṇiya Mutaliyār thinks otherwise.⁶⁵ Kāri is not found elsewhere as a name for Māṇikkavācakar, whose story is prominent in *Tiruvilai*.⁶⁶ But it is worth noting that, just to the right (and therefore preceding) this panel is a single figure, seemingly detached from the Kaṇampulāṇṭār story, and bearing over it the caption 'koyil'. This label was listed (with a query) by *ARE* (1908), but ignored in the 1920 survey, the illustration to Kaṇampulāṇṭār therein⁶⁷ 'appropriating' this single figure. It could be that the sculptor knew of the *P* reference to *Tamiḷkkovai* (a work no longer extant), felt that Māṇikkavācakar deserved a place in the hagiography being carved, and inserted him here. 'Koyil' above him would then indeed refer to Citamparam, as is usually the case among Śaivites. (Plate VI.)

Tārā. N48: 'Neṭumāraṇār'. *P* IX, 3, vv. 4069/1-4078/10.

A short *purāṇam* and a non-episodic panel seems hardly appropriate to the Pāṇṭiya who was the patron of Campantar, whose minister Kulaccirai joined in defeating the Jains, and whose queen was herself a *Nāyaṇār*.⁶⁸ As already noted, his victory at Nēlveli, reported by NN, is not mentioned in the *purāṇam*, and so does not figure here: he is shown on a throne in the company of, perhaps, Campantar.

Tārā. N49: 'Vāyilār'. *P* IX, 4, vv. 4079/1-4088/10.

A meditating saint, who had created in his heart a temple to Śiva; the panel shows him meditating. See *P* IX, 4, v. 4086/8.

NORTH WALL

Tārā. N50: 'Munaiyaṭuvar'. *P* IX, 5, vv. 4089/1-4094/6.

This saint would challenge people to fight for a wager and, with the proceeds,

⁶¹ *Infra*, p. 284 (N51).

⁶² *Śv.* has Pañcapāda for Aiyyaṭikaḷ, an apparent confusion between Ta. *ai-*, 'five', and *ai* 'beauty', which makes better sense.

⁶³ *P* IX, 2, v. 4064/1.

⁶⁴ Sivaramamurti, op. cit., 43; JMNP, op. cit., 121.

⁶⁵ VII, 398, *comm.*

⁶⁶ Cantos 58-60.

⁶⁷ *ARE* (1908), 81; *ARE* (1920), plate IV, fig. 30.

⁶⁸ Usually called Maṇḍikāyārkk'araci and N57 in the sequence; *infra*, p. 29.

feed Śiva's devotees. His name refers to his fighting prowess. The panel shows him attacking someone with a spear. See *P IX*, 5, v. 405/1/3.

Tārā. N51: 'Kalarciṅkaṇār' (plate VII). *P X*, 1, vv. 4096/1-4108/13.

As already noted,⁶⁹ the story of this saint and Cērutṭunai (N53) appear in the wrong order in all sources save *Śv*. Cērutṭunaiyār went to Tiruvārūr to perform temple services. While there, the queen to King Kalarciṅkaṇ came and, seeing flowers being made ready for *pūjā*, picked up one and smelt it. Cērutṭunaiyār, enraged, cut off her nose. The king arrived, hearing her screaming and enquired who had dared to attack her. When Cērutṭunaiyār told him, far from his being punished, the king said that the culprit was the hand that picked up the flower, and hacked off the queen's hand too. It is this latter atrocity that appears at this point; the previous wound inflicted on the queen by Cērutṭunaiyār is related in *P X*, 3, v. 4124/5, that *purāṇam* being separated from this one by *P X*, 2, telling of Iṭaṅkaḷi (N52), irrelevant to this story. The rational order of episodes *a*, *b* and *x* has become, then, *b*, *x* and *a*. It was seen that at the root of the sequence we have is the text of *T*. Therein, it will be found that, in v. 9, episode *b* appears in line 1, and *x* and *a* in line 2. It is possible, then, that at some early date the lines were transposed, and that this arrangement was slavishly followed by NN and Cekkīlār, and at Tārācuram. A way out of the dilemma would be to reverse the lines of Cunnarar's *T*, v. 9, as follows:

(2) *maṭalcūlnta tār nampi Iṭaṅkaḷikkum Taṇṇai maṇṇavaṇāṇi Cērutṭunai taṇ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyen* (gives *x* and *a*).

(1) *kaṭalcūlnta ulak'ēlaṇ kākkinra pērumāṇ kāṭavarkon Kalarciṅkaṇ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyen* (gives *b*).

No violence is hereby done to the metrics of the verse, and N53 would be N51, N51 would be N52, and the extraneous N52, Iṭaṅkaḷi, become N53.

The arguments for Kalarciṅkaṇ being the Pallava Nardivarman III (c. 826-49) and his queen a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess and, as a Jaina insensitive to Śaiva feelings, are well-rehearsed by Nambi Arooran.⁷⁰ But there is no need to 'infer' that Kalarciṅkaṇ was a Pallava from the title Kāṭavarkon. In his *purāṇam* on Cērutṭunai, Cekkīlār refers to this king as *Pallararko Cīṅkar*.⁷¹ The panel shows this cruel act clearly. (Plate VII.) See *P X*, 1, v. 4105/10.

Tārā. N52: 'Iṭaṅkaḷiyāṇṭār'. *P X*, 2, vv. 4109/1-4119/11.

Caught stealing from this chieftain-saint's granary, a thief explained that he needed the grain to sell for Śiva devotees' sustenance. The chieftain swore henceforth to be as a granary to the devotees; he made a proclamation, accompanied by a great drum, to this effect. The king is seated, a drum to the left. See *P X*, 2, v. 4117/9.

Tārā. N53: 'Cērutṭunaiyāṇṭār' (plate VIII). *P X*, 3, vv. 4120/1-4126/7.

His part in the unsavoury episode of Kalarciṅkaṇ's luckless queen has just been noted. In the panel, garland-weaving is seen to the right, and his assault upon the queen is shown in the main part of the panel, at right angle. See *P X*, 3, v. 4124/5.

Tārā. N54: 'Pukaḷṭṭunaiyār'. *P X*, 4, vv. 4127/1-4133/7.

During a famine, this saint became so weak that he let fall the pot of water at the *linga* he was worshipping, and fell fainting. Śiva appeared in a dream and said that daily he would find a coin at the base of the *linga* till the famine

⁶⁹ *Supra*, p. 270.

⁷⁰ *op. cit.*, 42-4 and n. 68.

⁷¹ *P X*, 3, v. 4123/4, line 1.

abated. At the right the saint is shown at prayer, to the left and at right angles he is seen letting slip the pot and further left seeking the coin at the *līṅga*-base. See *P X*, 4, vv. 4129/3 & 4130/4.

Tārā. N55: 'Kolpuliyaṅtār'. *P X*, 5, vv. 4134/1-4145/12.

Elsewhere called Koṭpuli, this saint was an army-commander, who kept a granary filled for temple-service. When he left on active service, he instructed his family to keep his granary strictly for temple-service. However, during a famine, they raided it for their own survival. When he returned, he slew them all, not even sparing a small boy who had escaped his first onslaught. Śiva and Umā appeared, assuring him that all his family had attained *svarga*. The massacre of the family is shown in the Tārācuram panel. See *P X*, 5, vv. 4141/8-4143/10.

Tārā. G3: 'Pattarāyppanivār'. *P XI*, 1, vv. 4147/1-4154/8.

Now follow the remaining seven Groups, exactly as in *T*, verse 10. Their *purāṇams* are all brief, and for the most part non-episodic. The first group of *Śivabhaktas* shows them ever to be praising the god and dancing to him, wherever they may be. Attitudes of prayer, dance and giving are seen in the panel among the 10 devotees shown.

Tārā. G4: 'Paramaṇaiye pāṭuvār'. *P XI*, 2, vv. 4155/1 & 4156/2.

The devotees praise Śiva at Tillai in Tamil, Sanskrit, and other languages. Three *bhaktas* are shown before a temple.

Tārā. G5: Cittattai Coivappāle vaittar. *P XI*, 3, v. 4157.

The only subject in *P* to have a *purāṇam* of one verse and no caption, identifiable at Tārā, by the Groups either side which have one. On the left, a figure is seen meditating, while to the right a number are shown around a shrine, dancing, and playing musical instruments.

Tārā. G6: 'Tiruvārūr pirantār'. *P XI*, 4, vv. 4158/1 & 4159/2.

One should not belittle the devotees of Śiva born in Tiruvārūr; they are fit to be Śiva's *gaṇas* on Kailāsa. Four are seen in the panel.

Tārā. G7: 'Mukkālum tirumeṇi tīṇṭuvār'. *P XI*, 5, vv. 4160/1-4162/3.

The foremost devotees are those who praised Śiva, those who now so do, and those who will continue to extol him. The three times are probably symbolized in the panel by three devotees, each before a *līṅga*.

Tārā. G8: 'Muṇuṇṇipūciya muṇivar'. *P XI*, 6, vv. 4163/1-4168/6.

Though supported by captions, neither this nor the next Group is mentioned by Sivaramamurti. Six devotees are shown before a temple, a reflection perhaps of the fact that the *purāṇam* is of six verses.

Tārā. G9: 'Appālum aṭicca[r]nta aṭiyar'. *P XI*, 7, v. 4169.

Though the *purāṇam* is of one verse, there is a caption hereat. These are devotees who lived before or after those listed in *T*, or who live beyond the Tamil country of the three kings and worship Śiva. Three devotees before a temple are shown symbolizing, perhaps, one prior to *T*, one after and one outside the Tamil land.

Tārā. N56: Pūcalār nāyaṇār. *P XII*, 1, vv. 4171/1-4188/18.

Grieving that he had insufficient money to build a temple to Śiva, this brahman went through the whole process in his mind. He summoned up carpenters, and built it from foundations to *śikhara*, and set up a pillar and the wall. On 'completion' the god appeared to the Kāṭavar king and told him that, before he attended the inauguration of a temple he had had built,

he must visit Pūcalār and pay homage to him. This last scene is shown in the panel. See *P* XII, 1, v. 4186/16.

Tārā. N57: 'Pēṇṭimātevi'. *P* XII, 2, vv. 4189/1-4191/3.

Known commonly from colophons as Maṅkaiyārkk'araci, Nēṭumārēṇ's queen was, with him and Kulaccirai, patron of Nānacampantar. *ARE* (192C)⁷² repeats the story of her husband being cured of a hunchback-condition as a result of the saint's success, with her, in converting him from Jainism. But this story is not mentioned in *P*, being found in *Tiruvilai*.⁷³ The panel shows the queen saluting Campantar. See *P*, 2, v. 4189/1.

Tārā. N58: 'Necāntār'. *P* XII, 3, vv. 4192/1-4196/5.

Another short *purāṇam* concerns this weaver, who ceaselessly gave away to Śaiva devotees the clothing he wove, as seen in the panel.

Tārā. N59: 'Ko Cinkapperumāl' (plate IX). *P* XII, 4, vv. 4197/1-4214/18.

This saint was the reincarnation of the spider that, at Tiruvāṇaikkā, spun a web over the *linga* to shelter it. The Skt. name in *Śv.*, *Lohitākṣa*, refers to his usual name, Cēṅkanāṇ, 'red-eyed one', said to have been exclaimed at his birth by his mother.⁷⁴ He is shown, crowned, before a shrine. Both this panel and the next, N60, are divided vertically by a narrow bar; in the left half of N59 appears Śiva and Pārvatī, in the right half of panel N60, as if to counterbalance N59,⁷⁵ appears Ardhanārīśvara. This arrangement is unusual; the divine figures may or may not be relevant to their subject matter and it seems strange that, in its accompanying illustrations, *ARE* (1920) omitted them.⁷⁶ Nothing 'episodic' appears in the panel.

Tārā. N60: 'Tirunīlakaṇṭapperumpāṇār'. *P* XII, 5, vv. 4215/1-4226/12.

As will be seen from plate IX, this panel counterbalances that just discussed. This saint was a musician, who played the bow-harp before Śiva. This is shown in the panel. See *P* XII, 5, v. 4221/7.

Tārā. N61: 'Caṭaiyaṇār'. *P* XII, 6, v. 4227.

Tārā. N62: 'Icāiṇāṇiyār'. *P* XII, 7, v. 4228.

The last two *Nāyanmār* to figure in *P*, other than Cuntarar whose story is resumed in *curukkam* XIII, are the parents of Cuntarar, Caṭaiyaṇ and Icāiṇāṇi, apportioned one verse each. Both panels are non-episodic, showing each in an attitude of prayer.

Tārā. N63.1-7 (Cuntaramūrti n.).

The set of seven panels that illustrates episodes from Cuntarar's life will, finally, be examined. Each is accompanied by a caption, in which Cuntarar is referred to, in four out of the seven, as *Uṭaiyaṇampi*. This, as meaning 'devotee (who is) a person of property' is perhaps a reference to the last verse of *T*, wherein Cuntarar refers to himself as *Nāvalūr kkoṇ*, 'lord of Nāvalūr'.⁷⁷ The most noteworthy omission at Tārācuram is of any reference to the bigamous alliance with Caṅkiliyār; the only point at which this is touched upon is the panel for N28, 'Kalikkāmāṇṭār', the saint who would die rather than be

⁷² *ARE* (1920), 105.

⁷³ *Tiruvilai*, canto 62.

⁷⁴ *Lohitākṣa*, *Śv.*, a. 75; *Cēṅkanāṇ*, NN, v. 81, *P* XII, 4, v. 4210/14. As fast as the spider spun the web, an elephant came and tore it down. The spider entered the elephant's trunk and bit it, killing them both. When the former was reborn, his mother died after addressing him as Cēṅkanāṇ.

⁷⁵ See plate IX.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, plate I, figs. 10, 11.

⁷⁷ *T*, v. 12, line 3.

cured by the bigamist who had used Śiva as go-between.⁷⁸ The episodes seen start with his birth to Caṭaiyaṇ and Icaiñāṇi, a natural follow-on to those two saints, just featured. They finish with the saving of the boy from the crocodile. As already stated,⁷⁹ Tārācuram does not allude to the 'heavenly' life of Cuntarar; its parameters lie firmly within *P* I, 5 to XIII, and in the latter up to well before his translation to heaven on the white elephant. NN similarly omits these episodes, and it is tempting to regard them as later accretions, featured in *P* I, 1-4, the latter part of *P* XIII, and in *Śv.*, particularly *adhyāyas* 1-13.⁸⁰ Within *P*, source-material for the seven Cuntarar-panels is also to be found in the ten interstitial verses on Cuntarar that were already noted.⁸¹

Tārā. N63.1: 'Uṭaiyanampi eḷuntaruḷukirār' (plate X).

ARE (1920) states: 'This sculpture cannot be identified clearly. Probably this refers to the birth of Ālālasundara . . .'.⁸² It is hard to agree with this, as nowhere else in the frieze is there any reference to the supernatural life of Cuntarar. It seems reasonable to interpret this panel as showing the birth to Caṭaiyaṇ and Icaiñāṇi (*P* I, 5, v. 149/3) and his adoption by Naraciṅka Munaiyār (*P* I, 5, v. 151/5). The two on the left would then be Cuntarar's parents, with the boy next to them, and the crowned figure to the right Naraciṅkaṇ.

Tārā. N63.2: 'Āvaṇa olai kātṭinapaṭi'.

This shows the god Śiva claiming Cuntarar's allegiance at the point of the saint's marriage arranged by his adoptive parents. Śiva produces the palm-leaf MS in which was recorded the agreement by which, in return for allegiance to him, Cuntarar would be able to marry Paravaiyār and Caṅkiliyār⁸³ and demonstrates its antiquity (*P* II, v. 550). The saint dares to try and tear it up (*P* I, 5, v. 190/44) and the god points out that this act itself is proof of the document's authenticity: were it a forgery, Cuntarar would not have tried to destroy it (*P* I, 5, v. 193/47). This episode is, in effect, continued in the next panel.

Tārā. N63.3: 'Uṭaiyanampiyai āṇṭukonṭaruḷinapaṭi'.

After Śiva, in the form of an old brahman, has claimed the allegiance of Cuntarar, he is asked his residence; he points to the temple of Tiruvēṇṇēy-nallūr, and disappears into it. The scene is shown here: two aged brahmans, one of them the god, are shown before a shrine, with the adoring Cuntarar to the right. See *P* I, 5, v. 211/65.

Tārā. N63.4: 'Uṭaiyanampikku ollenraruḷinapaṭi' (plate XI).

The above is the reading in *ARE* (1908),⁸⁴ and that favoured by Sivaramamurti.⁸⁵ But for some reason the *ARE* (1920) authors changed their reading to 'Uṭaiyampikku olai venṇaruḷinapaṭi', again suggesting that this carving is

⁷⁸ *Supra*, p. 280.

⁷⁹ *Supra*, p. 274.

⁸⁰ Which also include the earthly life and, specifically, Śiva's acting as go-between in the Caṅkiliyār affair, see *Śv.*, a. 12.

⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 274, n. 24.

⁸² p. 103.

⁸³ The two were in fact incarnations of Kamaḷiṇi and Anantitaḷ, the two maidens upon Kailāsa whom, Cuntarar, in his heavenly form Hālālasundara, had desired. Śiva drew up an agreement that he could have them, provided he consent to be born on earth.

⁸⁴ *ARE* (1908), 80.

⁸⁵ *op. cit.*, 45. The author rightly notes that one of the pair is a king, but simply says that Cuntarar is directing him to a temple the other side. The king is not identified, nor is the cleaving of the waters mentioned.

an incident in the palm-leaf MS episode. But it would be out of place and superfluous; the god has already established his claim and disappeared into his shrine. To extricate themselves from this quandary, they state that 'the sculpture refers to a quite different story altogether from what is understood by the label above'. They proceed to narrate the Caṅkiliyār story, despite the fact no female is shown in the panel, and that no tree is shown, under which the false oath to her was to be sworn. No attention is paid to the fact that, of the two figures seen, one is crowned, and that the object immediately to their right, between them and a temple, is very similar to the river seen in the Kulacciṇai-panel.⁸⁶ Moreover, there is a cleft in it. I now suggest that this panel in fact represents the incident recorded in *P VII*, 4, *Ceramāṇ Perumā' nayanār purāṇam*, the parting of the waters of the river Kāviri. The Cera king and Cuntarar were cut off by floodwater of the river from reaching Tiruvaiyāru. Cuntarar sang a *patikam* beseeching Śiva there to help them.⁸⁷ The god replied with the word *olam*; the river parted, and the devotees were able to cross over.⁸⁸ There is an alternative form *ol*,⁸⁹ and it is suggested that it is this word that appears in the label, which is, then, based very closely on *P V*, 4, v. 3882/135, line 3: *ōṇṇum unarvār carācaranḱaḷ ēllār. keṭṭav olam ēṇa*. Strictly, the *l* should not be doubled after a closed long syllable, but this could be an error arising from the fact that short and long *o* were not distinguished epigraphically at this time. The caption would, then, mean 'The episode of graciously saying "ol[am]" to Uṭaiyanampi'.

Tārā. N63.5: 'Uṭaiyanampiyai veṭar valī paṇittaviṭam'.

Tārā. N63.6: 'Tirumurukanpūṇṭiyil perrapaṭi'.

These two panels are considered together, as they depict phases of an incident that occurred some time after the crossing of the Kāviri. The Cera king took Cuntarar to Malaiṇaṭu but, while there, the saint became homesick for Tiruvārūr.⁹⁰ Failing to dissuade him from leaving, Ceramāṇ loaded the saint with presents. On his way back, Śiva's *ganas*, disguised as thieves, robbed him of these (*P IX*, v. 4095 and *P XI*, v. 4170, both being intersitial verses). This is depicted in Tārā. N63.5, the caption describing it as 'The place on the road where thieves robbed Uṭaiyanampi'. As the caption to the next panel suggests, the treasure was recovered at Tirumurukanpūṇṭi, whither Cuntarar was travelling. He sang a hymn, *Tev. vii, pat. 49: Kōṭṭuku vēṇcilai Vaṭuka veṭuvar* . . ., as a result of which the 'thieves' returned all the gifts to Cuntarar at the temple there, to the god of which this hymn was sung. It is mentioned in *P VII*, 4, v. 3917/170, towards the end of the *purāṇam* on Ceramāṇ. The recovery of the treasure is also alluded to in *P XI*, v. 4170. Sivaramamūrti correctly identifies these panels, but does not tell us that the robbers were Śiva's attendants in disguise.⁹¹ See *P VII*, 4, vv. 3911/164-3914/167 (theft) and vv. 3915/168-3918/171 (recovery).

Tārā. N63.7: 'Avināciyāṇṭār mutalaivāy piḷḷai' (plate XII).

This is the last of the Tārācarum frieze-panels illustrating the stories of Śaiva saints. Having returned to Tiruvārūr and been robbed on the way, Cuntarar wanted again to see Ceramāṇ Perumāḷ, so he set out for Malaiṇēṭu.

⁸⁶ Plate IV, and *supra*, p. 278.

⁸⁷ *Tev. vii, pat. 77: Paravum paricōṇṭariyeṇ*. . . . Each verse ends with the cry for help: *Aiyār-ūṭaiya aṭi keḷo*.

⁸⁸ *P VII*, 4, vv. 3881/134 and 3882.

⁸⁹ See *DED*, p. 73, col. ii, entry 837: *Ta. oli*.

⁹⁰ See *Tev. vii, pat. 59* and *P VII*, 4, v. 3903/156.

⁹¹ *op. cit.*, p. 46.

On the way, at Avināci (Tiruppukkoḷiyūr) he heard distressed cries. A crocodile had swallowed a boy who was about to receive *upanayanam*. Imploring Śiva at Avināci, Cuntarar sang the *patikam Errāṇ marakken* (Tev. vii, *pat.* 92), and mentioned the boy's plight in v. 4 thereof. The crocodile released the boy, and the saint continued on his pilgrimages. In the panel, the saint is seen at the right singing to the god, and the grateful parents between him and the crocodile, which, placed against the usual plan-view water, is in the act of disgorging the boy.⁹² See *P* XIII, vv. 4238/10–4240/12, also *P* V, v. 1898 (interstitial).

This concludes a survey of the Tārācuram frieze and an attempt to show how it is supported by *Pēriya purāṇam*. Though treated at the end, Cuntarar is accorded pride of place, reflecting not only the tradition, but also, perhaps, the intrinsic interest of the life of this indecisive and somewhat wayward saint. He emerges from both texts and frieze as a character who excites one's attention and sympathy, and altogether more acceptable than those saints whose every action and claim to fame and sanctity was pervaded by hatred of the Jainas. The relatively insecure position of Śaivism that this reflects perhaps extended even up to the time of Cekkilār and Parañcoti muṇivar, since they document it so faithfully.

Lastly, the Tārācuram frieze is, in its narrative aspect, a splendid example of visual story-telling that is still living, albeit carried out in more recent times in more perishable media in wall-paintings and in printed cotton hangings.

⁹² C. K. Cuppiramaniya Mutaliyar states that a case of a boy being swallowed by a crocodile and disgorged was reported in the press. See *P* VII, comm. to v. 4240, p. 596, n.

ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR ENTSTEHUNG DER ALTPERSISCHEN KEILSCHRIFT

VON MANFRED MAYRHOFFER

1. Die besondere Keilschrift, die in achämenidischer Zeit zur Wiedergabe altpersischer Texte verwendet wurde, ist seit mehr als einem Jahrhundert immer wieder der Gegenstand von Untersuchungen gewesen. Es ist unmöglich, in dem eingeschränkten Rahmen dieses Festschriftbeitrages die einzelnen Auffassungen vorzuführen und kritisch gegeneinander abzuwägen; als Lecoq 1974 das Gesamtproblem darzustellen unternahm, entstand ein Aufsatz von der Stärke eines Buches. Ich sehe keinen anderen Weg, als aus der Fülle der Literatur über dieses Thema¹ in scheinbar apodiktischer Weise jene Argumente für eine Schrift-Konstruktion in achämenidischer Zeit vorzuführen, die mich überzeugt haben und auf denen ich weiterbauen möchte (u. 2.1–2.3), sowie das einzige mir wesentliche Argument gegen eine Erfindung dieser Keilschrift (u. 3) zu erläutern, um dessen Entkräftung ich mich in diesem Aufsatz bemühen werde.

2.1. Die Argumentation von Hallock 1970 hat mich überzeugt, wonach die extreme Einfachheit des Zeichens  <ku> — kein anderes altpersisches Schriftzeichen besteht aus nur zwei Elementen — und die ebenfalls sehr einfache Form von  <ru> sich nicht erklären lassen, wenn man diese

Schrift erst unter Dareios I. entstanden sein lässt. /ku/ und /ru/ sind gewiss nicht die häufigsten Silben der altpersischen Sprache; wenn man aus ihrer einfachen Bildung schliessen darf, dass diese Zeichen zum frühesten Bestand der Schrifterfindung gehörten, dann ist dies nur unter der Annahme denkbar, dass sie zur Wiedergabe des Namens *Kuruš* dienten; die Einführung einer besonderen altpersischen Schrift müsste daher schon unter Kyros begonnen haben.²

2.2. Andererseits sind sowohl die Beobachtungen von Trümpelmann³ und Luschey⁴ über die Komposition der Behistun-Inschrift wesentlich, nach denen der altpersische Text erst auf eine formal ausgewogene Inschrift in den beiden altgewohnten Keilschriftsprachen aufgepfropft worden sei, wie die Aussage des § 70 des Behistun-Dokuments, die freilich nicht mit Henz⁵ auf eine 'Schrift', die Dareios 'gemacht' habe, hinweisen muss, sondern lediglich

¹ Die neueren Arbeiten zur altpersischen Keilschrift sind der Bibliographie bei Lecoq 1974, 103–7, zu entnehmen; Beachtung verdienen auch die älteren Bemühungen, die altpersische Schrift aus älteren Schriftsystemen abzuleiten, — was heute nur noch vereinzelt geschieht, s.u. Anm. 15, 29 — die bei Weissbach, liv ff. und Jensen 1958, 98 ff. gut referiert werden. Von Lecoq noch nicht erfasst sind die neuesten Arbeiten zur altpersischen Schrift: Hinch 1974, Jensen 1975, Hoffmann 1976, Cohen 1976; s. auch Mayrhofer 1978, § 2–2.3.1

² Hallock 1970, 55. Vgl. noch M. Mallowan, *Iran*, x, 1972, 2 f.

³ *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1967, Heft 3, 281 ff.

⁴ *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F. 1, 1968, 90 ff. Vgl. auch G. G. Cameron, *JNES*, xxxii, 1973, 51; E. N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version* (London, 1978), 2 ff.

⁵ Zuletzt *Darius und die Perser* (Baden-Baden, 1976), 28, 249 (mit Lit.). — Wichtig ist die Vorgängerschaft von Weissbach, lx ('... kann ich sie nur als ein selbständiges, frei erfundenes, künstliches Gebilde betrachten'), lxvii ('... dass die ap. Schrift durch Darius eingeführt worden ist ...'), lxix; besonders angesichts der irreführenden — mit der üblichen Ackanzelung der späteren Forschung verbundenen — Behauptung A. Kammenhubers, dass 'WEISSBACH 1911 ... noch nicht an eine Neuerfindung der altpers. Keilschrift denken konnte' (*ZDMG*, cxv, 1965, 403, Anm. 23).

von einem 'Text', der 'anders' war, 'auf Arisch, was es vordem nicht gab',⁶ sprechen mag. Zusammen mit der unter 2.1 akzeptierten Auffassung bedeutet dies, — wie schon Hallock betont hat⁷ — dass Dareios sich zwar rühmt, erstmals einen Riesentext wie DB in 'arischer' Sprache veranlasst zu haben, dass er damit aber die Existenz kleiner Besitz-Inschriften oder Legenden und einer dafür benötigten rudimentären altpersischen Schrift nicht leugnen muss.⁸

2.3. Eine weitere Prämisse ist für mich das strenge Stilprinzip, das die altpersische Keilschrift, verglichen mit den auswuchernden Zeichenformen der in vielen Jahrhunderten gewachsenen mesopotamischen Schriften, auszeichnet; Karl Hoffmann hat zuletzt darauf hingewiesen.⁹ Es macht unwahrscheinlich, dass diese 'würdige Monumentalschrift'¹⁰ durch reduzierende Weiterentwicklung einer älteren 'Silbenkeilschrift, wohl der geläufigen mesopotamischen Keilschrift über einen noch unbekannten Vermittler' (Urartu, Medien?)¹¹ entstanden sei; unter der Annahme einer Konstruktion jedoch bedeutet es, dass den Konstrukteuren bei der Schaffung der Zeichen Grenzen gesetzt waren:

Nachdem Zeichen von der Kompliziertheit des  <gu> oder  <mu> erreicht waren, gab es kaum noch Kombinationen, die nicht das Formprinzip dieser Zierschrift durchbrochen und sich den unerwünschten Schriftbildern der babylonischen und elamischen Texte genähert hätten. Wir werden sehen, dass diese Überlegung für die hier versuchte Darstellung der Entstehung der altpersischen Schrift wesentlich ist (u. 5.1, 5.2).

3. Von den Einwänden gegen eine Erfindung dieser Schrift unter den Achämeniden und für die altpersische Sprache scheint mir nur einer beachtenswert¹²: Während für jedes konsonantische Phonem ein Schriftzeichen existiert, das diesen Konsonanten allein oder von -ā- gefolgt repräsentiert (also <t> = /t/ oder /ta/), gibt es eine kleine Zahl von Silbenzeichen für Ci und Cu, deren Auswahl ganz willkürlich wirkt; es gibt für sie keine glaubhafte Begründung aus den Erfordernissen der Sprache.¹³ Warum gibt es <mi> und <mu>, für den anderen Nasal /n/ aber nur <nu>, kein *<ni>? Die dentale Media hat die Silbenzeichen <di>, <du>, die Tenuis hingegen nur <tu>; es gibt kein Zeichen für die in der Morphologie so wichtige Silbe /ti/. Ferner existieren <vi>, <fi>, <gu>, <ku>, <ru>; für alle anderen Ci-, Cu-Verbindungen, darunter im Altpersischen so häufige wie /θi/, /çi/, /pi/, /pu/, /ri/ u.a., gibt es kein Ci- oder Cu-Zeichen. Diese Silben müssen durch <C-i>, <C-u>

⁶ So Hallock 1970, 54; Lecoq 1974, 66 ff., 84; s. G. Lazard, *BSL*, LXXI, 1976, 180 ff.

⁷ Hallock 1970, 54 f.

⁸ Die Möglichkeit der Existenz altpersischer Keilschrift schon unter Kyros II. räumt auch Hoffmann 1976, 622 ein. [Vgl. neuestens D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), 102].

⁹ Hoffmann 1976, 620 f.; vgl. bereits die Beschreibung in der immer noch lesenswerten Einleitung von Weissbach, lv. — S. auch Hincha 1974, 74 ff., 77, 79, Jensen 1975, 295 ff.

¹⁰ Kammenhuber a.a.O., 403, die als Parallele die Erfindung einer eigenen Hieroglyphenschrift im Hethiterreich heranzieht.

¹¹ So Eilers 1969, 13, Anm. 29.

¹² Die übrigen Argumente bei Lecoq 1974, der eine uberaus nützliche und wissensreiche Dokumentation bietet, scheinen mir nicht durchschlagend. Es ist höchst unglaublich, dass die an Spatachamenidisches erinnernde Sprache der frühen Kleinkönige Ariaramnes und Arsames ein Provinz-Jargon sei, weil erst die Großkönige sich Schreiber mit einer Kenntnis der archaisch-mediasierenden Hochsprache leisten konnten (die dennoch bald nach Dareios I. wieder verfiel), wie Lecoq a.a.O., 48 ff. vorschlägt. Dass die altpersische Schrift die Sprache ihrer Zeit nicht exakt wiedergebe (Lecoq 98), ist durch Hoffmann 1976, 628 ff., 645 überzeugend widerlegt worden. Es gibt keine 'historische Orthographie', wie sie bei einer aus alter Zeit ererbten Schrift zu erwarten wäre (Hoffmann a.a.O., 643 ff.).

¹³ Dazu zuletzt Mayrhofer 1978, § 2.2.2. — An die Schwierigkeiten, die diese scheinbar wahllosen -i- und -u-haltigen Zeichen seinerzeit der Aufhellung der ap. Keilschrift bereiteten, erinnert R. Borger, *Persica*, VII, 1975-8, 17 f.

ausgedrückt werden, wodurch in der Wiedergabe der Sprache die Zweideutigkeit entsteht, dass damit die Phonemfolgen /Ci/ und /Cai/, /Cu/ und /Cau/ gleichermassen wiedergegeben werden. Ohne eine wirklich überzeugende Erklärung dieser Diskrepanz war der Einwand kaum abzuwehren, ein Schrifterfinder hätte diese sprachlich unbegründete Auswahl weniger -i- und -u-Zeichen nicht getroffen¹⁴; sie seien nur als Relikte einer noch nicht ganz in das Buchstabenprinzip übergeführten älteren Silbenkeilschrift zu begreifen.

*

4. Im Folgenden soll der Versuch gemacht werden, unter der Annahme der Richtigkeit der oben aufgeführten Prämissen (2.1–2.3) den Weg einer künstlichen Schaffung der altpersischen Schrift in achämenidischer Zeit nachzuzeichnen. Wenn diese Nachzeichnung in glaubhafter Form gelingt, wenn sie vor allem für die rätselhafte Auswahl der Ci-, Cu-Zeichen (o. 3) eine plausible Erklärung anbieten kann, dann ist wohl das Äusserste für die Schrifterfindungstheorie erreicht. Jedenfalls ist ein Beweis für den entgegengesetzten Vorgang — die Entwicklung der altpersischen Schrift aus älteren, wohl mesopotamischen Vorstufen — trotz vielen Bemühungen nicht geglückt.¹⁵ Diese Feststellung bedeutet nur, dass die Schrifterfindungstheorie nicht durch eine überzeugend dargelegte Schriftentwicklungstheorie a priori ausgeschlossen wird; das Fehlen eindeutiger Nachweise für die Entwicklung der altpersischen Schrift aus alten Vorstufen beweist noch nicht eo ipso deren Gegenteil, da der Vorgang dieser Entwicklung durch den Verlust wichtiger Zwischenglieder unerkennbar geworden sein mag.

4.1. Nehmen wir, *argumenti causa*, eine Konstruktion der altpersischen Schrift an, so müssen wir uns vorweg fragen, wie ihre Konstrukteure ans Werk gegangen sein können.

4.1.1. Ganz gewiss ist der Vorgang nicht vorstellbar, der sich aus Jerzy Kuryłowicz' mit gewohntem Scharfsinn erstellter Studie¹⁶ zu ergeben scheint: dass ein Konstrukteur sich zuerst ein mit den Mitteln moderner strukturalistischer Methoden erarbeitetes Phonemsystem zurechtlegte, für das er dann die Schriftbilder erfand.¹⁷ Wir haben uns vielmehr an die zu wenig beachteten Analogien moderner Schrifterfindungen zu halten, deren Urheber schon in einer schriftreichen Welt lebten und verschiedenartige fremde Schriftsysteme kannten.¹⁸ Die Situation in achämenidischer Zeit war ähnlich: Wer

¹⁴ Die Erklärung von Paper 1956, 26b wird den Skeptikern wohl nicht genügen: 'These signs may have been introduced by the inventor-scribe to add an antiquarian or complicating factor to his invention; hence the haphazard and unsystematic candidates for these two series ...'. Freilich ist sie der Mentalität vorwissenschaftlicher Schrifterfinder sicherlich gemässer als etwa die scharfsinnig ausgeklügelten, jedoch lebensfernen Konstruktionen von Kuryłowicz 1964 (s.u. 4.1.1.).

¹⁵ Vgl. dazu v.a. das Referat bei Weissbach, IV ff. — Den Versuch, eine grössere Zahl von Zeichen — allerdings im Rahmen einer Schrifterfindung — auf Zeichen einer älteren Schrift, nämlich der semitischen Buchstabenschrift, zurückzuführen, hat in unserer Zeit nur der überkühne Aufsatz von Cohen 1976 versucht. Zu neueren Hinweisen auf die Entlehnung einzelner Zeichen s.u. Anm. 29. — Auf einem anderen Blatt steht die Entlehnung des Graphems für das marginale Phonem /l/ aus der spätbabylonischen oder elamischen Schrift, vgl. Paper 1956. [Dazu anders I. M. Oranskij, *Iranskije Jazyki* (Moskau, 1963), 46 Anm. 19 ((l) aus (r) differenziert).]

¹⁶ Kuryłowicz 1964.

¹⁷ Auch G. L. Windfuhr's Analyse übertreibt die formale Systematik und ist auf einen richtigen Kern — Stilprinzip und Kunstlichkeit der Schrift — zu reduzieren (vgl. zu ihr O. E. Pfeiffer, *Festscherer* 46; Jensen 1976, 294 f.; Hoffmann 1976, 621).

¹⁸ Vgl. J. Friedrich, 'Zu einigen Schrifterfindungen der neuesten Zeit', *ZDMG*, xciii, 1938, 183 ff., besonders 207 (zur ap. Schrift), *Geschichte der Schrift* (Heidelberg, 1966), 101; A. Schmitt, *Der Buchstabe H im Griechischen* (Münster, 1952), 38 f. und Anm. 18, *Die Barmum-Schrift*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1963), 179 und Anm. 1.

dort im Schreib- und Verwaltungswesen tätig war, kannte sowohl den im Briefverkehr üblichen 'vokallosten' Buchstaben-Typus der aramäischen Schrift wie auch den Typus der Silbenkeilschrift, in der die Sprache der Buchhaltung und der Stein-Edikte, das Elamische, geschrieben wurde.¹⁹ Der Erfinder erfasste offenkundig den Vorteil der Buchstabenschrift, die mit <C> sowohl /C/ als auch /CV/ wiederzugeben erlaubte; dass er für /V/ den im Altpersischen häufigsten Vokal, /a/, wählte, ist ein Zeichen seiner linguistischen Begabung.²⁰ Daneben konnte er sich, vergleichbar jenen Schrifterfindern des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,²¹ von der Vorstellung der Silbenschrift nicht ganz lösen. Die meiner Meinung nach erste Silbe, die in Schrift ausgedrückt wurde, /ku/ (o. 2.1), erhielt ein Silbenzeichen, <ku>, und nicht eine Buchstabenfolge <k-u>. Ich lasse die Schrifterfindung, wie ich sie hier probeweise vorführe, mit dem Namen *Kuruš* beginnen; dem ist jedoch eine kurze Feststellung vorzuschicken.

4.1.2. Ich möchte Karl Hoffmann in einer Auffassung folgen, die freilich nicht allgemein anerkannt wird²²: Die Schreibung des Namens *Vištāspa* durch <vi-š-t-a-s-p> in der Behistun-Inschrift — der sich einige vergleichbare Fälle anschliessen lassen — zeige noch die ursprüngliche Intention; die später übliche Wiedergabe von /vi/ durch <vi-i> etc. sei eine jüngere Redundanz-Einführung.²³ Unter dieser Annahme wird die altpersische Schrift eindeutig als Mischung aus dem Silben- und dem Buchstaben-Typus definierbar²⁴: Eine reine Silbenschrift hätte etwa *<vi-iš-ta-as-pa>, eine reine Buchstabenschrift hätte *<v-j-š-t'-s-p> oder *<v-i-š-t-a-s-p> geschrieben.²⁵

4.1.3. Auf Grund dieser Überzeugung glaube ich, dass die älteste Schreibung des Kyros-Namens *<ku-ru-š> gewesen ist — nicht, wie in allen erhaltenen Inschriften, einschliesslich der dem Kyros zugeschriebenen,²⁶ <ku-u-ru-u-š>. Der weitere Verlauf der Schrifterfindung von der wohl ersten Graphenfolge *<ku-ru-š> bis hin zu dem vollständigen System in der Behistun-Inschrift kann natürlich nur vermutet werden. Es scheint mir, mit Hallock,²⁷ so gewesen zu sein, dass man jeweils zu dem angegebenen Text nach und nach die dafür benötigten Schriftzeichen erfand. Vielleicht darf man die Vermutung wagen, die Erfinder hätten sich gelegentlich von der Form des jeweils letzten Zeichens für das nächste zu schaffende inspirieren lassen; mehr als eine Vermutung kann dies nicht sein, da bei dieser Schrifterfindung gewiss 'kein Systematiker

¹⁹ Vgl. auch Cohen 1976, 2 über den 'inventor' ('... the king no doubt chose the most learned polyglot at his court for this task ...'); G. G. Cameron, *JNES*, xxxii, 1973, 51 ff.

²⁰ A. Kammenhuber, *ZDMG*, cxv, 1965, 403 verleiht dieser Entscheidung sogar das Prädikat 'genial' — das bei ihr freilich etwas abgewertet ist, da sie auch für Lösungen, die ihrer Meinung nach 'leider nicht geglückt' sind, als Trostpreis den Ausdruck 'genial' bereithält. Vgl. dazu W. Wüst, *Sprache*, xx, 1974, 142.

²¹ Dazu besonders Friedrich, *ZDMG*, xcii, 1938, 206 f. — Mit 'dem' Erfinder meinen wir den Mann, der bereits mit *<ku-ru-š> die Weichen für das Mischsystem der altpersischen Schrift stellte (u. 4.1.2, 4.1.3). Wenn die schon unter Kyros begonnene Schrift noch für die Behistun-Inschrift ausgebaut wurde (u. 5.1), dann waren natürlich mehrere Konstrukteure in verschiedenen Generationen am Werk.

²² Die entgegengesetzte Meinung etwa bei Hinz 1974, 72; s.u. Anm. 24.

²³ S. Hoffmann 1976, 626.

²⁴ Gegen Hinz *a.a.O.*, der diese Keilschrift als reine Buchstabenschrift definiert. Zeichen wie <vi>, <du> usw. sind für ihn nur Alloraphe der Buchstaben <v>, <d> vor <i>, <u>, da er nur <vi-i> = /vi/ etc. als regelhaft anerkennt; Fälle wie <vi> = /vi/ erklärt er als 'Abweichungen von der orthographischen Norm', die 'zum Teil gesondert erklärt werden können'. Leider behält er diese gesonderten Erklärungen für sich.

²⁵ Mayrhofer 1978, § 2.1.3.

²⁶ Leaoq 1974, 52 ff. (mit Lit.) hat mich auch in seiner Polemik gegen Nylander, der die altpersischen Teile der Kyros-Inschriften von Dareios gesetzt sein lässt, nicht überzeugen können.

²⁷ Hallock 1970, 52.

am Werk' war.²⁸ Aber es ist möglicherweise kein Zufall, dass das auf  $\langle ru \rangle$ folgende $\langle \delta \rangle$ sich von dem ihm in $*\langle ku-ru-\delta \rangle$ ²⁹ vorangehenden Zeichen nur durch die Verlegung des waagrechten Keiles über die beiden Winkelhaken unterscheidet (). Früh geschaffen wurden wohl auch die Zeichen in dem Wort für 'König', allenfalls in einer primitiveren Schreibung $*\langle x-\delta-y-\theta-y \rangle$; auch mag für das Wort $\langle x-\delta-\zeta \rangle$ 'Herrschaft' zu zwei bereits geschaffenen Zeichen die so bemerkenswert einfache³⁰ Zeichenform  $\langle \zeta \rangle$ hinzuerfunden worden sein. Auch Wörter wie $\langle a-d-m \rangle$ 'ich' mag es bald in Schrift gegeben haben — allesamt Wortformen, für die keine Ci-, Cu-Zeichen erfunden werden mussten.

4.1.4. Solche kamen hinzu, als die Namen der dem $\kappa\rho\omicron\varsigma$ folgenden Grosskönige geschrieben werden mussten — und es ist nicht vorstellbar, dass eine unter Kyros für Kleininschriften verwendete Schrift nicht auch die Namen von Kambyzes und Smerdis³¹ festgehalten hätte. Für den Namen *Kambūšiya* ist anzunehmen, dass ihm vorerst nur eine primitive Schreibung $*\langle k-b-\zeta-y \rangle$ zuteil wurde: **Kābūšiya* hätte zur Wiedergabe ausgereicht, wenn $\langle b \rangle$ einen labial getönten Folgevokal hatte und, vergleichbar dem noch bezeugten $\langle h \rangle = [h]$ für sprachgeschichtlich vorausgesetztes $*/ha/$ urd $*/hi/$,³² für $[ba]$ und $[bu]$ verwendbar war^{32a}; jedenfalls wurde für den Namen kein $*\langle bu \rangle$ erfunden, und auch das komplizierte Zeichen $\langle \zeta \rangle$ wurde vielleicht erst später für ihn konstruiert. Ob bei $\langle k-b-\rangle$ der Konstrukteur sich von  $\langle k \rangle$ für die nur durch Umsetzung des Senkrechteils davon verschiedene Form des Folgezeichens  $\langle b \rangle$ inspirieren liess, muss natürlich offen bleiben; eine ähnliche — vielleicht nur irrliehendernde — Vermutung drängt sich bei dem Smerdis-Namen auf, wo in der Folge $\langle b-r-di-\rangle$ — $\langle -y \rangle$ war ja von *Kamb(a)ušiya* oder *xšāyabūiya* her schon vorhanden, und das redundante $-i-$ nach Ci gab es damals noch nicht (o. 4.1.2) — ein Prinzip des 'plus eins' bei der Zeichenerfindung zu herrschen scheint:  $\langle b \rangle \sim$  $\langle r \rangle \sim$  $\langle di \rangle$. — Ich beschliesse diesen unangenehmen, aber nicht vermeidbaren Gang durch die

²⁸ So Hoffmann 1976, 621.

²⁹ Es sei hier daran erinnert, dass das wohl als erstes gebrauchte altpersische Zeichen, $\langle ku \rangle$, zu den wenigen gehört, die auch heute noch als Entlehnungen aus einer fremden Schrift erwogen werden. s. den vorsichtigen Hinweis auf die 'auffällige Analogie zum arabischen *Qūf*' bei Hinch 1974, 81 (s. ferner pg. 83 zu $\langle ku \rangle$ und $\langle z \rangle$); nach Jensen 1975, 30 ist $\langle ku \rangle$ 'höchst wahrscheinlich dem griechischen *qoppa* nachgebildet'. Vgl. ferner Cohen 1976 4 f. — J. Opperts Deutung von $\langle ku \rangle$ aus dem babylonischen Wort für 'Sonne', die durch Jurti 168b bekannter geworden ist, hat schon Weissbach, lvi abgetan.

³⁰ Dazu Hoffmann 1976, 621 und Anm. 5.

³¹ Die unter den Historikern umstrittene Frage, ob der Träger dieses Namens — der auf mehreren babylonischen Urkunden seiner Regierungszeit genannt wird (Dand. maev-Pohl 126 f.) — 'falsch' oder rechtmässig war, ist für unsere Argumentation irrelevant.

³² Hoffmann 1976, 642 f.

^{32a} Wir waren dieser Annahme enthoben, wenn der Name mit J. Harmatta, *AAntH*, xix, 1971, 7 *Kambūšiya* zu lesen ist. Die Nebenüberlieferungen fordern jedenfalls nicht $-u(-)$. Für das Griechische hat das schon Harmatta a.a.O. gezeigt; dass im Elamischen (*Kān-bu-zi-ya* 'Kambyzes') und Akkadischen (*Kam-bu-zi-ya*) $\langle Cu \rangle$ für ap. $/Can/$ stehen kann, zeigt die Wiedergabe von ap. $\langle a-k-u-f-\zeta-i-y \rangle$ /škaufašiya/ durch elam. *ha-ku-pi-zi-ya*, akkad. *a-ku-pi-i-iš*. — Zum Kambyzes-Namen und iran. **Kambūšiya* s. auch H. W. Bailey, *Pan and Islam (in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky)* (Edinburgh, 1971), 65 ff.; W. Eilers, *IF* lxxxix, 1974, 54 f.

nur rekonstruierbare Schriftgeschichte unter den Vorgängern des Dareios mit der Annahme, dass wohl die Zeichen für alle häufigeren Konsonanten und für die Vokale sowie die Silbenzeichen <ku>, <ru>, <ji>, <di> vorhanden waren, als Dareios seinen Schreibern befahl, den grossen Rechenschaftsbericht DB nach der elamischen und akkadischen Fassung auch in 'arischer' Sprache niederzulegen und dafür die vorhandene Schrift soweit zu ergänzen, dass sie den Anforderungen eines Grosstextes, in dem jedes sprachliche Element vorkam, genügen konnte.

5.1. Die Schreiber, die den altpersischen Text von DB niederzulegen und dies allenfalls durch die Erfindung neuer Zeichen zu ermöglichen hatten, waren sich klar, dass sie die Grenzen des Stilprinzips, das ihnen vorgeschrieben war (o. 2.3), nicht überschreiten durften; der Plan, ein konsequentes Inventar mit Ci-, Cu-Zeichen für alle in der Sprache vorkommenden Ci-, Cu-Silben (also unter Ausschluss von Strukturwidrigem wie *yi oder vu) zu schaffen, war vielleicht gefasst worden,³³ musste aber aufgegeben werden, da man einsah, dass dafür eine zu grosse Zahl von Zeichen mit zu komplizierten Formen benötigt würde. Auch war man durch die Schreibweise des Aramäischen belehrt worden, dass für die Wiedergabe der Muttersprache die einfachen Zeichen der Konsonanten trotz ihrer Doppeldeutigkeit (<C> = /C/ oder /CV/) genügten. Für die gleich am Beginn des neuen Textes erscheinenden altpersischen Wörter puça 'Sohn' und pitā 'Vater' führte man daher kein *pu und *pi ein; welcher Perser hätte denn diese Wörter seiner Muttersprache aus dem Schriftbild <p-u-ç> und <p-i-t-a> irrig als *pauça, *paitā hergestellt? Anders wurde es, als bald in der ersten Kolumne die Namen der Länder und Völker vorkamen, deren Lautungen — mit Ausnahme des Namens Bābiruš 'Babylon', den jedermann kannte und für den kein <bi> erfunden werden musste³⁴ — nicht allgemein geläufig waren. Um Armenien richtig Armina und nicht *Armaina zu lesen, erfand man <mi> und schrieb A-r-mi-n³⁵ statt mehrdeutigem *A-r-m-i-n; für Mudrāya 'Ägypten' erfand man <mu>, für Katpatuka 'Kappadokien' <tu>, für θataguš 'Sattagydien' <gu>; <du> wurde durch die später erscheinenden kaum bekannten Ortsnamen Ku³duru-, Ga³dutava-, Dubāla- notwendig. Schon vorher war <vi> konstruiert worden: Der Name des Vaters Dareios' I. machte das neue Zeichen nötig, denn Vištāspa war wenig bekannt, da er nicht selbst regiert hatte; sein Name war auch dadurch in Gefahr, bei einer Schreibung *v-i-s° falsch gelesen zu werden, weil višā° kein lebendes altpersisches Wort war.³⁶ Mit einer einzigen Ausnahme sind alle verbliebenen Ci- und Cu-Zeichen in ungeläufigen Namen zu finden, die in den ersten Kolumnen der Behistun-Inschrift erscheinen. Diese Ausnahme ist <nu>; wenn keine bessere Erklärung gefunden wird, möchte ich es zur eindeutigen Schreibung des in der ersten Kolumne von DB bereits erscheinenden amušiya- 'Anhänger' erfunden sein lassen, da man eine 'blasphemische Fehillesung' (: *anauša- 'unsterblich') vermeiden wollte. Dieser Gedanke ist nicht so abwegig, wenn man erwägt, dass die 'Homoionymie' zwischen diesen

³³ Vgl. Hoffmann 1976, 626, wo gezeigt wird, dass dieses Inventar eine konsequente Vokalbezeichnung erlaubt hätte: = /ba/, *<bi> = /bi/, *<bu> = /bu/, <b-a> = /bā/, *<bi-i> = /bi/, *<bu-u> = /bū/, <b-i> = /bai/, <b-a-i> = /bāi/, <b-u> = /bau/, <b-a-u> = /bāu/. Ein Relikt dieses Planes ist dann <vi-s°> = /vi-š°/ in der Vištāspa-Schreibung der Behistun-Inschrift und gleichartigen Fällen.

³⁴ Vgl. Mayrhofer 1978, § 2.3.1 und Anm. 24.

³⁵ So wohl ursprünglich, statt redundantem *mi-i°; s. Kent 13b, Hoffmann 1976, 626.

³⁶ Über višā° als 'verlorenes Sprachgut in Eigennamen' s. zuletzt M. Mayrhofer, *Zum Namen des Avesta* (Wien, 1977), 10, Anm. 19, 37, mit Lit.; *Die avestischen Namen* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch I, 1), Wien, 1977, I, 97.

beiden Wörtern schon im Altertum zu einer Verwechslung geführt hat, aus der nach Pagliaro die herodoteische Bezeichnung für die *στυγίωται* als *ἀθάνατοι* erklärbar ist.³⁷

5.2. Nach der Schaffung dieser Silbenzeichen wurden keine weiteren erfunden. Die Zeit drängte³⁸; vielleicht auch hat der Herrscher, der sich, obwohl selbst der Schrift unkundig,³⁹ 'seine' Inschrift sicherlich fortlaufend zeigen liess, nach dem Anblick komplizierter Gebilde wie <gu> oder <du> befohlen, keine Zeichen mehr zu schaffen. — Behistun ab-1 blieb für das Inventar der altpersischen Schrift massgeblich; es wurden zwar noch Änderungen an einzelnen Zeichenformen vorgenommen,⁴⁰ Ideogramme wurden später eingeführt,⁴¹ doch durften keine neuen Silbenzeichen mehr erfunden werden. Als in einer späteren Dareios-Inschrift (DNa 29 f.) erstmals der gewiss nicht allgemein geläufige Name der Libyer, *Putāyā*, andersgeschrieben wurde, war es zu spät, für /pu/ einen eindeutigen schriftlichen Ausdruck zu erfinden; <p-u>, viele Male für /pu/ in <p-u-ç> 'Sohn' verwendet, musste nun auch für diesen Fremdnamen ausreichen.

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Paper 1956 = H. H. Paper, 'The Old Persian /L/ Phoneme', *JAOS*, lxxvi, 24-3.

Weissbach = F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden*. Leipzig, 1911.

Alle übrigen Abkürzungen entsprechen dem System der *Bibliographie linguistique*.

³⁷ Vgl. A. Pagliaro, *RALinc*, ix, 1954, 146 ff.; W. Brandenstein-M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 103.

³⁸ W. Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 21 f.; R. Schmitt, *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, II (Teheran, Lüttich, Leiden, 1975), 188; Hoffmann 1976, 656 f.

³⁹ Diakonoff 1970, 105 und Anm. 21, mit Lit.

⁴⁰ Hinz *a.a.O.*, 24; R. Schmitt, *a.a.O.*, 186 f.

⁴¹ Kent 18b f., C. Nylander, *OS* 16 (1967), 174 f.; anders Diakonoff 1970, 101, Lecoq 62.

AN EARLY TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENT IN SANSKRIT

By TARAPADA MUKHERJEE and J. C. WRIGHT

(PLATES I-IV)

I

Among manuscripts and documents collected for the Vrindaban Research Institute (VRI) ¹ from the Rādhādāmodara Temple in Vrindaban (Uttar Pradesh) are two (referred to below as documents A and B) which contain the text of testamentary depositions in the name of Jīva Gosvāmī.² He is known to have founded the Rādhādāmodara Temple and to have been alive at the dates given in the text. It was Jīva who, consolidating the work of his uncles Sanātana and Rūpa, definitively established Vrindaban as the headquarters of the Caitanyapanthī Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava sect. The testament, which envisages both posthumous implementation and possible revocation, contains Jīva's provisions for succession to the custody of the temple, idols, and library. The principal parties involved are known from other documents in the collection, and most names recur in *Bhaktamāl* and other related literary sources. Its over-riding importance lies, however, in the fact that no written Will has hitherto come to light in India, except those that are clearly influenced by European practice.

The depositions are substantially in Sanskrit and in Nagari script; a small proportion of the text is in Bengali script. The text recto is called *saṃkalpapatrī* 'testamentary deposition' and is dated Samvat 1663 (A.D. 1606). Document A, the extant fragment of the original, is in the handwriting of the testator Jīva:

śrīrūpasanātana . . . anucarasiya vrndāvanasthasya jīvanāmaḥ saṃkalpapatrīyam . . . madīyasvahashtalekho 'yam eva.

The text verso is headed *parapiṣṭalipi* 'postscript verso' and is dated Samvat 1665 (A.D. 1608). It may be to be understood from the abbreviation *saṃ* that it too has the status of a *saṃkalpapatrī*. It is of the nature of a death-bed asseveration of the testator and was written by Jīva's close associate Gadādharaḥṭṭa ³:

yadi mama maraṇe sāvadhānatā syāt . . . iti yat pratijñātam tad eva likhyate ca . . . gadādharaḥṭṭahastena saṃ likhyate.

¹ Professor Burrow is a member of the Council of the International Association of the Vrindaban Research Institute, a registered charity dedicated to the task of conserving India's heritage of manuscripts, documents, and artifacts. Without the support of such scholars in Britain and overseas, many thousand manuscripts and historical documents such as the one described here would already be victims of progress in this area of UP, cradle of important Buddhist, Jaina, and Hindu civilizations.

The Association, with the help of the British Academy, the Leverhulme Trust, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the British Library, and the India Office Library, has been able to organize and finance the conservation and cataloguing of much of this material since 1975. Already there have appeared: *Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the VRI*, I-II (ed. M. L. Gupta, R. D. Gupta, and J. C. Wright, Vrindaban, 1977, 1978); *Catalogue of Bengali manuscripts in the VRI* (ed. T. Mukherjee, London, 1978); *Catalogue of Hindi manuscripts in the VRI*, I (ed. R. D. Gupta, Vrindaban, 1979); 'Photographic documentation of the Braj area: a list of colour slides taken during the IAVRI research project in Vrindaban' (comp. A. W. Entwistle, *IAVRI Bulletin*, v, 1978).

² The documents are, according to the unpublished handlist (available at Vrindaban Research Institute and SOAS), numbered respectively VRI, ser. 1, acc. 79A and VRI, ser. 2, acc. 79. For a discussion of relevant biographical and historical data, see section V below. For a discussion of Wills in India before the period of the Anglo-Indian courts, see section VI.

³ Gadādharaḥṭṭa, according to *Bhaktamāla* and *Bhaktanāmavalī*, was a *kathak* invited to Vrindaban by Jīva Gosvāmī.

The latter deposition is attested by twelve witnesses' signatures, authentic in the original.

II

It may be equally correct, or it may at least serve as a valuable corrective, to describe the language of the main bulk of the document as Sanskritized Braj and the script as Nagarized Kaithi.⁴ Jīva, even when writing in Nagari script, uses a substantially Bengali orthography, while Gadādharaḥṭa and most of the witnesses tend to lapse into the letter-shapes and abbreviated orthography of Kaithi. The details are evidently of importance for an understanding of the more formal aspects of the subsequently attested Braj Hindi Literature. The Sanskrit of the depositions proper is in fact pure enough, but it is notably lacking in elegance and clarity and is over-written in several places with corrections and second thoughts. It is largely composed of formulae that recur in other related documents. The suggestion that it might be wise to classify the document as Braj is thus not to impute to it any very specific regional grammatical structure or vocabulary; nor can it be suggested that any significant proportion of the Jīva document has been adapted into Sanskrit from an Apabhraṃśa original. Nevertheless, the technical terms that introduce each deposition and the formal signatures that conclude the document, i.e. the legal framework of the text, are couched in a distinctly hybrid Sanskrit reminiscent of the Panjabi 'Sahasakṛti'⁵ and Bengali 'ardhastamas'⁶ of

⁴ As mere debased Sanskrit, its interest might be small indeed; but it is perhaps more likely that an Apabhraṃśa tradition has vanished leaving little trace than that a pure Sanskrit one should virtually disappear. It will be noticed that even in this oldest surviving specimen of the genre, there is a most pronounced preoccupation with problems of comprehensibility and authenticity, and the Sanskritization is doubtless in some measure due to a search for clarity. (Rightly or wrongly, this is the motive alleged by the *Ādi Granth's* commentators for Sanskritization in that context: C. Shackle, 'The Sahasakṛti poetic idiom in the *Ādi Granth*', *BSOAS*, xii, 2, 1978, 310.) The hybrid Sanskrit of document A begins to look silly when 'restored' and transposed into standard Nagari script by the copyist of document B. The modern copy is not generally comprehensible in essentials, and it is only by the most extreme good fortune that even a fragment of the original survived to reach the eyes of a competent archivist.

The corresponding description 'Sanskritized Bengali' could equally be applied to the modicum of Bengali-script material. Though this is in a linguistically pure Sanskrit in the deposition section, it is also formulaic and lacking in cohesion. The Bengali signature is more frankly hybrid. It is first miswritten with a 'Kaithism' (*haridāsa-*) and then corrected; and the formulaic manner of signing (simply *haridāsaṣya*, soil. [*matam*]) is different from the Nagari styles, themselves many and varied, that are attested in this particular document. There is an apparent correlation between an Apabhraṃśa style of signature (*śaṣi gopīnī-hajī*; ... *gopīnī śhaddāṣu*) and the ostensible senility of the handwriting involved.

After this flirtation with Sanskrit c. A.D. 1600, related documents are generally bilingual in Persian and Braj, the latter written in a more standard Nagari script and orthography. The Kaithi script survived into the nineteenth century in Awadh and Bihar, but the copyist of B at Vrindaban was generally unable to decipher it where it occurs in A.

⁵ This hybrid is attributed to Guru Arjan, an exact contemporary of Jīva Goswāmī, and to other earlier Panjabi writers. See Shackle's study of this form of Panjabi, loc. cit., 297-313. It is possible to conjecture that the process of Sanskritization reached a peak precisely at the period of our Will c. A.D. 1600 (but no detailed comparison of different versions of the same text is yet available: *ibid.*, 308, n. 25).

A definitive explanation of the term Sahasakṛti is still wanting. As Shackle shows, *sahasakṛitā* (i.e. **sahasakṛtā*) occurs as a spelling of Pj. *samsakṛtā*, used in the sense of 'Vedic texts'. It is easy to imagine that a defective spelling of *samsakṛtā*, say **sasakṛitā*, was wrongly identified by a copyist, who had to fall back on RV *sahasakṛtā* 'balena yuktaḥ (Sāy.)' For an explanation. The copyist was probably making the same mistake as modern commentators (310, n. 32), and that is not a mistake that should or could be attributed to the original author (otherwise Shackle, 310 f.).

Nor is it necessary to attribute error to whoever was responsible for the application of a similar label (now read as *śalok sahasakṛitī*) to some of the more highly Sanskritic passages in the *Ādi Granth*. We should attribute to him rather the label in the form *ślok saṣ-skṛitī*, for the term *samsakṛitī* is known to have been applied to one of the freer modes of Prakritic prosody (and the

the same period. In view of the decisive role of such technicalities in determining the structure and sense of a stereotyped document, the overwhelming preponderance of Hindi documents over Sanskrit during the seventeenth century in the Braj area, and the relative simplicity of their structure compared with that of the Sanskrit specimens, there seems to be good reason to doubt the anteriority of Sanskrit in this particular context.

Three terms with legal significance occur: *samkalpa* (in *samkalpapatrī*, *samkalpapūrvakam*), *parapiṣṭalipi*, and *sāṣi* (*sācī*). The first, *samkalpa*, is the only term for 'Will' in the legal sense that is attested in literature which has a bearing on the period before British rule (with reference to an oral deed of settlement: see section VI, below). It seems safe to assume that this application is a nuance stemming from a usage common enough in the Epics: *samkalpam* *kr-* 'to determine', *samkalpa* 'vow' (e.g. *kṛtānaśanasamkalpa* BRD, s.v.). It emerges here at the outset in a form compounded with the evident hybrid *patrī*; this is not true Sanskrit but a form based on NIA (W Pj., etc.) *patrī* (W Hindi *patī*, Skt. *patrikā*).⁷ A rendering 'Will and Testament' for *samkalpapatrī* is used below, partly in view of the preoccupation in both documents with attestation by witnesses, and partly to emphasize its special status as a technical term.

The term *parapiṣṭalipi* 'postscript' is another evidently hybrid formation envisaging Skt. *prṣṭha* (cf. Panjabi hybrid *kita/kṛita* for *kṛta* and *tisāṭate* for *tisṭhate*). The full 'tatsama' assimilation is now current in Bengali *paraprṣṭhe* 'verso', and the fact that modern tadbhava reflexes of simple *prṣṭha* can themselves denote 'wrongside, backside' may be offered as confirmation that we are dealing with a new formation in Apabhramśa, rather than a 'semi-tatsama' loan from Sanskrit (where **paraprṣṭha* would seem tautological).

correct spelling could hardly have been recovered if the malformation *sahaskṛti* had been involved in the development at any point). At the moment, it seems wiser to infer that the arbitrary Prakrit usage derives from the *Adi Granth* context, where there are excellent grounds for labelling a type of vernacular verse as *Samskṛti*.

Since there appears to be a correlation between use of the label *samskṛti* and a more advanced degree of Sanskritization, it seems probable that it was intended to mean just 'Sanskrit', and not 'bad Sanskrit'. The Pj. tag *salok dakhānā* (Shackle, 312) with clearly adjectival epithet appears to confirm the correctness of the assumption that *samskṛti* has an attributive function in *śloka samskṛti*. The more obvious adjectival form *samskṛtā* had been specialized to mean 'Vedic' in the Gurmukhi canon.

⁶ Following Grierson and Chatterji, there is a tendency to regard all 'ardhatatsama' hybrids as half-assimilated loans from Sanskrit. More probably it is semi-Sanskritization, i.e. half-assimilated borrowing into Sanskrit from the vernacular, that is substantially involved. If the view taken in n. 5, above, is correct, the term *sahaskṛti* itself is a case in point. A fully assimilated loanword in Panjabi (*samskṛitā*) yields a hybrid form (*sahaskṛiti*) in a context that passes for Sanskrit; this is subsequently available for borrowing into Panjabi vernacular usage without further modification.

Chatterji felt obliged to offer three separate hypotheses, relating to different linguistic epochs, to account for *kaṣaṇa*, *kīṣaṇ*, and *keṣa* as 'semi-tatsama' borrowings from Sanskrit *kṛṣṇa* into older Bengali (ODEL, I, pp. 190 f.). But analogies in the Hindi hybrid (*piṣṭa* for *prṣṭha*, below) and Panjabi hybrid (*kita* beside *kṛita* for *kṛta*) suggest an alternative hypothesis: the vernaculars are simply adopting a variety of literary hybrid orthographies that were current in different genres. If one chooses to describe this as borrowing from Skt., Pkt., and Ap., it should be remembered that Ap. forms are the oldest and that full Sanskritizations are demonstrably the most recently attested, certainly in Bengali. Only Apabhramśa *kannha/kānha*, *kinna/kenha* need be involved, however, with orthographies variously interpreted as *nā*, *ṣa*, or *ṣa* according to context. The attested Middle and Modern Bengali forms are then rather to be seen as 'semi-tadbhavas', i.e. vernacular adaptations of orthographically Sanskritized Old Bengali: Middle Bg. **kīṣana*, *kīṣaṇ*, Modern *kṛṣṇa*; Middle Bg. **keṣ(ṭ)ṇa*, **keṣṭā*, Modern *kṛiṣṭ*. *Sahaskṛti* Panjabi attests the Western or modern forms *kṛiṣṇam*, *kīṣanam* (Shackle, 299).

⁷ The form *patrī* is attested also in Braj Bengali (*Caitanyacaritāmṛta*; *Bhaktiratnākara*) in lieu of Bengali *pāṭi*. In *Bhaktiratnākara* (of Narahari Cakravartī, ed. Ramdev Misra, Mursidabad, 1912), the document referred to is a letter from Jīva to his Bengali friend Śrīnivāsa: *patrikā laiṅyā, karē patrī pāṭha* 'takes the letter and reads it'.

Similarity in function (and even in form) to the English concept 'Codicil' seems close enough to permit use of that term to translate *parapiṣṭalipi*. As the 'Codicil' in question adds nothing really new, *parapiṣṭalipi* was evidently something of a legal formality. It does not recur in any later document available; but a comparable feature (*samkalpapūrvaka utsarga*) will be observed in connexion with the oral settlement deed.

It may be objected that the term cannot be verified in the missing portion of A, and that *parapiṣṭalipir iyaṃ* might be merely a remark on the part of the copyist B to the effect 'I have found this written on the back, but I am sub-joining it on the same side'. The phrase, however, has an exact parallel in *samkalpapatrīyaṃ*, which certainly has to be attributed to the original deposition recto. It also matches the terms *patrī* and *sāṣi* by virtue of its hybrid form which would be quite out of place as an innovation introduced into the more modern copy. The amount of space unaccounted for at the top of document A verso suggests that a heading did actually exist, and indeed B formally presents the phrase as a heading (for he makes it overlap with the line that has been drawn to conclude the first section, just as A had done in the case of the sub-heading *tatra sāksinaḥ* (line 10a v°). Besides, so conscientious an observation is not to be imputed to a scribe who otherwise copies dates and attests authentic signatures without scruple. That the expression *ultimately* derives from such an observation does seem very probable, however.

In documents collected in Vrindaban, forms of the phrase 'witnessed by' range from Sanskritic *atra sāksī* (and *matam*) to Kaithi *saṣa*. It is possible to suggest that *sāṣi* (11 v°), *sāksī* (12 v°, etc.), and *sāchī* (13 v°) ultimately represent various stages in the 'Nagarization' of the elaborate Kaithi 's'. In other words, we are observing a series of misconceptions that have stemmed from the Kaithi confusion between *kh* and *ṣ* (e.g. Kaithi-Nagari *l-ṣata*, etc., for *likhitam*): whether the Kaithi letter in question is in fact a Brahmi *ṣ* or *kh* seems open to question. The word which generates so much confusion is probably in fact NIA (e.g. Hindi) *sākhī* from Skt. *sāksika*. It can have no close connexion with the actual linguistic form **sāchī*, attested only from the Gāndhārī area (**sāchī* forms extend east only as far as Shira, while *acchi* 'eye' is attested into an area of W Pahari: Turner, *CDIAL*, 13 and 13321). No consistent distinction in usage is made in the original document between NIA *sāṣi*, etc., and Sanskritized *sāksina[h]* . . . *matam* (16-17 v°), etc. The other Sanskritic signatures (e.g. *viṣṇuvicītramam* 12 v° and *haridāsa ya* 15 v°) may then attest a progressive abbreviation of the latter rather awkward hybrid. The copyist in document B blatantly rearranges the signatures on the basis of an assumed distinction in meaning between *sāksī* and *matam*, but the effort is obviously misguided.

The linguistic and palaeographic impurities are one guarantee of authenticity. It is clear that no copyist even of the second half of the same century could hope to imitate such forms as occur here. Until a fragment of the original came to light, no real coherent meaning could be discovered from the copy B. One was conscious there only of explicit forgery: two different and incredibly early dates were juxtaposed and about a score of alleged 'autographs' were clearly all in the same handwriting. The copyist's contradictory efforts to restore a damaged text and to correct an authentic autograph serve only to obscure the sense. When it is considered that a second copyist would inevitably reject A's authentic readings as less 'correct' than B's, it is clear how so much of the social history of India has come to disappear from the face of the earth.

The linguistic features are not the only proof of authenticity. As will be seen, there is documentary evidence of the testator's right to dispose of the property and of the fact that the provisions of the Will were in fact admitted and carried out to the letter (see section V, below). The subject-matter leaves no room for suspicion of malpractice, and the Codicil merely confirms that the testator, now near death, has not changed his mind about the succession to his Shebaitship.⁸

The document is far in advance of the sort of 'evidence' that has passed muster hitherto, e.g. the form of oral testamentary deposition that the author of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* was inclined to impute to Yājñavalkya in a remote and mythic past, and the often blatantly fictional biographies that *Bhaktamāl* and similar literary 'chronicles' have woven round many of the names that are attested in the Will. That A is the true autograph original is obvious from the exact correlation between the various contributions made to the document and the changes in handwriting. While B's scribe is more notable for a degree of neatness than for any great understanding of the text, it is quite apparent that the authors of the Will, Codicil, and witnesses' signatures are not professional scribes.

III

Document A (pl. I) consists of a damaged fragment of thin, handmade paper measuring 13.5 × 10.6 cm. When it first emerged from a pile of unsorted papers, one side was blank. The paper on the blank side differed slightly in colour and texture from the other, and it was discovered, by removing the backing paper, that the reverse side contained the Codicil and signatures. The first quarter of both texts recto and verso is missing; of the second quarter, about a half is torn away and there is a small rectangular hole near the end. The original had evidently disintegrated; two surviving pieces had been joined together by being pasted on to another piece of paper, so that the Codicil was concealed. As a copy was kept safely in the same building, there is no question of deliberate concealment, merely evidence of incomprehension of the document's real value and interest. The text recto and the text verso are by different hands and the twelve witnesses' signatures are each in an authentic handwriting with one fairly explicit exception (*rāgha[va]dāsamanoharadāsamatam*).

Both texts, recto and verso, are calculated to fill the paper. Comparing the two sides, one might conclude that unused paper had been cut off, so that the text completely fills the paper leaving no room for an unauthorized post-script. The resulting angular cut created difficulties for the witnesses, who were perhaps similarly intent upon filling up the waste space on their side of the page. As the author Jīva has allowed himself a margin and even a marginal insertion, it is evidently again a question of a wonted formality, rather than of the actual expectation of sharp practice.

Document B (pl. IV) is in good condition and written on one side of a piece of handmade paper 23.5 × 10.6 cm. The text is complete, and the two depositions of the original are written consecutively in 43 lines. As happens in document A when the witnesses' section is combined with the Codicil, the heading of the ensuing Codicil paragraph is written in conjunction with the

⁸ An earlier signature of one witness Viṣṇuvicitra (12 v^o) is available for comparison, see plate II: document belonging to Govinda Temple, Jaipur; photograph to be deposited in SOAS Library; dated Śaṃvat 1651 (A.D. 1594).

line that had been drawn to fill up the last line of the previous passage. Typical of B's incomprehension is the scribe's failure to recognize the same procedure when it occurs in A: he did not realize that *tatra sāksīṇaḥ* is the heading of a separate section, and his treatment of the witnesses' section [not quite so illegible as B found it, in his ignorance of Kaithi script) is seriously astray. He arrives at as many as 17 witnesses, adding more names, all still in his own handwriting.

That B is a copy of A is proved by the clear attestation in B of the hole in the paper that A now exhibits: in principle, B leaves a one-syllable space to denote a lacuna. That it is copied *directly* from A is also certain: there are many scribal errors that can be readily explained on the basis of illegibilities in A, and none that cannot. Interestingly, B does not give the impression that the copyist is aware that A is the original autograph manuscript: while he carefully marks lacunae where he is at a loss owing to the break in the paper, he is willing to 'correct' the document in other circumstances—when it is partly illegible to him and when he (wrongly) suspects the existence of a lacuna at the end of the list of witnesses. There is a correction sec.m. in A that appears to be connected with B's conjectures; it is possibly actually in the handwriting of B (A, 8 v°).

The dates of the original (A.D. 1606 and 1608) are available only from B, for the slightest traces of one of the dates are all that remains of them in A: these are marks referable to the words *saṃvat* and *sudi*, but at least they give tangible support for the assumption that B has copied authentic dates.

No name of scribe or date of copying is given for document B. One might hazard a date c. 1655 on the basis that an extant inventory of the Rādhāmodara library was taken at that date; the original might have been found, copied, and repaired on such an occasion. While A had already become brittle and sustained damage, B's emendations, though inapposite, are still close enough in time to betray some considerable familiarity with the genre and the personalities involved.

The date of the foundation of Rādhāmodara Temple, one of five ancient temples in Vrindaban belonging to the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava sect, is not recorded, but the tradition that it was founded by Jīva, who thus must have been its first custodian, is borne out by the discovery of a copy of a deed of sale in his name. This states that in A.D. 1558 Jīva Gusāi bought a plot of land from one *Āliṣā Caudhuri*: the boundaries correspond, so far as can be determined, with the site of the Rādhāmodara.⁹

According to the literature,¹⁰ Jīva installed in this temple an idol made for him by Rūpa, his uncle and teacher; in the temple compound there is a *bhajana koṭhī* (*kuṭī*) 'prayer room' and *saṃādhi* 'grave' associated with the name of Rūpa. Its most significant feature is the important library of the Gauḍiya sect which it housed; this is mentioned prominently in the Will and it is in its archives that the Will was discovered.¹¹

⁹ VRI, ser. 5, acc. 33. The plot runs from the Jumna to Kunja Gali, a street still in existence.

¹⁰ See F. S. Growse, *Mathura: a district memoir*, Bulandshahr, 1880, 237: 'The temple of Rādhā Dāmodara has a special claim to distinction from the fact that it contains the ashes of Jīva, its founder, as also his two uncles, the Gosāins Rūpa and Sanātana'. See also Rādhā-kṛṣṇagosvāmī, *Sādhanadīpikā*, ed. Haridas Das, Calcutta, 1946, 214: *rādhāmodaradevaḥ śrīrūpakaranirmilāḥ, jīvagosvāmine dattāḥ śrīrūpeṇa kṛpādhiṇā. Bhaktiratnākara*, 139: a Bengali, Śrīnivāsa, saw Rūpa's *saṃādhi* in the compound, while visiting Jīva.

¹¹ Jīva inherited the libraries of Sanātana, Rūpa, and Raghunāthadāsa (see below). An inventory (VRI, acc. 5452) of the Sanskrit MSS is dated A.D. 1655; a document of A.D. 1706 refers to the *pothipatra* of the temple. Only a small remnant of the library could be salvaged by the VRI, including autograph manuscripts of Sanātana and Rūpa.

IV

In the following edition of the Will, readings conjectured to fill the gaps and illegibilities in A are in round brackets. Letters omitted in A by accident or design (Kaithi) are supplied in square brackets; superfluous readings (delenda) are in angle brackets.

The text of A has been given with the line divisions of the original preserved. Where A's reading is lost and the text is completed from B, it is printed continuously and italicized.

In A, lines 22a-d v° are added marginally in the same hand; a caret mark indicates their place in the text. In B, they have been introduced into the text without comment: an unaccountably awkward sequence of ideas results in B. Text in Bengali script is enclosed in double quotation marks.

[recto]

labdhaparasparasukhadānatṛṣṇau śrīśrīrādhākṛṣṇau jayatām —————

*saṃvat 1663 varṣe mārgaśīrṣamāsi kṛṣṇadvitīyāyāṃ sugrhitānāmadhēya (ya)śrīśrīrūpasanā-
tanākhyaamahāmahimacararakamalānucarasya śrīśrīr(ṣ)ṛṣṇanāsthasya jīvanāmnah saṃ-
kalpapatriyam. mayā yakkāścid vyūpārah kṛto [']yam asti sa sarvo [']pi mayārādhyamānayoḥ
śrīmatpratimārūpeṇāvīrbhāvīyayor anayoḥ śrīśrīrādhākṛṣṇayor sevāsaukaryyāritam eva. sā
ca sev(ā) prathamata eva sādhuacaritāya paramārthamātraparārdhyānyāya śrīvilāsādāsāya
samarpitāsti. taṃtād akhilāni tadīyasevāpayikatayā saṃgrhitāni*

- [10] *madanaṃtaram śrīvilāsādāsyaiva*
[11] *jñeyāni. kimtu madīyadehanāse yady assa vairāgyād vā sāmārthyā-*
[12] *bhāvād vā svādhīkāranivṛttim icchet yadi ca*
[13] *paramasaccaritrāḥ śrībhāratācāryyatānūjah śrīmān kṛṣṇadā-*
[14] *śanāmā brāhmaṇaḥ sūṃpratavadanayoḥ śrīśrīrādhākṛṣṇayor ———*
[15] *sevūyāṃ api tadānīm api tiṣṭhet tadā tena śrīvilā-*
[16] *sādāsena svayam aśmai sevāsevopakaraṇāni sevyaśrīśrīrādhā-*
[17] *kṛṣṇasahitāni sthānāni pustakaparyyantāni sarvāṇi madī-*
[18] *yāni saṃkalpapūrvakam dātavyāni. atra kasyāpy anyasyādhi-*
[19] *kāro nāsti. madīyam sarvaṃ mayā samarpitam oet kasya vānya-*
[20] *syādhīkārah syāt. yakkāścid atra virodhī syāt sa eva*
[21] *khalu śrīśrīrādhākṛṣṇasevādrohī syāt sarvair vaiṣṇavai rājabhi-*
[22] *śca dāpīyah syāt.*
[22a] *śrīmataḥ kṛṣṇadāsaviprasīdānyathābhāve tu śrīvilāsadā-*
[22b] *śena svecchayā kasmācid anyasmai योग्या sarvaṃ samarpaṇīyam.*
[22c] *yadi ca mayi jīvaty eva śrīvilāsādāsyaṇyathābhāvaḥ syāt tadā vicāryya samādhe-*
[22d] *yam mayāiva sarvaṃ.*
[22] *atra tu madīyasvabhastalekho [']yam eva*
[23] *sākṣisahasraṃ. yato y(o ya)s tam imāṃlekhaṃ drakṣyati sa*
[24] *sa eva sākṣī syāt. ya(di) tad idam saṃprati lokaṣu na*
[25] *spaṣṭīkṛtam tat khalu saṃprapē(tā) kāścit kāścid atra mātēa-*
[26] *ryyam karisyatīti vicāryya(m.) k(i)ṃtu yadi mama maraṇe sāva-*
[27] *dhānatā syāt tadā tad idam lokaṣu spaṣṭam eva jñāpayisyāmi-*
[28] *tī. tad idam gauḍākṣareṇāpi likhyate. "tad etad eva pramāṇa-*
[29] *m itī. aṭha yekocin madīṣṭatamā bhavanti te sarve [']py atra sādhyam*
[30] *karīṣyanti prārthyate ca": kalyāṇam astu kalyāṇam astu*

[verso]

parapīṣṭalīpīr iyaṃ

yadi mama maraṇe sāvadhānatā syāt tadā tad idam lokaṣu spaṣṭam eva jñāpayisyāmi-

- [3] *tī yat pratījñātam tad eva likhyate ca.*
[4] *saṃvat 1665 pauṣasudī (3 uttarāyaṇe saṃkrāntau) ga-*
[5] *dādharaḥbhaṭṭahastena sam likhyate. śrīvilā-*
[6] *sādāsasyābhāve lohāyā(m) vā kṛṣṇadāsena sa-*

[7]	rva[m] gṛhīṭavyam balān neti. <i>puṣṭakāni śrīgopvā-</i>
[8]	migrham cādyaiṣa <mayā> sam<kalpa> (dātavyāni.) rāmadāsavaiṣṇavenīra
[9]	sarvadā sāhāyām kartavyam svamaryādā rakṣaṇīyā rā(ma)-
[10]	dāsena sāhāyām kartavyam
[10a]	tatra sāksīṇaḥ
[11]	gadādharaḥṣaṭtamata sāṣ[ī] gopīn(ātha?)jī
[12]	viṣṇuvicitramataṁ (sā)kṣī vṛmdāvanadāsah
[13]	rāgha[va]dāsamanoharadā- atra sācī gopīnā-
[14]	samatam thadāsu. [illegible]
[15]	kṛṣṇadāsakavirāja[ma]taṁ "haridāsasya"
[16]	rāghavapurohitamataṁ atra sāksīṇa rādhā[rā]maṇa-
[17]	d[ā]samatam

Notes on text recto

The opening dedication to Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā may be safely attributed to the original. It contains 21 syllables, equal to the average number of syllable-spaces found in the available 18 Nagari lines of A recto. It has been misplaced in B, and a dash has had to be supplied to complete the line.

The writing of A recto is regular enough to justify the conclusion that the other 216 syllable-spaces attested only in B represented 10½ lines in A recto, at 21 syllables per line. This leaves some small allowance for the writer's tendency to make and delete errors. That the eleventh line began precisely at *jñeyāni* is merely a reasonable supposition.

Some marks occurring in B seem to represent someone's abortive attempt to construe (or to scan) the piece of text that is lost from A. As word-divisions, they soon become unaccountably erratic before ceasing at *śrīrāṭṭāśadāsasya-jñeyāni*.

The Bengali substratum in the orthography of A recto is very plain.

- (1) Final *t* is frequent, especially in pausa (e.g. 12 r° *ichet yadi*, 25 r° *tat kholu*; but 27 r° *syāttadā* in lieu of pausa). This feature, along with a case of final *n* (13 r° *śrīmān kṛṣṇadāsanāmā*) and the interesting tendency to punctuate by means of word-spacing, is possibly a symptom of age (and authenticity) rather than of specifically Bengali orthography: cf. also 1-2 v° *syāt tatā* with pausa, probably at a break between lines in the original (versus *yaṁpraviṣṇātāṁ* in external sandhi); and 6 v° *bhāve ichāyām* with some implication of caesura.
- (2) Homorganic nasals are regular (e.g. 17 r° *paryyantāni*, 22 r° *daṇḍyah*; but B *paryyamtāni*, *daṇḍyah* and A, verso 12 *vṛmdāvana*).
- (3) A form of *m* with virāma, corresponding to the Bengali *anṣvāra*, is used in pausa (22b r° *samarpaṇīyam* and 23 r° *sahasraṁ*); but not in 15 r° *samarpitamcet* with sandhi. The feature is lacking in B and in A verso (10 v° *kartavyam* in pausa).

- (4) The treatment of *v* is relevant. A recto offers only *v* (no instance of *b* occurs); on the other hand, A verso has the Kaithi and Braj dotted *v* in one case (16 v°), as well as an apparent instance of a distinct *b* (7 v°).

- (5) Part of the text is written in Bengali script, a stereotyped feature of the genre as will be seen. (One of the witnesses in A verso signs in Bengali script.) The copyist of B, a capable scribe of Bengali, does not observe the distinct *b* in 7 v°. He maintains the erratic sandhi features listed in (1), but drops the more significant word-spacings.

The hole is probably still exactly as B found it. He normally leaves a space on reaching it, but he reads *lokesu* correctly at 27 r° where only *su* is now available and *kavirājamataṁ* at 15a v° where little more than *kavirāja* remains.

The former reading is easily inferred from the fact that the same passage is explicitly quoted verso; and the latter reading in any case implies a measure of conjecture on the part of B. B may have seen *kavirāja[ma]tam* and supplied *ma* (he supplies a missing letter similarly at 13 v°), but he may equally have made the guess from the existing text. Otherwise, B's readings and misreadings show that at the hole he saw exactly what can now be seen and no more.

12 r°. Cancellation of an error must account for the shortness of this line in A.

15. After *tiṣṭhet tadā*, A deletes *svayama* (see line 16). Was this an error in drafting or an error in copying from a draft? The occurrence of rephrasing at 22, 24, and also in A verso may confirm the former supposition.

16. B *sevāsevanupakaraṇāni*, an error.

20. B *virodhi*, an error.

21. B *sevādrohū | sarvai vaiṣṇavai*, three errors.

22a-d. The marginal insertion was made after the text recto had been completed, judging by the positioning of the inserted lines. It appears to be a pure afterthought, for it breaks the sense of the document where it stands. Evidently the contingency envisaged did not arise: at any rate, the Codicil ignores the complication. The traces of writing that seem to appear in the photograph below the last syllables of 22c suggest a first draft *samādheyam iti*, with erasure as in line 15.

23. B *yatoye stadimam*, with a space denoting lacuna.

24. B *ya tadimam*, with a space denoting lacuna.

25. B *sampranayakaścītkāścidatra*, an impossible conjecture; the reading *samprane-* which must imply *sampranetā* is more evident in another photograph not reproduced here; for comparison, *ne* occurs also in the next line.

26. B *vicāryya yadi* with a wider space for the lacuna.

28. B *tedidam*. The mark on the paper of A which gave rise to the foolish reading *-e* is a blemish that continues on into the *dī*. B *gaudākṣarenalikhyaṭe*, imagining the *pi* to be a cancelled duplication of *li* and 'correcting' *nā* into *ṇa*.

29. B *tesarvpepyatrasāhāryyam*.

30. B *kalyānamastukalyānamastu*.

Notes on text verso

The writing is very irregular; but lines 5-7 v° contained 16 syllable-spaces each, and the undue length of 9 v° (19 spaces) and 8 v° (21 spaces, crammed at the end, if B is a correct reading) may result from the over-writing of corrections in line 8. Assuming that the opening was relatively tidy, the 45 spaces lost will have been arranged in three lines in the original. As B recognizes *parapiṣṭalipir iyaṃ* to be a heading, disposing it exactly as A disposes the heading *tatra sāksīnaḥ* over a line drawn to complete the first paragraph, we may conclude that in A the phrase was written separately and not within the following paragraph.

The Kaithi element in the text of the Codicil is less marked than in the signatures. One may point, however, to the open *bh* (6 v°) and angular *c* (8 v°); the *d* has a tendency, notably in the writer's own signature, to approach the markedly Kaithi *d* of Gopīnāthadāsa's signature (14 v°). It seems significant that the writer, Gadādharaḥaṭṭa, has lapsed into Hindi for his signature by omitting *anusvāra* (cf. *-dāsu* in 14).

Other Kaithi features in the signatures are the *ṣ* (for *kh*) already noted; the *a* (reminiscent of a Nagari *śra*) and *sāchī* of Gopīnāthadāsa; the dotted *v*

of Rāghavapurohita; and above all the *rādhā* of Rādhāramaṇa-dāsa (B reads *atra sākṣiṇa rādhā[ra]maṇa* as *atra sākṣi nāthabhaṭṭa*!). The tendency of the administrative scripts to dispense with vowels is apparent: *zāṣz* for *sāṣi*, *rādhāramaṇadāsa* for *-dāsa*, possibly *rāghadāsa* (for *rāghodāsa* B, *sākṣiṇa* (for *sākṣiṇo* ?), and *ṣa* (for *sāṣi* ?) in the additional signature, unexplained as yet, in 14. There is one case, found in other documents too, of *-dāsu*, an Apabhraṃśism.

The placing of the signatures shows that they were written from left to right side by side, as follows:

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>e-f</i>	<i>g-h</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>

Thus we infer that *d*, *g-h*, and *l* are displaced to the right by encroachment of items in the left-hand column. On the other hand, the encroachment of *h* may be responsible for *j*'s need to revert to a vertical alignment with *b*. The gradient of *i* accords with that of *e-f*, so it is probably not in fact veering away from a pre-existing *j*. Rather, *j* is at pains to align horizontally with the beginning of *i* and vertically with the beginning of *b*: Haridāsa (*j*) and Jīva, the two who make use of Bengali script, alone can boast some formal training in penmanship. The splitting of *e-f* into two lines presupposes the prior existence of *b* and *d*; *k* is displaced by *i*. It seems evident that *g* wrote *caṇḍas* (so that *h* might follow on) only in order to achieve symmetry with *e-f*.

The reconstruction of the signing process is important, because the copy B differs so markedly in its readings and presentation. Since it is demonstrably mistaken in its interpretation of sequence, we may the more safely rest assured that it is utterly mistaken in its readings and emendations.

1-2 v°. B's correction of *jñāpayiṣyāmi* to *mi* presumably indicates that *-ti* began the third line in the original, so that he first misread *-mī* as *-mi*.

4. The traces in A can be referred only to *saṃvat* and *sudī* (that the start of the line fell at *saṃvat* receives some confirmation from the observation on *jñāpayiṣyāmi* in B). A cannot have had the date written in full, therefore, and 3 for *trītyāyām* in B is a likely conjecture which fits the traces. B reads 1665 *varṣe paṇḍasudī trītyāyām uttarāyane makarasamkrāntau*, there is no room for *varṣe*, and the conjecture *sudī* 3 on the basis of the traces in A is a satisfactory improvement on *sudī*. There is no room for *uttarāyane makarasamkrāntau*, which in any case appears to be tautological. The reading given, *uttarāyane samkrāntau*, accounts best for the space available.

5. B reads *lekhyate* with a space after the preceding *saṃ* which shows either that he recognized *saṃ* as an abbreviation for *saṃkalpa* (*patrīyam*), understood from the passage recto, or merely that he did not recognize *samlīkha* as a compound verb. The traces in A are clearly consistent with *līkh-* and this gives better sense, though one can sympathize with B's desire to read a causative in the context of dictation. In fact, the sense of dictation is implicit in *hastena*, and the causative is not plausible in conjunction with that expression. As we are inclined to believe that B has himself rightly interpolated *saṃkalpa* below into A, 8 v° as an expansion of the same abbreviation, we suggest that the space in B serves for once to mark the abbreviation. As Rāghunāthadāsa Gosvāmī in his versified settlement used *samlēkhyā patram* (see section V), one cannot be certain that B is right in *this* instance.

6. B *ichayā vā*, another erroneous emendation, indicating another absence of anusvāra in A ?

7. B fails to remedy the omission of anusvāra; B *valān*, an insensitive reading of the differentiated (or at least undotted) *b*.

8. A has *mayā* and 'kalapa' written above the line in a hand consistent with that of B, but hardly with that of A (cf., in A verso, the round *l* in line 7, the shape of *k* in 9 and 10, and the cases of rectangular *m* in 9). It is improbable that Gadādharaḥṭṭa would write anything of the sort. He does not otherwise use interlinear emendation (this being inconsistent with legal caution?). It would be very foolish of him to refer to the testator Jīva using *mayā* (*mama* in 1-2 v° being explicitly a quotation from the previous document). The emendations are only comprehensible as leading to B's reading *mayā samkalpitāni*, and this reading is not obviously very consistent with the traces remaining in the fragment or with the sense of the basic document recto which is here recapitulated in the Codicil (17-18 r°: *sthānāni pustakaparyantāni sarvāni madīyāni samkalpapūrvakam dātavyāni*, corresponding to 7-8 v° *pustakāni śrīgosvāmigrham cādyaiva <mayā> sam<kalpa> . . .*). What is to be read thereafter in the fragment is a matter of opinion, but we are able to compare the photographs taken both before and after treatment for conservation (pl. I and pl. II, respectively). It seems certain from the latter that the first reading was *saṃ dāta-*, i.e. *saṃ° dāta(vyāni)* for *saṃkalpapūrvakam dātavyāni*, as is to be expected from the parallel use of *saṃkalpapūrvakam dātavyāni* in 18 r°. It is therefore possible that *saṃ dāta-* has been altered to *saṃ tāni* in A by the copyist B in the interests of promoting his implausible reading *mayā samkalpitāni*. More sophisticated study than present financial resources permit may solve the dilemma. The photograph of the untreated document might equally be thought to indicate a prim.m. correction *-vyāni*; but as this would seem to have been written on top of the syllables *dāta-* when they should properly follow them, a rather crass error in writing from dictation would have to be assumed. On the evidence of B's helpless reaction to the overwritten corrections at 10 v°, the probability is that the fragment that is now lost held some overwritten syllables, probably *-vyāni* plus *daṇḍa*, and that B assumed they were intended to be deleted altogether. It is preferable to suppose that B has then attempted a correction based on the adjacent formula *madīyam sarvaṃ mayā samarpitam cet* in 19 r°, than that Gadādharaḥṭṭa in a non-sensical manner has himself telescoped the two formulae of the corresponding text recto.

9. B reads *sāhāryyam* wrongly and omits (as illegible) the repetition *rāmadāsenā . . .*

10a-11. While A reads *tatra sāksīnaḥ* as a heading and does not single out the first two signatures in 11 v° (Gadādharaḥṭṭa and Gopīnāthaji) as a separate pair, B transposes Gadādharaḥṭṭa to the end of the passage that was written by him in the original and offers (in place of what we read as Gopīnāthaji) three names with equal pride of place as compared with the remainder :

atra sākṣī parasīvarajī
atra sākṣī śītalagaṇḍīyā
atra sākṣī kṛṣṇadāsa

At first sight unconnected with the original it nevertheless seems necessary to assume that these represent some fanciful emendation on the part of B, based on the letters of the misunderstood heading *tatra sāksīnaḥ* and the ill-written

sāṣi gopīnāthajī, that seemed to the copyist to share with Gadādharaḥṭṭa, or even to oust him from, the status of principal witness. Thus *sāṣi* in B unquestionably reflects Kaithi *sāṣi* in A, 11 v°; A's next syllable, a very senile *go* which tends to resemble *gau*, is reflected in B's *gaudiyā*; and *parasīvarajī* is likely to be his emendation for the illegible *p jī* in A. Kṛṣṇadāsa is one of the commonest names among the Gauḍīya bhaktas; Parasī and Bṛajā are mentioned as brothers in a deed of sale in A.D. 1611¹²; and *gau* occurs elsewhere as an abbreviation for *gauda*; so it is easy to follow the train of thought. The phrase *tatra sāksīnaḥ sāṣi gau° pa jī* suggested to B the need to reconstruct three plausible names that would account for the plurality of *sāksīnaḥ*. The phrase must have seemed to the copyist a self-contained intrusion into the position that rightly belongs to Gadādhara; to his mind, the plural would not relate to Gadādhara alone and ruled out any possibility of his reading *sāṣigopīnāthajī* as a single name.

Illegible as the letters are in the original, *sāṣi gopīn jī* seems safe, and no other restoration than Gopīnāthajī comes to mind among the names then current. The *pī* and *jī* are best seen in plate II. The letter following *n* has much the same length as the vertical stroke of *n*, and to that extent qualifies as an extremely shaky *-ā*. The next letter is conceivably a *th* with a now almost circular 'vertical' element, a phenomenon not without parallel in the Mahajani scripts. The *j* has a definite Mahajani aspect. There may be a caret intended below *sā* in A to draw attention to the cavalier treatment of *-i* in *sāṣi*[*ṣ*].

12-17. B probably next reads *śrīrṇḍāvanadāsaḥ* from the right-hand column, followed by the bulk of the left-hand column. Then he sees *atra sīcī* in 13 as introducing a new section comprising the bulk of the right-hand column; and he similarly treats *atra sāksīna* in 16, read as *atra sāksī nā(thabhaṭṭaḥ)*, as a separate item, to accommodate which he continues clockwise round the margins. Finally, we seem to have a fairly massive conjectural restoration of five additional names, attributable to B's inability to understand 16-17. B is wrong in every particular. The distribution of the names in A shows that they were written side by side in lines, not columns; and *atra sāksī* and *matam* names are not distinguished in the original, in the way the copyist seems to imagine.

12. B's *śrīrṇḍāvanadāsaḥ* is an erroneous restoration: *sā-* is still clear, despite the hole, and plate II (after conservation) confirms that the remaining syllable was not originally *śrī*.

13. B *rāghavadāsa*.

14. B reproduces *-dāsu* and a single *daṇḍa*, but ignores the illegible eighth signature.

15. B *-kavirājamataṁ*, a possible emendation, but not a possible reading. One may assume that *taṁ* was written with a subscript caret as in 16. B wrote *haridasasasya* and corrected this to *haridāsasya*; in fact, A wrote *haridāsa-* and corrected this to *haridā-* by deleting *sa* so that the vertical stroke remained. The resulting reading in A is thus already correct; but coupled with the ease of *dasa* in 17, a Kaithi habit underlying even the Bengali hand can be inferred.

16. B *atra sāksī nāthabhaṭṭaḥ*, thus emending the hybrid *sāksīna* (intending a genitive with *matam* perhaps), and reading the Kaithi *rādhā* as *nātha*. This is partly excusable as there is a caret (for the probable reading [*ra*]mcna) which might be thought to delete the second *ā* of *rādhā*. The next letter is clearly *ma*, not *bha*.

¹² Mathura Court, suit no. 23 (1946), list no. 184/C, ser. 11.

17. B reads *śrīśricamdraśrīharidāśaśrībhavānamdādhikāriṇām śrīmukha-caitanya-dāśayor matam* followed by a line denoting conclusion. These extra five names have a partial basis in A *dasamatam*, which from its position B presumably imagines indicates a lacuna in A (certainly not the case). Again the names can be traced in other documents, roughly contemporary with this one, so one may assume that B has collated a passage from some other irrelevant document. The use of *śrī* in these signatures, common later, is not in keeping with its avoidance in A.

Translation

[recto]

Hail Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śrīrādhā who yearn to confer happiness upon one another.

1-10 On day 2 of the dark half of month Mārgaśīrṣa in the Samvat year 1663 (A.D. 1606) this is the Will and Testament of Jīva, a resident of Śrīśrīvṇḍāvana and a follower of the lotus feet of Their Reverences the happily named Śrīśanātana and Śrīrūpa.

This entire undertaking of mine is all for the sake of facilitating the service to this Śrīkṛṣṇa and this Śrīrādhā who are manifest as the glorious idols which I worship. And that service is conveyed in the first instance to Śrīvilāsadāsa, a holy man entirely intent upon the supreme truth. Therefore all materials that have been collected as a means of serving them are to be deemed to belong to Śrīvilāsadāsa in direct succession to me.

11-18 But if after my physical death he should desire to relinquish his rights either as a result of renunciation or of disability and if the most virtuous brahmin Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa son of Śrībhāratācārya at that time still also continues in the service of the Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śrīrādhā whose features are presently revealed, then the said Śrīvilāsadāsa shall freely convey to him by Will the service and materials instrumental in the service together with the Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śrīrādhā that are the objects of the service, the premises including books, all my possessions.

18-22 No other person has any rights in the matter. Or surely no other could have rights, given that I have conveyed my own property. Whosoever might dispute it would indeed contravene the service of Śrīkṛṣṇa and Śrīrādhā and would be liable to punishment by the Vaiṣṇava community and temporal rulers.

22a-d If, however, the brahmin Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa's circumstances should alter, Śrīvilāsadāsa shall convey the property of his own accord to any other fit person. And if Śrīvilāsadāsa's circumstances should alter during my lifetime, I shall after due consideration dispose of the property myself.

22-28 Furthermore this is a document in my own hand, there are 1000 witnesses. For, as many as will see the said handwriting, each one may bear witness. If this matter has not now been made clear to all persons, then indeed there is a danger that some person in authority will infringe it selfishly. But if there should be concern about my death then I shall communicate this matter clearly to all persons.

28-30 The following is written also in Bengali script: 'That this may be authoritative. And further it is requested that all whosoever are my most chosen colleagues will collaborate therein.' Amen, amen.

[verso]

Codicil

- 1-3 And the following is written in respect of the intention expressed
'If there should be concern about my death then I shall communicate
this matter clearly to all persons'.
- 4-5 At the winter solstice on day 3 of the light half of month Pauṣa
in the Samvat year 1665 (A.D. 1608), this Will and Testament is written
by the hand of Gadādharaḥṭṭa.
- 5-7 The property is to be taken by Kṛṣṇadāsa in the absence of
Śrīvilāsadāsa or if Śrīvilāsadāsa so wishes, not on his own authority.
- 7-8 The books and the priests' residence are to be conveyed forthwith
according to the Will.
- 8-10 Let Rāmadāsa Vaiṣṇava ever collaborate therein, let no one exceed
his authority, let Rāmadāsa collaborate.
- 11-17 Witnesses
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Gadādharaḥṭṭa | Gopīnāthaji |
| Viṣṇuvicitra | Vṛndāvanadāsa |
| Rāghavadāsa and Manoharadāsa | Gopīnāthadāsa. (illegible) |
| Kṛṣṇadāsakavirāja | 'Haridāsa' |
| Rāghavapurohita | Rādhāramaṇadāsa |

Notes on the translation

The intended meaning is conveyed in the text in a somewhat roundabout manner, using, unfortunately, a wide variety of different Sanskrit phrases to convey the same or similar meaning. Documents attested in Braj Hindi offer much simpler expressions, and these do not seem to convey any significantly different meaning from that intended by the more varied Sanskrit clichés. Thus just as the complex wording of the witnesses' signatures seemed to be ultimately reducible to a basic Hindi form **sākhi gopīnāthadāsa* or the like, so also the phrasing of the Will could reflect a conflation of various alternative Sanskritizations based on Apabhraṃśa. A similar document drawn up by a certain Kunjadāsa in 1723¹³ contains virtually all the general Sanskrit formulae that Jīva employs, but expresses the basic bequest in Hindi as *sevādhikāra dīyā*. A more nearly contemporary settlement refers back to Jīva's Will with Braj *āge . . . die* and bequeaths the property in his turn using the phrase *kṛṣṇārpaṇa kari*; a few lines later he refers back to this latter bequest with *die hai* (see below, section V). As against this, Jīva's Will and Codicil offer *sevā samarpitāsti* (1-10 r°), *sevāsevopakaraṇāni saṅkalpapūrvakam dātavyāni* (11-18 r°), *samarpaṇīyam* (22a-b), *samādheyam* (22c-d), *grhītavyam* (5-7 v°), and *sam° dātavyāni* (conjectural reading, 7-8 v°).

The upshot, ignoring the misleading variations in phraseology, is as follows:

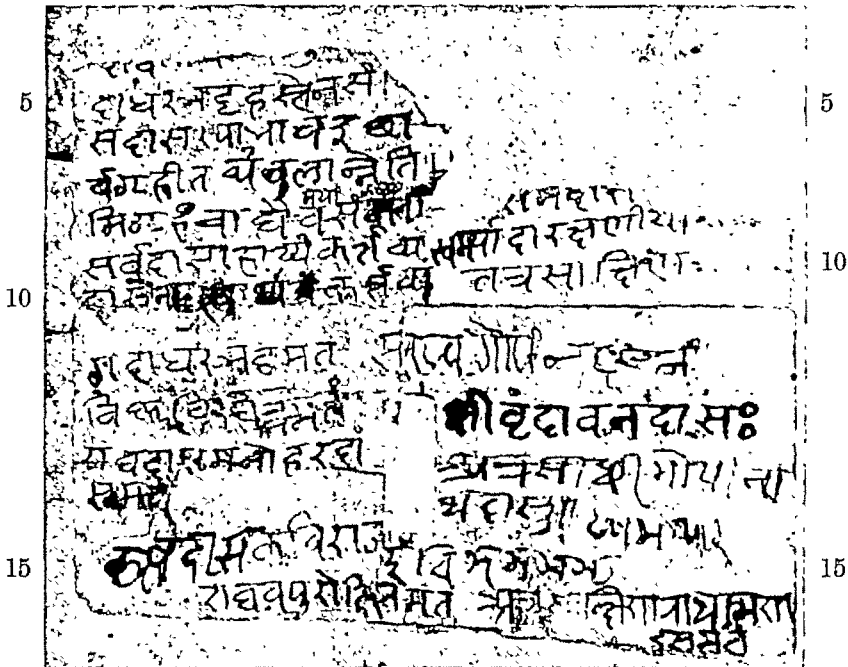
- | | | |
|-----------|---------|---|
| Will | 1-10 r° | The <i>sevā</i> is hereby bequeathed to Ś as my successor. |
| | 11-18 | If I am dead and Ś is incapacitated and K is not incapacitated, Ś must bequeath the <i>sevā</i> to K. |
| Insertion | 22a-b | If [I am dead and] Ś is incapacitated and K is incapacitated, Ś must bequeath it as he sees fit. |
| | 22c-d | If I am alive and Ś is incapacitated [and K is incapacitated], I will bequeath it as I see fit. |

¹³ VRI, ser. 18, acc. 22. No photograph of this document that is adequate for reproduction is available as yet.



22a
22b
22c

A, recto : A.D. 1606



A, verso : A.D. 1608

7 7
 10 10
 14 14

वैष्णवीति विष्णुलानेति
 मिष्टं नानाद्यैः प्रयुज्यते
 सर्वदा साहचर्यं कर्तव्यं तस्मादावस्यतीत्यर्थः
 दातव्यं यथा शक्तिः स्यात् तत्र साक्षिणः
 गृहधरः नृपः सत् सायं गोपीनन्दनः
 विष्णुचिन्तनमूर्तिः श्रीवृंदावनदासः
 गृहदासः सदाहरिः अनन्ताक्षीभिरपि
 सन्तः अहोरात्रं यथाशक्ति

A, verso (detail)

सायनीविष्णु/विष्णु

Signature of Viṣṇuvicitra, A.D. 1594



Document of Kṛṣṇadāsa : A.D. 1637

Codicil	1-3 v°	Statement made on my deathbed.
	5-7	If Ś is incapacitated, K is to receive the bequest.
	7-8	The bequest is to take effect now.

Like many another legal document, the structure of the text is itself a stereotype. The complex formulae of the main provisions 1-10 r° and 11-18 r° seem to generate the insertions 22a-d willy-nilly, for no point of practical substance emerges and the Codicil in a sense ignores them. The fact that important steps in the argument (in square brackets above) have to be supplied by inference from what has gone before adds another dimension of obscurity to the imprecise use of language. Besides, the insertions are logically misplaced, for they break into the lengthy set of formulaic generalities (18-30 r°) that form the conclusion.¹⁴ That the Codicil attaches itself explicitly to one of these generalities, proclaiming itself merely a clarification of the terms of the Will, is also not entirely logical. It constitutes in fact a restatement of its provisions in the new context of the testator's impending death.

In effect, the structure of the Will is reversed in the Codicil, but the correlation remains very loose. The opening of the Codicil 1-3 v° refers to the Will's closing generalities (26-28 r°) and revokes, or rather tacitly supersedes, the insertions (22a-d). Codicil 5-7 v° then restates the subsidiary provision of the Will (11-18 r°), or rather it substitutes an alternative and simpler formula, combined with an incidental gloss (*balān neti*) which does scant justice to the foregoing rather grand promise of clarification. Codicil 7-8 v° at last brings into immediate effect the basic bequest of the Will (1-10 r°), and some brief generalities follow. The Codicil is thus an altogether simpler and superior (and possibly therefore more primitive) form of testament than that affected in the Will proper.

It seems improbable that the new formula with *adyaiva* would affect the status of the donation as a posthumous bequest. The whole phrase *saṃkalpa-pūrvakam dātavyāni* appears to have been taken over from the context of the Will without much forethought. An emendation to *adyaiva saṃkalpitāni* is offered by the copyist, but this hardly solves the problems that arise over tense, once one strays from the present perfect.

1-10 r° *vyāpāro 'yam* 'this undertaking' will refer to the drawing up of the Will. The connexion between proper legal safeguards and *sevāsaukārya* is again stressed at 21 r° *atra virodhī . . . sevādrohī syāt*. Any more general interpretation of *vyāpāra* would render it tautological beside *sevā*.

śrīvilāsadāsāya 'to Śrīvilāsadāsa': the Codicil supports the obvious assumption that *śrī* is part of the name (*śrīvilāsadāsa*, *kṛṣṇadāsa*, *rāmadāsa*). This Codicil usage conflicts, however, with the usage in the Jīva Will and in Kṛṣṇadāsa's own settlement (below, section V). There we have respectively *śrīvilāsadāsa*, *śrīmant kṛṣṇadāsa*, *śrībhāratācārya*; and *vilāsadāsa*, *śrīkavirājajī* . . . *kavirājajī*, *cauve hṛṣīkeśa*. It is possible that Jīva merely solves the linguistic problem of the ambiguity of *śrīkṛṣṇa* differently on the two occasions, once with consistent *śrīmant kṛṣṇa* and once with plain *kṛṣṇa*. Perhaps *śrīśrī* seemed out of place in relation to colleagues' names; and use of *śrīśrī*, then as now, tends to be linked with dvandva compounds to which each member may theoretically contribute one *śrī*.

sevā . . . samarpitāśī 'the Shebaitship is bequeathed'; the argument as a

¹⁴ In Kunjadāsa's document of 1723 (note 13), a similar proviso occurs, again illogically in the same position after the formula . . . *damdya[h] syāt*.

whole, detailed above, rules out any possibility that *samarpitāsti* implies immediate renunciation of rights. The context of a *saṃkalpa* or 'undertaking' and the subsequent specification *madanantaram* contribute the necessary implications. See also Notes on the text *ad* line 8 v°.

11. It follows that *dehanāse* 'after physical death' is not intended to contrast with a voluntary renunciation of office, but merely matches, suitably grandiloquently, the adjacent reference to *vairāgya*. The alternative forms of Will embodied in the Jīva Codicil and in the 1723 Kunjadāsa document (note 13 f.) envisage at most *abhāva* and *icchā* as impediments in lieu of the loftier *vairāgya* and *sāmarthyābhāva* mentioned here.

16-18. *sevāsevopakaraṇāni* . . . *sarvāni madīyāni*: for the construction, see the analysis in section V, below, on the basis of comparison with the more simply phrased versions.

18-22, 22-26, 28-30. Again, comparison with a simpler version suggests an explanation of Jīva's complicated construction. These three passages recur verbatim in the Kunjadāsa document (see n. 13). Between the first and second set, both Jīva and Kunjadāsa interpolate instructions for action in case of disability. In Jīva's case especially, this insertion stands out clearly as an intrusion into a stereotyped sequence of formulae. Jīva alone adds a subsequent Codicil and also interpolates between the second and third groups of formulae a passage which predicts the eventual provision of a Codicil. As with the prior insertion, 22a-d, the interpolation is quite crass: the *iti* in 27 f. has no grammatical function; the punctuation in 28 f. makes no sense; and the force of *api* in 28 and of *ca* in 30 is obscure as the text stands.

In lieu of 22-30, Kunjadāsa offers the following:

atra tu madīyasvahaṣṭalekko ['*yam eva sāksisahasraṃ | yato ya yas tam imam lekham draṣyati saḥ sa eva sāksī syāt || || " tad idam gaudākṣarenāpi likhyate | tad etad eva pramānam iti | atha yekecin madīṣṭatamā bhavanti te sarve* ['*py atra sāhanyam* [sic] *kariṣyanti prārthyate ca | kalyānam astu kalyānam astu*]".

Here the Bengali-script passage 'that this may be authoritative' follows more immediately upon 'each one may bear witness'. There seems no doubt but that this is the correct juxtaposition. Jīva's grammar and punctuation are at once explained as relics of the original context which has survived in Kunjadāsa. The original sense must be as follows: 'Furthermore this is a document in my own hand, there are 1000 witnesses. For as many as will see the said handwriting, each one may bear witness [the following matter is written in Bengali script] that this may be authoritative. And further it is requested that all whosoever are my most chosen colleagues will collaborate therein. Amen, amen'.

The phrase *tad idam gaudākṣarenāpi likhyate* would then be akin to *saṃkalpapatrī* and *parapiṣṭalipi*: all are likely to stem from a copyist's annotation which has become incorporated into the form of words used by certain subsequent testators. Kunjadāsa, or his copyist, treated the phrase accordingly as the heading for a separate section, entirely in Bengali script. But this heading and the line-filling tailpiece *kalyānam astu* are even less appropriately included by Kunjadāsa in the attestation of his allegedly more natural handwriting than is the sentence *atha yekecin* . . . that is used by both testators to justify the change in script. It seems evident from the syntax that *tam imam lekham* cannot properly refer forward to *tad etad* as a demonstration of one's normal autograph, but must refer to the previous *svaḥṣṭalekko*.

24–26. *yadi tad idam . . . na spaṣṭīkṛtam, tat khalu sampraneta kaścid atra mātṛsāryam kariṣyātīti vicāryam*. The construction of this innovation is closely parallel to that of the original tailpiece 28–30 (*tad etad eva pramānam iti, aha yekecin madīṣṭatamāḥ . . . atra sāhāryam kariṣyāntīti prārthyate ca*). The new proposition, with more ingenuity than coherence, is tacked on to *tam imam lekham* (in the same way as *tad idam gaudākṣarenāpi likhyate* was tacked on).

27–28. *jñāpayiṣyāmīti*. Here *iti* has no function, but in the Codicil, where the passage recurs, *iti* has its normal syntactic application. There is therefore a likelihood that the form of words used in the Codicil is the original one. Then, however, the meaning would be the following: ‘Since there was an undertaking that, in case of a need for precaution in respect of my death, I should communicate this matter clearly in public, the same is now written’. It can readily be imagined that this formula might well have stood at the end of a Will (where it would have helped to clarify the precise nature of the document as a Will with posthumous effect); as it could not originally occupy its present position in the midst of 22–30 (on the evidence of the Kunjadāsa document), its position would have been at the very end following *prārthyate ca*.

Two developments have then to be postulated. First, the evolution of the Codicil: the formula is understood to look forward to a new and subsequent deposition and, at least in theory, offers the possibility of revocation. The new construction is again modelled on the old: the phrase *tad idam gaudākṣarenāpi likhyate* plus the Bengali tailpiece is matched by the phrase *tad eva likhyate ca* plus Codicil. The *likhyate ca* is grammatically absurd, for it links up with *likhyate* at a distance of several sentences and at a chronological remove of two years. The line-filling duplication of *kalyāṇam astu kalyāṇam astu* is faithfully and pointlessly emulated in the Codicil 8–10 v°: *sāhāryam kartavyam . . . sāhāryam kartavyam*.

Secondly, we have to postulate the separation of the Codicil from the Will proper, occurring in two different ways. In Kunjadāsa’s document, all trace of the undertaking *jñāpayiṣyāmīti* has vanished along with the Codicil. In Jīva’s case, however, the Codicil’s preamble has generated a corresponding undertaking in the Will proper; and the interpolation of this *lokeṣu spaṣṭam eva jñāpayiṣyāmīti* has doubtless encouraged the further insertion of 24–26 *yadi . . . lokeṣu na spaṣṭīkṛtam . . .* It also necessitates a revision of the sense that the words *yadi mama maraṇe . . .* are likely to convey in the new context.

5 v° *saṁ likhyate*. Since the suggestion that B here and in line 8 v° understands *saṁ* as an abbreviation (for *saṁkalpapatrī* and *saṁkalpapūrvakam* respectively) is a useful one, especially in the latter case, this solution has been adopted. This implies that Jīva is putting a new interpretation on Raghunāthadāsa’s words *saṁlekhyā patram* ‘dictating the document’ (see section V, below). This is not implausible, for Raghunāthadāsa’s use of *saṁlikh-* is purely for the sake of the metre, and it seems certain that copyist B, at least, could not accept it as a compound; the wording of the verse as a whole does indeed rather tend to suggest that *saṁkalpapatrī* or *saṁkalpapūrvakam* *likh-* or *saṁkalpapatram* is implicit in Raghunāthadāsa’s phrase.

7 *balān neti*. There is evidence in *Sādhanadīpikā* (see n. 10, above), 261 that Kṛṣṇadāsa’s succession was contested. The tenor of Jīva’s depositions does not encourage us to understand *balāt* as a warning of possible malpractice; but it does seem possible that his formula *balāt* might give rise to unwarranted suspicion after the event. Certainly *Sādhanadīpikā* was unable to offer any evidence of violence, and it seems to be ignorant of the role of Śrīvīṣadāsa.

8 *rāmadāsavaishnavena*. It would be pleasant to recognize here a Sanskrit 'John Citizen'; this name too is unknown from elsewhere. The formula must be intended to give effect to the previous formula *sarvair vaiṣṇavaiḥ* ... *dandyaḥ* in 21 f. r° (via the expansion in 29 f.).

V

The information contained in the Will, though simple enough, has important implications for the history of the period. The document gives the first absolutely secure first-hand attestation of several personalities of the period: Gadādharaḥṭṭa, the kathak invited to Vrindaban by Jīva himself (see *Bhaktamāla*, *Bhaktanāmāvali*); Rāghavapurohita, if he is to be identified with Rāghavapaṇḍita of Govardhana (ib.); Śrīvilāsadāsa, successor to Jīva as Shebait of the Rādhādāmodara Temple (see *Bhaktanāmāvali* and document of A.D. 1637)¹⁵; Kṛṣṇadāsa son of Bhāratācārya, author of a comm. on Jīva's *Kṛṣṇārcanadīpikā* (see *Sādhana-dīpikā*, *Bhaktiratnākara*, and document of A.D. 1637); Gopīnāthadāsa, Shebait of Rādhāramaṇa Temple, Vrindaban (see *Bhaktiratnākara*). Two of the witnesses are leading figures of the period: Haridāsa, Shebait of Govinda Temple, Vrindaban (see *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, *Bhaktiratnākara*, and several documents) and Kṛṣṇadāsakaviśeṣa, author of *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, whose survival into the seventeenth century has been contested, wrongly as it would now appear.

For Jīva, the leader of the Gauḍīya community, we obtain a fixed point of reference with which the various more traditional biographical data can be compared. According to the *Mahāprabhvādīprākāṣyasamvatsarāṇi*, a Braj manuscript in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur (acc. no. 5171, 1½ folios, associated with Jai Singh's searches in Vrindaban c. A.D. 1700; informant A. K. Roy, Jaipur), Jīva's life spanned 85 years: born V.S. 1530, A.D. 1523, arrived in Vrindaban V.S. 1604, A.D. 1547; died Pauṣa śukla 3 1665, i.e. Dec. A.D. 1608. There is also a report to the effect that Jīva was dead by A.D. 1611.¹⁶ It must now appear certain that the dates given in the Jaipur manuscript are based on an inspection of documents then available in Vrindaban, since the date given for the death is precisely that of the death-bed Codicil.

It had previously been calculated that Jīva would have to have been born before A.D. 1516; this is the latest date assignable to the reported death of his father Vallabha en route home to Bengal from a meeting with Caitanya at Prayāg. The best (because datable) source for this is *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* whose colophon bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1612¹⁷; it is also the only biography that mentions the existence of Vallabha's son Jīva. If we compare Jīva's handwriting in 1606 with two really senile-looking signatures in the text verso, we may have difficulty in accepting that his age was then upwards of 90 years as the calculation seems to imply. Since one may suspect that the Jaipur manuscript's date for the death is in fact a *terminus post quem*, it remains

¹⁵ Document belonging to Govinda Temple, Jaipur, dated Samvat 1694; = photograph will be among those deposited in SOAS Library.

¹⁶ See Sukumar Sen, *Bāṅgālā sāhityer itihāsa*, I, 1, Calcutta, 1963, 309. Jīva's death is alluded to in a manuscript dated Śāka 1532.

¹⁷ Cc. III, 1; see Bimanbīhari Majumder, *Śrīcāitanyacariteṣu upādān*, Calcutta, 1939, 149. The commonest reading for the colophon dating of Cc. is *śāke sindhvagnibānendau* (S. 1534, A.D. 1612-13). Possibly, however, it is **bindhvagnibānendau* (S. 1530, A.D. 1508-9) that is the source reading of the variants attested, e.g. *sindhvagni*° (VRI manuscript, acc. 708). *agnibindu*° (S. K. De, *Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1961, 66, n. 2).

possible that the date of birth given is a *terminus ante quem*. The date which it assigns to Jīva's arrival in Vrindaban is perfectly plausible (see below).

A later tradition (early eighteenth century) has been held to attest an actual encounter between Caitanya and Jīva himself at Rāmakeli, i.e. in 1513. This apparently independent confirmation that he was over 90 years old in 1606 is without serious foundation. Narahari Cakravartī (*Bhaktiratn.*, 50) is the informant :

śrījīva dekhāye svapane kiñcit nidrāya.
rāmakeli grāme yaiche dekhīla svapane,
serūpe dekhe gauracandra gaṇa sane.
 'Sleeping a while, Jīva sees them in a dream.
 Just as he had seen them in Rāmakeli in a dream
 so he sees Caitanya and his followers.'

In the face of this explanation it is hard to understand how Bimanbihari Majumder (*Śrīcaitanyacarīter upādān*, Calcutta, 1939, 149) could mistake the import of Narahari's account of Jīva's earlier vision of Caitanya at Rāmakeli (*Bhaktiratn.*, 45) :

śrījīvādi saṅgopane prabhure dekhīla,
atipracīnera mukhe e saba sunīla.
 'Jīva and others saw Prabhu Caitanya in a place of concealment,
 so I am told by a very old man.'

The biographies of Caitanya know of no actual meeting, and Narahari seems to have considered it self-evident that the interview must be imaginary (unless *saṅgopane* should be understood to imply some such sense).

Jīva's arrival in Vrindaban, at the time when he was to have been married (according to a manuscript that has proved reliable, see n. 16), took place after Caitanya's death in 1533. This follows from Kṛṣṇadāsakavirāja's assurance that Jīva visited en route, not Caitanya, but Caitanya's successor as head of the sect, Nityānanda.

The first documentary evidence of Jīva's activities is the deed recording his purchase of a plot of land in A.D. 1558, identifiable as that on which it was proposed to build Rādhādāmodara Temple (see n. 9, above). His senior uncles, presumably his guardians, were already landowners (*deśādhikārināu*, according to the manuscript mentioned above, n. 16), and Jīva is already styled *gusāi* (Gosvāmī) in the deed of sale. His reputation in Bhakti theology was established by 1561 (*Vaiṣṇavavandanā* of Devakīnandana); and his first and last major publications are dated 1552 and 1592 respectively.¹⁸

In the VRI collection (ser. 9, acc. 1), there is an order issued by the Emperor Akbar dated A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590) in which he gives official recognition to the custodians of Govindadeva and Madanamohana Temples in response to a petition from Rājā Toḍar Mall on behalf of Jīva Gosvāmī, in whose care the temples had been left. These were the temples founded by his uncles Rūpa and Sanātana. Jīva may have had more difficulty in providing for the future security of these foundations, since the actual Shebaitship was not his own; on the other hand, we find Jīva's nominee Kṛṣṇadāsa taking similar measures in respect of his own office (see n. 20, below).

The Will and other associated documents are thus proving to be satisfactorily

¹⁸ Of 25 titles attributed to Jīva, *Mādhavamahotsava* bears the date V.S. 1609, and *Gopālacampū* V.S. 1649. A *Samkalpakaṭṭhadrūpa* attributed to Jīva in old age (*vrndārāṇye jaraṇ jīvaḥ* . . . , 1.4) cites *Gopālacampū*, see S. K. De, op. cit., 157.

consistent with data preserved in the literary tradition. Apart from Raghunāthadāsa's (see below), no settlement has been found for any of the other early Gosvāmīs. It has by no means been possible to study all the Vrindaban archives with equal care, however.

The deposition of Jīva's eventual beneficiary Kṛṣṇadāsa is in Hindi and refers to a previous settlement of Kṛṣṇadāsakavirāja in favour of Haridāsa¹⁹:

śrī kavirāja jī ke ghara mātra vinā kavirāja jī āpano ghara śrī adhikārī haridāsa gusāi koṃ die he.

'... excepting only the dwelling of Śrīkavirāja. Kavirājajī had previously bequeathed his dwelling to Śrī Adhikārī Haridāsa Gosvāmī'.

The document not only thus records an incidental transaction between two of the witnesses to Jīva's Will, it also confirms that the provisions of the latter were carried out:

... samvat 1694 varṣe vaiśākha sudi 3 śubha diṇe likhita sugghā[ta]nāma-dhēyaśrījīvākhya mahāmahimacaranānucara kṛṣṇadāsa. āge śrīrūpasanātana-raghunātha gusāi āpano pustaka ṭhaura śrīrūpādāvana ke śrīkūṇḍa ke kāgatrūpatra sava śrījīva gusāi ke die tina die vilāsadāsa ke ve die hama kaṃ vadeṃu kī ājñā te. aṃ hama tina mai śrīkūṇḍa ke śrīdāsa gusāi ke ṭhaura ghara tāsaṃ jūde śrījīva gusāi ke ghara kumja bhītara bāhira sava die purohita caudharī śrīkīśora sotī koṃ kṛṣṇārpana kari cauve ḥṣīkeśa ādi paṃcanu ke āge . . .

'On day 3 of the light half of month Vaiśākha in the Samvat year 1694 (A.D. 1637) the following is written by Kṛṣṇadāsa, a follower in the footsteps of His Reverence the happily named Śrījīva.

'Whereas previously Śrīrūpa Gosvāmī, Śrīsanātana Gosvāmī, and Śrīraghunātha Gosvāmī conveyed libraries, premises in Śrīrūpādāvana and Śrīkūṇḍa, documents, all their property to Śrījīva Gosvāmī, and Jīva conveyed the same to Vilāsadāsa, and Vilāsadāsa conveyed the same to me on the authority of the master,

'Of those I do now convey premises in Śrī(rādhā)kūṇḍa, the dwelling place of Śrī(raghunātha)dāsa Gosvāmī and adjacent thereto the dwelling and garden of Śrījīva Gosvāmī, the area within and the area without, all my property to Purohita Caudhuri Śrīkīśora Sotī, in presence of Ḥṣīkeśa Caube, etc., the men of the Panca.'

The name of *cauve ṛṣīkeśa* duly figures among the witnesses. The document proceeds to give the boundaries of the 'area within' Rādhākūṇḍ and the 'area without', and these can be reasonably plainly recognized in terms of the sect's present-day property in Rādhākūṇḍ. It is amply confirmed in its turn by other documents acquired for the VRI.²⁰

¹⁹ A copy, together with a Persian version, is in the hands of Pradyumna Kumar Goswami, present custodian of Govindadeva Temple, Jaipur, who permitted T. Mukherjee to photograph a number of documents from his large collection mainly of material from the Rajasthan courts. The Goswami had the extreme kindness to sit with him for ten days reading out the contents of the documents as they were photographed.

²⁰ VRI, ser. 3, acc. 37 states that Raghunātha, one of the 'six Gosvāmīs' of Vrindaban, bequeathed his possessions to Jīva Gosvāmī; VRI, ser. 24, acc. 86 of A.D. 1545 records Raghunātha's purchase of land from the Pañca of Rādhākūṇḍ for dumping soil from the digging of the Rādhākūṇḍ tank; others are sale deeds for properties acquired by him at Rādhākūṇḍ, 14 miles from Vrindaban.

VRI, ser. 68, acc. 3 is a *farmān* issued in A.D. 1646 by Shāhjahān and recognizing 'Kṛṣṇadāsa, a disciple of Jīva Gosvāmī' as legal custodian of a temple, evidently Rādhādāmodara. It would be appropriate to assume that the recognition proceeded on the basis of a scrutiny of Jīva's *sambalpa* at the Mughal Court.

From VRI, ser. 11, acc. 21 and VRI, ser. 12, acc. 30, it is known that the custodianship of

It would be difficult to construe either definition of the property in question without the hypothesis of rival expansion of a simple basic formula. The Jīva Codicil listed the following :

- (i) *sarvaṃ* ; (ii) *pustakāni* ; (iii) *śrīgosvāmigrhaṃ ca*.

The separation of (i) and (ii-iii) introduces one possibility of confusion. The other versions incapsulate (ii) and (iii) in (i) which could be equally obscure, but taken together the intention is relatively clear. The Jīva *saṃkalpapatrī* has a complex formula :

- (i) *sevāsevopakaranāni ... sarvāni madīyāni* ; (ii) *pustakaparyantāni* ; (iii) *sevyasahitāni sthānāni*.

The Hindi of Kṛṣṇadāsa combines the *gosvāmigrha* concept of the Codicil and the alternative *sevyasahitāni sthānāni* phrase of the Will, but suppresses the reference to Hindu worship :

- (i) *āpano ... sava* ; (ii) *pustaka ... kāgatupatra* ; (iii) *thaura (= sthāna) śrīvrindāvana ke ... gusāi ke thaura ghara*.

Here (iii) is even partly incapsulated in (ii), which is then incapsulated in (i). The distinction between *pustaka* 'books' and *kāgatupatra* 'documents' is not made in the Sanskrit.

It will be observed that Jīva's formulae were preoccupied with the idea of usurpation of office or of the perquisites of office : the question of freehold estate does not arise explicitly. Kṛṣṇadāsa's document is concerned with land and buildings, to all intents freehold : for, just as Jīva relies on the authority of his own signature for the transaction, so Kṛṣṇadāsa merely calls on the members of the Panca to attest his title to the property and to witness its conveyance. One might conclude that the Panca has the function of a land registry.

There is thus a *prima facie* case for suggesting that a fundamental change took place between 1606 and 1637 in Vrindaban. Two uncles of Jīva were described as *deśādīkārī*, 'landowner', and Jīva owned the land on which his temple was to be built. Four of the other Gauḍīya Gosvāmīs were apparently in the same position, Rūpa, Paramānanda, Sanātana, and Gopālabhaṭṭa founding Govindadeva, Gopinātha, Madanamohana, and Rādhāramaṇa Temples in Vrindaban, while another, Raghunāthadāsa, established a complementary foundation at Rādhākunḍ. The bulk of these holdings came into the possession of Kṛṣṇadāsa, and we find him preoccupied, not with any threat of removal from employment, but with the danger of encroachment on boundaries. Jīva's brief, formulaic *svamaryādā rakṣaṇīyā*, to which in its context we assigned a metaphorical sense implying 'do not encroach upon my authority', is being taken literally by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

There was, however, probably little practical change. On the one hand,

the temple and the property remained in the hands of Kṛṣṇadāsa's descendants for at least a century. After his death, two nephews, Rādhāvallabha and Nandakumāra, came from Bengal to assume the custodianship.

According to VRI, ser. 8, acc. 68, Nandakumāra's son Brajakumāra was custodian in 1691. His widow divided the property between Brajakumāra's nephew Gopīramaṇa and grandson Gopinātha ; in a dispute Gopīramaṇa had the support of the men of the Panca for his contention that a daughter's son could not succeed to the custodianship.

The rendering of Kṛṣṇadāsa's second sentence has the support of the Persian translator (who is, however, often wildly inexact) : *tanāmi postak-hā va tamassuk-hā va isthal[-i] śrī brindāban va śrī rādhākunḍ[-i] khudrā ba jīve gosāi dādand*. The authors are indebted to D. J. Matthews, SOAS, for a reading of the Persian and to R. D. Gupta, SOAS, for advice on the interpretation of Braj material.

we have seen that a certain Kunjadāsa uses a version of the Jīva Will, more primitive in its formulation than his, over a century later. On the other hand, Jīva's and Kṛṣṇadāsa's formulations of the same transaction represent two rival expansions of the simple format attested in the Jīva Codicil, and Kṛṣṇadāsa's later document is not obviously a linear descendent of the other. It makes no good sense to suppose that *sevādhikāra* or custodianship, which Kṛṣṇadāsa fails to mention, either was not included in his own transaction or could no longer apply to it. We may infer that custody of the Rādhākunḍ foundation came within the definition of *sevā* from the wording of Raghunāthadāsa Gosvāmī's original settlement of A.D. 1584 :

... *kavirājato 'ntasamaye samlekhyā patraṃ mayā[.]*
amḍhaśrīraghunāthadāsalaghunā śrīkumḍasevaiśiṇā
jīvārādhyapadāmbujeṣu nihītaṃ sarvaṃ mamatvāspadam.

'... dictating the document to Kavirāja on my death bed, I, the humble blind Raghunāthadāsa zealous for the service of Śrīrādhākunḍa, hereby place the whole of my property at the lotus feet of the idol worshipped by Jīva [i.e., in effect, donate it to Rādhādāmodara Temple].'

(two copies: VRI, ser. 3, acc. 37; ser. 4, acc. 37A; the formula *sarvaṃ mamatvāspadam* is even more succinct than Jīva's).

Perhaps we should conclude that there was occasion for both types of document, the *saṃkalpapatrī* resting on the authority of the Gosvāmī as owner, and the certificate of land registration requiring the affidavit of the Panca as witness and a Persian rendering for the benefit of the state authority. The office of chief custodian (Shebait, *sevāyat*; in the Gauḍīya texts, *sevādhikārī*, *sevādhīpati*) is generally recognized to possess just such an ambiguity as is demonstrated by the whole range of the texts considered. 'Shebaitship is not a mere office, it is property as well' (B. K. Mukherjee, *The Hindu law of religious and charitable trusts*, Calcutta, 1970, 159). Kṛṣṇadāsa uses the term *kṛṣṇārpana* where Jīva uses only *samarpana*; but this is evidently a question of the language medium adopted, and we cannot suppose that the notion of the deity as the actual owner²¹ of the property held by the Gosvāmīs had had time to supervene and be reduced to a metaphorical cliché (as Kṛṣṇadāsa's use of the term implies) all within the space of 30 years.

VI

Colebrooke, in his translation of Jagannātha Tarkapancānana's (fl. A.D. 1785) law-book *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava* (*A digest of Hindu law*, London, 1801, II, 516), describes *saṃkalpa* there as the 'nearest term for testament' in Sanskrit. Wilson explains the term as 'the declared wish or will of a person deceased, made known before his decease, with regard to the disposal of property, adoption of son, or the like, made before witnesses, this is considered in some degree as equivalent to a will or testament'. The reason for their hesitance is not made obvious. Wilson knew of written Wills in the Anglo-Indian Courts: '*wasiatnama* "a written will or a testament: the will"'; '*saṃvitpatra* "a deed of assent, a deed of gift, applied in the Anglo-Indian Courts to a will, a testament"'.²² If we ignore the intrusion of a misguided etymological

²¹ The *sevāyat* is 'empowered to do whatever may be required for the service of the idol and for the benefit and preservation of its property' (B. K. Mukherjee, op. cit., 154).

²² H. H. Wilson, *A glossary of judicial and revenue terms*, London, 1885, s.v. M. Manier-Williams (*Stt.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.; *RTL*, 531) cites *svikārapattra* 'document or will disposing of one's property'.

explanation 'assent', it seems it may be the standard use of the verb *dā-*, *samarp-* 'give' in the Hindi and Sanskrit versions that is puzzling Wilson, just as Jīva hesitated between *samarpitā* and *samarpanīyam* as against Hindi *dīyā*. The fact that Sanskrit śāstra does not widely acknowledge the concept *saṃkalpa*, and a doubt whether any document of that name really existed, are probably also in question. Colebrooke adds 'But strictly, a last will and testament is unknown to the *Hindu* law'. Wilson repeats this opinion: a testament 'strictly speaking is not recognized by Hindu law'; but Colebrooke had subsequently changed his mind: the case of *Nadīyā Rāja (Eshanchund Rai v. Esherchund Rai, 1 Select Rep. 2)* 'has been treated by Mr. Colebrooke and others as an authority that a Hindu father has power to make an actual disposition of property by will'. See G. S. Henderson, *The law of testamentary devise as administered in India*, Calcutta, 1889, 26.

The term *saṃkalpa* does have sanction in medieval Smṛti, not in the general sense 'vow' seen in the early literature, but as part of a specific ritual used in the dedication of temples, images, tanks, *dharmaśālās*, etc. The *saṃkalpa* states the purpose and date of the ceremony, and the ceremony itself is termed *samarpana* or *utsarga*.²³

Should one conclude that *saṃkalpapatrī* is a modern reduction to writing of a somewhat older ritual? No doubt the Will does stem ultimately from an oral dedication or agreement: but it is hard to believe that the ritual thus described is more than an effort to reconstruct a primitive oral Smṛta ritual on the basis of the written practice. Derivation of the word *saṃkalpa* from ordinary attested senses like 'vow' presents no difficulty, and the Smṛti sources seem to be basing their terminology on the written deposition, rather than vice versa. The Jīva document is divided precisely into (1) a preamble where the word *saṃkalpa* happens to occur prominently in association with a dedication to the deities and with a date (the Smṛti requires that *saṃkalpa* shall contain era, year, month, day, etc.); and (2) a *samarpana*. Possibly the Codicil's *adyaiva dā-* formula might constitute an *utsarga* as opposed to *saṃkalpa*. B. K. Mukherjea solemnly defines the present-day legal implications of the ritual: 'only a relevant piece of evidence to show that the donor effectively renounced his rights in the property in favour of the religious purpose' (op. cit., 122).

Jīva's document meets the requirements of a Will as defined in the Indian Succession Act of 1865: 'A will is the legal declaration of the intention of the testator with respect to his property which he desires to be carried into effect after his death'²⁴: the two invariable modern tests of whether a document is testamentary or not are whether it is revocable and whether it is a posthumous disposition. A limited right of revocation may be claimed on the basis of lines 22a-d . . . *vicārya samādheyam mayaiiva* and consequently will also inhere in the formula 26-28 r° *spaṣṭam eva jñāpayiṣyāmi*: an alteration of circumstances appears to be prerequisite, but the implication is that the testator is to be the sole judge of what constitutes altered circumstances. The force of *madanantaram* in 10 r° and several references to continued life and to the

²³ See V. N. Mandlik, *The Vyavahāra mayūkha*, Bombay, Appendix 2, 331-44: Hemādri, *Dānakhaṇḍa*; Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, *Pūrtakamalākara* and *Dānakamalākara*; Nīlakanṭha, *Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha*; and Raghunandana, *Pratiṣṭhātaitva*. See also J. D. M. Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and juridical literature*, Wiesbaden, 1973, 19 and 56 f. *Manu*, II, 1 ff. could be referring to this ritual context when *yajña* is described as rooted in *saṃkalpa*; and a connexion with *saṃkalpa* as 'disposition of property' might be suspected in the case of *saṃkalpamūla kama*, if we recall Jīva's *sampranetā . . . atra mātsaryam kariṣyati*.

²⁴ Quoted from Phillips and Trevelyan, *The law relating to Hindu wills*, London, 1914, 12.

event of death (11, 22c, 26 r°, 1-2 v°) make it clear that the document will have no effect during the testator's lifetime. On the one hand, it can be observed that documents like Kṛṣṇadāsa's and Kunjadāsa's, by implication, are likely to be subject to the same constraints as Jīva's. On the other, it is plain that few if any after Jīva were concerned to safeguard the right of revocation; his document is perhaps merely an interesting example of how a revocable Will could come into being without any very profound legal considerations being applied to the matter. The conveyance of a Shebaitship appears to have remained a special case in this respect.

Jīva's *samkalpa* contains nothing that would disprove its validity if presented in court today. In 1723, Kunjadāsa nominated his nephew and disciple Rādhāvinodadāsa to succeed him, in a form corresponding to Jīva's save that the disposition proper was in Hindi and that none of the special testamentary features (revocation, posthumous disposition, and use of the term *samkalpa*) was included. In the period around 1800, however, probates were granted with the concurrence of the pandits of many Wills which in form and content were less acceptable than this.²⁵ Herbert Cowell says that it was a common practice of the custodians to appoint their successors 'either by word of mouth, or in writing; the appointments taking effect after the moment of their death'. He concludes 'However infrequent litigation may have been concerning Hindu wills, it seems to be firmly established that they are not of foreign importation. They appear to have been in use not merely in Bengal but throughout India before the establishment of the English courts'.²⁶ Even today Shebaitship can be disposed of by Will, and several court cases are cited in which the founder of an endowment nominated the custodian by Will (Mukherjea, 159 f.).

²⁵ See the cases cited in W. A. Montriou, *The Hindu will of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1870.

²⁶ *The Hindu law*, Calcutta, 1871, 226 f., 229. Granted that Cowell's definition of Will here may be a lax one, the commonly received idea that Wills as generally understood were entirely unknown in pre-modern India is indefensible. G. S. Henderson postulated an English origin for Hindu Wills, and justified their absence by arguing that the right to dispose of property by Will was a departure from the principle underlying the joint Hindu family which did not allow the individual a right of property. *The law of testamentary devise as administered in India*, Calcutta, 1889, 19 ff. There are, however, large areas of Hindu society where traditional Śmṛti and the joint family system do not operate. The Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava community in particular evolved in *Haribhaktivilāsa* 'a *smṛti* of its own on the basis of its own sectarian scriptures' (S. K. De, *Early history*, 409). The Judicial Committee in 1856 admitted that 'the strictness of the ancient law has long since been relaxed, and throughout Bengal a man who is the absolute owner of property may now dispose of it by will as he pleases, whether it be ancestral or not' (Phillips and Trevelyan, 2). None of the wills cited by Montriou, for example, is older than the nineteenth century; but on the evidence of Jīva's Will, Cowell was right in concluding that 'the law of wills amongst Hindus is a part of the Hindu law of succession, and not a mere usage which has grown up in the modern times borrowed from English usage'.

TWO PALI ETYMOLOGIES

By K. R. NORMAN

It seems appropriate, as a contribution to a volume in honour of a scholar who in a long series of brilliant etymological studies has solved many problems in Indo-Aryan philology, to offer a paper suggesting new etymologies for two Pali compound words which seem to be incorrectly defined in the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English dictionary*.¹

1. *vivatta-chadda*

1.1 This compound occurs as an epithet of a Buddha, in both prose and verse in Pali. It occurs in canonical prose at D I 89, 9; II 16, 24; 17, 8; III 142, 20; 177, 20. Each time it has the spelling *vivatta-cchadda* in the PTS editions. It occurs in non-canonical prose at Ja I 51, 3 and Dhp-a I 106, 18 with the spelling *vivatta-cchada*, and at Bv-a 277, 19 with the spelling *vivatta-cchada*.

1.2. It occurs in verse in the canon at Sn 372 (in the cadence of an *Aupacchandasaka* pāda); 378 (in the opening of a *Trisṭubh* pāda); 1003 = 1147 = Ap 249, 22 (in the opening of a prior *Śloka* pāda which has the cadence -, --*); Ja III 349, 4* (in the opening of a *Trisṭubh* pāda); IV 271, 18* (in the opening of a *Trisṭubh* pāda); and at A II 44, 2 (in the opening of a prior *Śloka* pāda which has the cadence -, --*). In all these contexts except the last it has the spelling *vivatta-cchadda*; in the last it is spelled *vivatta-cchada*. When, however, Sn 1003 and 1147 are quoted at Nidd II 4, 4 and 55, 13 respectively, the word has the spelling *vivaṭa-cchada*.

1.3. The word occurs in non-canonical verse in the opening of a *Jagatī* pāda at Dhp-a I 201, 8* = III 195, 4* (with the spelling *vivatta-cchada*) = Vism 105, 6* (*vivaṭa-cchada*) = Pj II 544, 4* (*vivatta-cchadda*) = 584, 5* (id.).

1.4. Where the word occurs in *Trisṭubh*, *Jagatī*, and *Aupacchandāsaka* pādas, the metre requires the scansion ~~~~, i.e. the spelling *vivatta-chadda*. This spelling occurs only in the lemma at Pj II 365, 28 (ad Sn 372), although it is adopted by Fausbøll, doubtless m.c., against all his MSS at Sn 372 and 378 in the first edition of that text. The most common opening of a prior *Śloka* pāda with the cadence -, --* is *~~~, which would also support the spelling *vivatta-chadda*, but *~~~ is sometimes found, which would permit *vivaṭa-cchadda*. Since the opening *~~~ does occur rarely in Pali in prior padas with the cadence -, --* (e.g. at Thī 232 and 334, although the latter should perhaps be emended),² it is impossible to say that *vivaṭa-cchada* is ruled out as a reading. The spelling *vivatta-cchada* at A II 44, 2 gives the opening *~~~ with the cadence -, --*, a combination for which I have not as yet found a parallel in Pali.

1.5. Although many examples of the doubling of consonants m.c. can be quoted in Pali, it would seem to be unlikely that the word was invariably used, in verses whose metre was strictly determined, in positions where such doubling was always essential. It seems, therefore, that we can be certain of -*tt*- (or -*ṭṭ*-)

¹ Abbreviations of titles of texts as in *A critical Pāli dictionary*. Other abbreviations: AMg. = *Ardha-Māgadhī*; BHS = *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*; *ODIAL* = R. L. Turner, *Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, London, 1966; *CPD* = *A critical Pāli dictionary*, Copenhagen, 1924 ff.; *CPS* = E. Waldschmidt, *Caṭusparisaṃsūtra*, Berlin, 1952-60; cty/cties = commentary/commentaries; MIA = *Middle Indo-Aryan*; *PED* = *Pāli-English dictionary*, London, 1925; PTS = *Pali Text Society*; Pkt. = *Prakrit*; Skt. = *Sanskrit*.

² See K. R. Norman, *Elders' verses II*, London, 1971, 131 (ad Thī 334).

and *-dd-*, which gives us the spelling *vivatta-chadda* (or *vivatta-*). Since *-ch-* is normally doubled to *-cch-* between vowels, we should expect scribes to write *-cch-* in the compound, irrespective of the correct historical form of the consonant.

1.6. The eties explain the word as follows: (a) *chadan ti, pañca chadanāni — tanhā-chadanam dīṭṭhi-chadanam kilesa-chadanam duccharita-chadanam avijjā-chadanam. tāni chadanāni Buddhassa bhagavato vivatāni viddhamsitāni samugghāṭitāni pahināni samucchināni vūpasantāni paṭippassaddhāni abh-abb'-uppattikāni nān'-agginā daddhāni. tasmā Buddho vivata-cchaddo* (Nidd II 251, 19–22 ad Sn 1147).

(b) *vivatta-chaddo ti, vivata-rāga-dosa-moha-chadano* (Pj II 365, 28–9 ad Sn 372).

(c) *rāga-dosa-moha-māna-dīṭṭhi-avijjā-duccharita-chadanehi sattahi paṭicchanne kiles'-andhakāre loke tam chadanam vivattetvā (v.l. -ṭṭ-) samantato sañjātāloko hutvā ṭhito ti vivatta-cchaddo. atha vā vivatto ca vicchaddo cāti vivatta-cchaddo vatta-rahito chadana-rahito cāti vuttam hoti* (Sv 250, 34 foll. ad D I 89, 9).

(d) *sabbesu dhammākāresu vivatta-cchaddano vivata-neyya-dhammo* (Ja III 349, 10' foll. ad 349, 4*).

(e) *vivata-cchaddo ti, rāgo chadanam doso chadanam moho chadanam sabba-kilesā chadanā ti evam-vuttā chadanā vivatā ugghāṭitā viddhamsitā anenā ti vivata-cchaddo* (Ap-a 475, 33 foll. ad Ap 249, 22).

1.7. The existing translations into English are all based upon these explanations, and we find either 'remover of the veil' following the reading *vivata* (< Skt. *vivṛta*) or 'roller back of the veil' following the reading *vivatta/vivatta* (< Skt. *vivṛta*). Since the former explanation occurs in Nidd II, it is clear that it is very old, but since it is based upon the reading *vivata*, which as we have just seen is probably not the correct reading, it must be regarded with doubt. The problems with both readings have been clearly set out by Childers³ and Stede.⁴

1.8. The fact that the Pali tradition was doubtful about the precise meaning of the word is shown not only by the alternative explanations given by Buddhaghosa at Sv 250, 34 foll., but also by the numerous variant readings recorded in the texts. In most contexts variant readings occur showing the *-t/-tt/-ṭṭ-* and *-d/-dd-* alternations, but in addition we find *vivattha-cchaddo* at D II 16, 24; *vivata-cchedo* at Sn 372; *vivata-cchedo* at Sn 378; *vivatta-cchido* at Sn 1003; *vivata-cchādā* at Ja III 349, 4*; *vivata-cchādo* at Ja IV 271, 18*; *nivatta-cchaddā* at A II 44, 2*; *vivata-cchedassa* and *vivatta-cchedassa* at Dh-p-a III 195, 4.

1.9. The most frequent use of the word in the prose contexts is in the account of the alternatives open to Gotama at his birth: he may either become a *cakkavattī rājā*, or if he goes forth he will become *arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke vivatta-chaddo*. To the best of my knowledge, the direct Skt. equivalent of *vivatta-chadda* does not occur in any text, but a comparable pair of alternatives occurs in Lal., where we find the second alternative expressed as: *sa cet punar agārād anagārikāṃ pravrajati tathāgato bhaviṣyati vighuṣṭa-śabdaḥ samyak-sambuddhaḥ*.⁵ Mitra translated *vighuṣṭa-śabda* as 'of great renown',⁶ and E. J. Thomas as 'loudly proclaimed'.⁷ The compound also occurs in CPS, where

³ R. O. Childers, *A dictionary of the Pali language*, London, 1875, s.v. *vivattacchaddo*.

⁴ See PED, s.v. *vivatta-cchadda*.

⁵ ed. Rajendralāla Mitra, Calcutta, 1877, 118, 14–16.

⁶ tr. Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta, 1881–6, 141.

⁷ E. J. Thomas, *The life of the Buddha as legend and history*, London, 1927, 40.

Ria Kloppenborg translates 'whose voice resounds in the world',⁸ and together with the compound *vighuṣṭa-kīrti-rekha* in Mvu, where Jones translates as 'famous' and explains as 'the renown of whom is proclaimed'.⁹

1.10. I do not know that anyone has suggested that in this stock phrase Skt. *vighuṣṭa-sabda* is the phonological equivalent of Pali *vivatta-chadda*, doubtless because the passages in Skt. and Pali have not been regarded as being completely parallel. We now, however, have the BHS equivalent of D II 16, 24, and there we find the phrase *bhaviṣyaty arhan samyak-sambuddho vighuṣṭa-sabdo loke*.¹⁰ There can no longer be any doubt that the two compounds are equivalent.

1.11. There is no difficulty in explaining the relationship between *sabda* and *chadda*, for Brough has drawn attention to the occurrence of *chada* in the Gāndhārī Dhṛp in the sense of *sabda*.¹¹ He left it uncertain whether the form was due to the specific context in the verse in question, or whether it had become the natural form of the word in the dialect. I earlier expressed myself in favour of the former of these two suggestions,¹² since the use of *rūpa* as a masculine noun, which was necessary to explain the form in that particular context, could be paralleled in the use of the same set of words in Pali. Buddruss, however, subsequently pointed out that in certain of the modern languages of North-West India the development of Skt. *sabda* has *ṣ*- replacing *ś*-.¹³ It is therefore clear that, whether or not *chad(d)a* was the regular form of the word in the North-Western Pkt. at the time the Gāndhārī version of the Dhṛp was written, it did in fact become so.

1.12. Pischel quotes the following examples of the change *ś*- > *ch*- in Pkt.¹⁴: *chamī* < *śamī*; *chāva(ya)* < *śāva(ka)*; *chivāṭi* < *śivāṭi*; *cheppa, chippa* < *śepa*; *chui* < *śuci*. Geiger quotes for Pali¹⁵: *chakana* < *śakṛt*; *chāpa* < *śāva*; *cheppā* < *śepa*. To these we can add: Pkt. *chaga* < *śakṛt*; Pali *chava* < *śava*; Pali *chavaka* < *śvapaka*¹⁶; Pkt. *chihaṇḍa* < *śikhaṇḍa*; Pkt. *chihālī* < *śikhā*; Pali and Pkt. *cheka* < **śeka*.¹⁷ Since the change *ś*- > *ch*- does occur sporadically in Pali, I should like to suggest that in the compound *vivatta-chadda* we should derive *chadda* from Skt. *sabda*.

1.13. Although *vighuṣṭa* and *vivatta* look very different, it is not impossible that one is derived from the other. If we assume that the original Skt. form was *vīrtta*, then besides the developments *vivatta* and *vivaṭṭa*, which are found in Pali, the form **vivuṭṭa* could have occurred in a dialect which developed *-u* < *-r* after the labial *-v*. If there were an aspirated form of this (cf. the v.l. *vivaṭṭha* at D II 16, 24), then a dialect which replaced *-v* by *-h*, in the belief that *-v* was a glide consonant, would have a form **vihūṭṭha*, which could easily have been back-formed to *vighuṣṭa* by a BHS redactor.

1.14. For glide *-h* in Pali we can quote *nahuta* (< Skt. *nayuta*), *su-h-utṭhita*,¹⁸

⁸ Ria Kloppenborg, *The sūtra on the foundation of the Buddhist order*, Leiden, 1973, 76.

⁹ J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, III, London, 1956, 375.

¹⁰ E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāvastusūtra*, Berlin, 1953, 95.

¹¹ J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962, § 50.

¹² K. R. Norman, 'The Gāndhārī version of the Dharmapada', *Buddhist studies in honour of I. B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, 173.

¹³ G. Buddruss, 'Gāndhārī-Prakrit *chada* "Ton"', *St. II*, 1975, I, 37-48. See also *CDIAL* 12298 (*sabda*).

¹⁴ R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, § 211.

¹⁵ W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg, 1916, § 40.1a.

¹⁶ See L. Alsdorf, 'The impious brahman and the pious capdāla', *Buddhist studies in honour of I. B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, 13, n. 2.

¹⁷ H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der mittellindischen Lautlehre*, Munich, 1955, 70, n. 139.

¹⁸ Sn 178; Vv 613.

sa-h-Indaka,¹⁹ and *su-h-uju*.²⁰ Although *PED* states that the correspondence $v > y > h$ is common,²¹ I know of no other examples in Pali. No examples are quoted for BHS,²² and Edgerton doubts Senart's explanation that at Mvu I 53, 2 *aham* is to be derived from *ayam*.²³ Pischel denies that sandhi *-h* exists in Pkt.,²⁴ but his belief that *-h* arises from the aspiration of a consonant, e.g. *-t- > -th- > -h-*, cannot hold true for *-h- < -y-*, e.g. *chāi-ā < chāyā*. In his study of the phenomenon Ghosal refers to the other scholars who do accept the idea of glide *-h-*, and quotes numerous examples.²⁵ To them we may add *saha < svayam* in *saha-sambuddha* and *saha-samuiya*.²⁶ The change of *-y- > -h-* is quite certain for the Gāndhārī dialect,²⁷ and the weak aspiration of *-h-*, which presumably led to both its loss and its introduction in non-historic contexts can be seen as early as the Aśokan inscriptions.²⁸

1.15. *PED* does not quote *vivatta* except in this context, and the meanings it gives for *vivatta* do not seem very suitable. The meanings given for *vivattati*, of which *vivatta* must be the past participle, are similarly unhelpful. Despite *PED*'s statement that *vivattati* at Pp 32, 10 is to be read as *vivattati*, there seems to be no good reason why *vivattati* should not exist in its own right, and it does in fact occur at Ja VI 559, 29* in the phrase *ucchanse me vivattanti* 'the children roll around in my lap', where the ety glosses as *āvattanti* (560, 22').

1.16. The compound *vivatta-chadda* would therefore mean 'one whose name (or fame) has rolled in different directions', not inappropriate as an epithet for a Buddha. The original form of the word, **vivatta-sābda*, explains the scansion which we have seen is essential in contexts where the metre is rigidly fixed. For the usage we may compare the compound *pavatta-ghosa* at Pj II 490, 16, where *sutvāna ghosaṃ* (Sn 698) is explained: *jīna-va-a-cakka-vattane pavatta-ghosaṃ attano attha-kāmāhi devatāhi āgantvā ārocitaṃ sutvā*, although here we are dealing with a descriptive compound, not a possessive one as *vivatta-chadda* is.

2. *khīna-vyappatha*

2.1. This compound occurs twice in Pali, at Sn 158 where the question is asked: *kacci na khīna-vyappatho?*; and at Sn 159 where the answer is given: *attho na khīna-vyappatho*. The ety explains: *ettha khīnāti ti khīno. himsati vibādhaṭi ti attho. vācāya patho vyappatho, khīno vyappatho assā ti khīna-vyappatho, tam na-kārena paṭisedhetvā pucchati: na khīna-vyappatho ti, na pharusa-vāco ti vuttam hoti; nākhīna-vyappatho ti pi pātho, na akhīna-vacano ti attho, pharusa-vacanam hi paresam hadaye akhīyamānam tiṭṭhat, tālisa-vacano kacci na so ti vuttam hoti* (Pj II 204, 1-8).

2.2. *PED* (s.v. *khīna*) defines *khīna-vyappatha* as 'without the way of (evil)

¹⁹ So printed by N. A. Jayawickrama at Vv 153 292 803 in his new edition (PTS, London, 1977). It could, however, equally well be analysed as *saha + Indaka*.

²⁰ Geiger, op. cit., § 67.

²¹ s.v. *nahula*.

²² F. Edgerton, *BHS grammar*, New Haven, 1953, § 4.67.

²³ Edgerton, op. cit., § 21.80.

²⁴ Pischel, op. cit., § 286.

²⁵ S. N. Ghosal, 'The euphonic-glide H in Prakrit', *JOI Baroda*, ix, 3, 1940, 256-9.

²⁶ See H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras, pt. II* (Sacred Books of the East, 45), Oxford, 1895, 35. n. 2 and 154, n. 2.

²⁷ Brough, op. cit., § 39; T. Burrow, *The language of the Kharosthi documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, § 28(3).

²⁸ M. A. Mehendale, *Historical grammar of inscripational Prakrits*, Poona, 1948, § 36.

speech', taking *khīna* in the sense of 'lost, deprived of, without', i.e. < Skt. *kṣīna*, but it justifies this translation by referring to *na pharusa-vāco* in the cty. Since this, as can be seen above, is the gloss on *na khīna-vyappatho*, it is clear that the cty is defining *khīna-vyappatho* as *pharusa-vāco*. It is doubtless for this reason that Fausböll²⁹ and Chalmers³⁰ translate the word as 'harsh-spoken', and Hare³¹ as 'speak provokingly'.

2.3. It seems preferable to adopt the v.l. *nākhīna-vyappatho* quoted by the cty, since this avoids the opening *--- in a *Śloka* pāda, which offends against the classical rules for *Śloka* pādas, although it is found occasionally in MIA.³² The contracted form *nākhīna-* can stand either for *na akhīna-* as the cty takes it, or for *na ākhīna-*. CPD prefers the latter, and (s.v. *akhīna*) refers the reader to *ākhīna*. There Schubring's view³³ is quoted that AMg. *okhinna* and *vikkhinna* are to be derived from **skīrna* (= *-stīrna*) and to be compared with *khānu* (< **skhānu*)³⁴ = *sthānu*. Although the Pkt. lexicographical tradition classified such words as *deśi* because of its inability to derive them from a Skt. root, it nevertheless knew their meaning. Thus Hemacandra explains *ukkhinna* (= *okkhinna* < **ava-skīrna*) as *avakinna* (< *ava-kīrna*).³⁵

2.4. Pischel³⁶ lists *stubbh*/**skubbh* (= *kṣubbh*),³⁷ *sthānu*/**skhānu*, *duṭṭha*/*dukkha*,³⁸ and *stambh*/*skambh* as examples of the *st/sk* and *sth/skh* alternations, but does not quote *stī-*/**skī-*. It is possible that he did not regard this as an example of the *t/k* alternation, but rather thought of a formation with inserted *-s-*, cf. Skt. (*s*)*kr-* and (*s*)*kṛt-*, as Turner does.³⁹ Nevertheless, Schubring's analysis seems equally valid, especially since **ava-s-kīrna* does not occur in Skt., and *avaskirati* and *avaskara* have specialised meanings.⁴⁰

2.5. To Pischel's examples Meyer adds *samstyāna*/*samkhāya* (< **samskyāta*), *sthuḍ* 'to cover' / AMg. *khoda* 'stroking' (< **skhoda*),⁴¹ and suggests that Pāli *cheva* (Ja V 137, 16) is < *kṣepa* (= **skepa*) = *theva* < **stēpa*,⁴² although CPD states that *cheva* is a wrong reading.⁴³ CDIAL adds Pkt. *vikkharaī*, *vikkhirai* 'scatters' < **vi-skar-* (= *vi-star-*), Pkt. *vakkhala* < **vyāskara*, and queries Pkt. *kheri* < **skērayati*. Janert justifies the reading *pratiṣṭhāpita* in a Mathurā inscription as being a genuine variant for *pratiṣṭhāpita*.⁴⁴ Although I have elsewhere suggested another derivation,⁴⁵ I should now prefer to suggest

²⁹ V. Fausböll, *The Sutta-nipāta* (= Sacred Books of the East, 10, 2), Oxford, 1881, 26.

³⁰ Lord Chalmers, *Buddha's teachings*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1932, 41.

³¹ E. M. Hare, *Woven cadences of early Buddhists*, London, 1945, 26.

³² See K. R. Norman, *Elders' verses II*, 67 (ad Thī 10).

³³ W. Schubring, *Das Kalpa-sūtra*, Leipzig, 1905, 39.

³⁴ This etymology is not accepted by all. See M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, Heidelberg, 1976, 528 (s.v. *sthānū*).

³⁵ *Deśi-nāma-mālā*, I, 130.

³⁶ Pischel, op. cit., § 120.

³⁷ The root *stubbh-* occurs in Skt. only with a nasal infix at *Dhātupāṭha* 31.7: *stumbhu* *niskāsane* 'to stop, stupefy, expel' (Monier-Williams, *Skt.-English dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, s.v. *stumbh*). The meaning 'expel' is not common in Skt. for the root *kṣubbh-*, but it does occur, e.g. *kṣubbha* 'expelled (as a king)' (Monier-Williams, op. cit., s.v.). It is more common in MIA, e.g. Pāli *nicchubhati* (< **nikhsubbhati*) 'to throw out' (PED, s.v.).

³⁸ F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda words in Skt.*, Amsterdam, 1948, 155, takes *dukkha* and *duṭṭha* to be of Munda origin.

³⁹ See CDIAL, p. 787, s.vv. SKR, *SKRT¹, *SKRT², and SKR̥.

⁴⁰ See Monier-Williams, op. cit., s.v.

⁴¹ J. J. Meyer, *Hindu tales*, London, 1909, 71, n. 1.

⁴² Meyer, op. cit., 92, n. 2.

⁴³ s.v. *udaka-cheva*.

⁴⁴ K. L. Janert, 'Zu *pratiṣṭhāpita* in einer Mathurā-Inschrift', *IJJ*, v, 4, 1962, 308.

⁴⁵ K. R. Norman, 'The Gāndhārī version of the Dharmapada', *Buddhist studies in honour of I. B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, 176.

that Pali *atikhīna* is < **atiskīrṇa* (= **atistīrṇa*). It is possible that Pkt. *padikhaddha* is < **prati-ṣkabdha* (= *prati-ṣṭabdha*).⁴⁶

2.6. CPD bases its preference for the reading *ākhīna*- on the existence of the form *ākinṇa* in the compound *ākinṇa-kammanta* at S I 204, 34* (glossed as *aparissuddha-kammanto* at Spk I 298, 12). There is a v.l. *akhīna*- quoted by the cty and glossed as *kakkhala-kammanto*. Since Feer's Siamese MS of Spk reads *ākhīna*- at this passage,⁴⁷ the correct reading for this v.l. is doubtless *ākhīna*-.

The same verse occurs at Ja III 309, 4*, where the cty glosses *ākinṇa-kammanto* as *kakkhala-kammanto dārūna-kammanto*. No v.l., however, is quoted by the cty. We find *na khīnaṃ bhane* at M III 230, 19, glossed as *ākinṇaṃ kilīṭṭha-vācam na bhaneyya* (Ps V 30, 22). The inclusion of the equivalent *ākinṇaṃ* rather than *khīnaṃ* in the gloss suggests that the lemma, and therefore the text, originally included the form *ākhīnaṃ*, i.e. (with the negative) *nākhīnaṃ*.

2.7. PED (s.v. *vyappatha*) ignores the cty's gloss *vācāya patho vyappatho* (Pj II 204, 2-3), and suggests that the word is perhaps a distortion of **vyāpṛta*. For Sn 158 it suggests a meaning 'duty, occupation, activity', although, as stated above, s.v. *khīna* it defines *vyappatha* as 'the way of (evil) speech'. For Sn 163 and 164 it suggests 'way of speaking, speech, utterance'. The cty on Sn 163 explains: *vutta-vyappathena ca — vacī-kammanā ti vuttam hoti* (Pj II 206, 30). All other contexts of *vyappatha* support the translation 'speech'. In Vin IV 2, 16 and Dhs § 637 the word occurs in a list of synonyms: *vācā girā vyappatho* (PTS edition -*th*-) *vacī-bhedo* (Vin IV 2, 16); *vācā girā vyappatho udīraṇaṃ ghoso* (Dhs § 637). The cties explain: *vyappatho ti, vacana-patho, vācā yeva hi aññesaṃ pi dīṭṭhānugatiṃ āpajjantānaṃ patha-bhūtaṃ vyappatho ti vuccati* (Sp 736, 12-14); *vyappatho vākya-bhedo. vākyaṃ ca taṃ, patho ca atthaṃ nātu-kāmānaṃ nāpetu-kāmānaṃ cā ti pi vyappatho* (As 324, 32). At Sn 961 we find the word *vyappathayo*, which is plural. The cties explain: *kyāssa vyappathayo assū ti kīdisena vyappathena samannāgato assa kimsaṇṭhitena kimpakārena kimpātibhāgenā ti vacī-pārisuddhiṃ pucchati* (Nidd I 472, 7-9); *kīdisāni tassa vacanāni assu* (Pj II 572, 19).

2.8. There seems to be no doubt that the cties are correct, and *vyappatha* is to be derived from Skt. *vāk-patha* 'compass, range of speech' (cf. Pali *vacana-patha* and *vāda-patha*), and *vyappathi* from Skt. **vāk-pathin*.⁴⁸ In *vākya* and *vāk-karṇa* Pali retains the long -ā- before the consonant group, but by the normal rules of MIA phonology *vāk-patha* would become *vappatha*, and the initial *vy-* is doubtless a wrong back-formation by analogy with words where initial *v-* is derived from Skt. *vy-*, e.g. *vagga* < Skt. *vyagra*. Where the word occurs in the cadence of a posterior *Śloka* pāda at Sn 158 and 159, *khīna-vyappatho* is to be scanned - - - - -, i.e. the vowel before -*vy-* is short. Although this is consistent with a spelling -*v-* not -*vy-*, it is not conclusive evidence for the etymology, because in initial position *vy-* could well have become *v-*, but at the juncture of a compound the use of initial or non-initial spelling is optional, and a historically correct -*vy-* might well have been restored by a scribe irrespective of its effect upon the metre. The word *vyappatha* occurs in verse again in the compound *avikīṇa-vacana-vyappatha* at D III 175, 25, where the metre (*Upasthitapracupita*) again confirms that -*vy-* does not make position, and is probably not original.

⁴⁶ Meyer, op. cit., 214, n. 3.

⁴⁷ L. Feer, *The Samyutta-nikāya of the Sutta-pitaka*, I, London, 1884, 204, n. 5.

⁴⁸ Monier-Williams quotes, op. cit., s.v. *pathin*, the masc. nom. pl. form *pathayo*. Since -*ayo* as the pl. of -*in* stem nouns can be paralleled in Pali (see Geiger, op. cit., § 95.3), it is clear that *vyappathi* is masc., not fem., as PED states (s.v.).

2.9. We may therefore conclude that the correct spelling of the compound is **ākhiṇa-vappatha* < Skt. **āskirṇa-vāk-patha*. The meaning of *ākhiṇa* must be close to that of *vikirṇa* in the compound *vikirṇa-vāca* which occurs in a list of pejorative epithets at S I 61, 4; 204, 1; V 269, 27; M I 32, 9; A I 70, 7; 266, 21; III 199, 2, 20; Ud 38, 2; Ja V 77, 10*; Pp 35, 5. The cties explain: *asamyāta-vacanā, divasam pi niratthika-vacana-pālāpino* (Spk I 115, 9); *tiracchāna-kathā-bahulatāya vikirṇā vyākulā vācā etesan ti vikirṇa-vācā* (Ud-a 238, 26); *pathaṭa-vacanam* (Ja V, 78, 13'). PED translates 'of loose talk'. Closely connected with this word is BHS *vyavakirṇa-vacana* 'of halting, broken speech'.⁴⁹ The development seems to be from the basic idea of 'scattered' to 'loose, unrestrained' and then (in the compound *ākhiṇa-kammanta*) 'impure, rough'.⁵⁰ I should therefore like to suggest that *ākhiṇa-v(y)appatha* should be translated 'of rough, unrestrained speech'.

3. Conclusions

3.1. If the etymologies and translations suggested for these two compound words are correct, then we can see that the Pali commentarial tradition had lost both the meaning and etymology of *chadda*, while the meaning of *ākhiṇa* was remembered (= *kakkhaṭa*, *asamyāta*, etc.) and also its regular Pali form (= *ākinna*), but not its etymology. It is not difficult to see that these losses occurred because the words contain certain sound changes which are not typical of Pali.

3.2. The change *ś-* > *ch-* is rarer in Pali than in Pkt., and the examples in the former also occur in the latter, with the exception of *chava* and *chavaka* (see § 1.12). These two exceptions occur in Pali texts which may confidently be said to be old,⁵¹ and doubtless belong to the earliest period of Buddhist literature. We can be sure that they pre-date the formation of the canon in Pali. The absence of any new examples of the change of *ś-* > *ch-* in post-canonical Pali texts indicates that the change was not productive after the introduction of Pali into Ceylon, and we may be certain that the change was restricted to North India in the MIA period. The examples of the change quoted by Turner from post-MIA languages⁵² confirm that the change continued to be productive in North India.

3.3. The fact that Nidd II explains *chadda* as *chadana* shows that before the date of the composition of that text the correct etymology and explanation of the word had been lost in the tradition underlying the Pali cties.⁵³ Since the Theravādin tradition unambiguously names the *Kathāvatthu* as the final addition to the Pali canon, and dates it to the time of the Third Council (c. 246 B.C.),⁵⁴ I see no reason to doubt that Nidd II was composed in North India at some date prior to 246 B.C.

⁴⁹ See F. Edgerton, *BHS dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, s.v. *vyavakirṇa*.

⁵⁰ Although CPD translates *ākinna-ludda* as 'filled with cruelty, very fierce', apparently taking *ākinna* in the sense of 'filled', the fact that *ludda* does not mean 'cruelty' suggests that this is not very likely. The close proximity of the occurrences of this word (S I 205, 1* = Ja III 309, 8*) to those of *ākinna-kammanta* (see § 2.6) indicates that here too *ākinna* means 'impure, rough', and the compound as a whole means 'rough and fierce'.

⁵¹ See PED, s.v.

⁵² CDIAL 12236 (**śakkata*/**chakkata*); 12241 (**śakara*/**chakara*); 12427 (**śikya*/**chikya*); 12445 (**śimba*/**chimba*); 12615 (**śaimbya*).

⁵³ The replacement of *vivatta-* (or *vivatta-*) by *vivata-* doubtless occurred after the loss of the correct meaning of *chadda*, since a word meaning 'uncovered, open' made better sense with a word which seemed to mean 'covering' than one meaning 'rolling in different directions'.

⁵⁴ Mhv V 278.

3.4. We can therefore deduce that the change of $\acute{s}$ - > ch - occurred in the word *chadda* before 250 B.C., either long enough before that date for the knowledge of the change to have been lost, or, perhaps more likely, in some dialect other than Pali, into which it was subsequently borrowed.

3.5. The form of the word found in the BHS texts, *vighuṣṭa-saḍḍa*, shows clearly that it was taken into BHS from a dialect other than Pali. The change of $-ṛ$ > $-u$ after $-v$ does not seem to occur in the developments of the past participle of the root *vr̥t*- in Pali, although it does occur in other forms.⁵⁵ As noted above (§ 1.14), glide $-h$ - is very rare in Pali. It is not possible to say whether the BHS redactors were able to back-form $\acute{s}$ - from ch -, or whether they were dealing with a MIA form which showed the normal development of s - < $\acute{s}$ -, i.e. **vihuṭṭha-sadda*.

3.6. We can deduce non-Pali influence in the case of *ākhina-vyappatha* too. The existence of $-sk(h)$ forms in place of $-st(h)$ - is not very widespread in MIA, but is more common in Pkt. than in Pali. The only example which is exclusive to Pali is *cheva*, and, as stated above (§ 2.5), this word is doubtful. It is clear that the change could only have been productive in North India in a pre-MIA stage of the language, before the assimilation of $-st(h)$ - and $-sk(h)$ - to $-tth$ - and $-kkh$ - respectively.

3.7. The simplification of a geminate consonant group after an originally long vowel, instead of the shortening of the vowel before the consonant group, is, as Turner has shown,⁵⁶ a characteristic of the Eastern dialects of MIA. To the examples of this change in Pali, presumably belonging to the Eastern content of its vocabulary, we can now add $-khina$ in *atikhina* and *ākhina*. The fact that this change was not regular in Pali is shown by the fact that although the ety tradition handed down the meaning of the word, and also transmitted the regular Pali form of the word as a v.l. or as a gloss, the correct etymology was not remembered. Consequently the ety either invented new roots to explain the form,⁵⁷ or assumed it was identical with *khina* (< Skt. *kṣīna*), and invented explanations based upon this assumption, as quoted above (§ 2.1).

3.8. Since Pali retains $-ā$ - in *vākya* and *vāk-karāṇa* (§ 2.8), the fact that the long vowel is not retained in *v(y)ap-patha* suggests that this word too is a Pkt. form which was borrowed into Pali.

3.9. All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that both these compound words were borrowed into Pali from other North Indian dialects of MIA. In the case of *vivatta-chadda* the dialect showed the development of *śabda* > *chadda*, a feature otherwise attested only in a North-Western Pkt. In the case of *khina-vyappatha*, the dialect showed the retention of a long vowel before a simplified consonant group, a feature which belongs mainly to Eastern Pkts.

⁵⁵ PED lists *vullī* (< Skt. *vr̥ṣī*) but not **vulla* (< Skt. *vr̥ṣa*). Forms with $-u$ - do occur in Pkt., e.g. *vullanta* (< Skt. *vr̥ṣānta*).

⁵⁶ R. L. Turner, 'Pali *phāsu*- and *dāṭṭa*-' , *Collected papers 1912-1973*, London, 1975, 430.

⁵⁷ of. Sadd 495, 14-16: *khī gatiyaṃ. khināti, atikhīno saro, kham khāni; nakārassa nakārattam. tattha khināti ti gacchati; atikhīno ti atigato.*

DISTINCTION AND CONFUSION : A STUDY OF NEUTER PLURAL ENDINGS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

I. Introductory note

From the time of Vararuci on, most scholars, with the exception of some Gujarat Jain writers, have tended to view the Prakrit dialects in terms of Sanskrit and the divergencies from regular Sanskrit derivation have dominated discussions. T. Burrow's studies on the language of the Kharoshti documents from Chinese Turkestan (1931) brought a new perspective to Middle Indo-Aryan, and showed how much Prakrit was of intrinsic interest in its grammatical structure. One of the most striking characteristics of Prakrit is an internal and not a Sanskrit-dominated feature, namely the bewildering profusion of declensional endings and the apparently haphazard manner in which they can be used. Thus in the case of the nominative-accusative plural of the common neuter nouns in *-a* the grammars state that *-ā*, *-āīm*, *-āī* and *-āni* are all used in Prakrit (Pischel 1900 : 255). It is well known that some of these endings are dialectal variants as will be discussed below, but this does not account for the entire situation. Such a profusion of alternants, and free variation of the kind postulated by Prakrit grammars would be unthinkable in any natural language. It would seem obvious that syntactic and stylistic variation must be involved. An attempt has been made in a recent paper (Schwarzschild (1977)) to show this in connexion with the locative endings and a similar situation is discussed here in relation to the neuter plural endings.

II. Derivation and distribution of the neuter plural endings

There are two main problems :

1. What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending *-ā* ?
2. What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending *-āīm* ?

1. (a) The ending *-ā*

The neuter plural ending in *-ā* occurs occasionally in the older Pāli texts, and in Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, though only rarely. It has been thought by Geiger (1916), 80 and by Pischel (1900), §367 to represent a survival of the old Vedic ending *-ā* of the neuter plural.

The situation is, however, slightly more intricate than it may appear at first glance. *-ā* is indeed the older etymological form of the neuter plural of nouns in *-a*, just as *-ī* and *-ā* are the older neuter plural endings of nouns in *-i* and *-u* respectively. The ending *-āni* (just like *-īni* and *-ūni*) is an innovation based on the influence of the group of nouns that have a stem-final *-n*, such as *karman* 'action', plural *karmāni*. In the R̥gveda (see Wackernagel (1930), 103) forms in *-ā* outnumber those in *-āni* by 3 to 2. The distribution is not arbitrary, there is stylistic and syntactic variation : the older ending in *-ā* is favoured in formal, fixed locutions ; it also survives most readily in adjectives and particularly in past participles—while *-āni* occurs mainly in nouns (Renou (1952), 225). The two forms are frequently in juxtaposition as in the formula

viśvā bhūvanāni
adj. noun

'all creatures', which recurs even in the *Mahābhārata* (Michelson (1904), 103) and in

trī pūrṇā mādhumā padāni

adj. adj. noun

'the three footsteps filled with mead' (I.154.4)

sugā no viśvā supāthāni santu

adj. adj. noun

'may all paths be good and easy to cross for us' (VII.63.6)

mā naḥ priyā bhōjanāni prā moṣṭh

adj. noun

'may you not take away from us our well-liked nourishments' (I.104.8).

A definite development can be seen within the R̥gveda: in the later hymns the proportion of *-āni* endings is on the increase and even adjectives are in isolated instances affected by this change:

ūtārāni sādma

adj. noun

'higher abodes' (X.67.10)

haviṃṣi prāyatāni barhiṣi

adj.

'the offerings laid out on the straw' (X.115.11).

But the ending *-āni* only very gradually became common in adjectives. This delay may be attributed to two reasons:

- (i) *-āni* originated from the nominal declension in the first place (from nouns in *-a*)
- (ii) within the unit of the noun-phrase, the noun is the dominating constituent. The noun, rather than the adjective therefore takes more readily the fuller and more distinctive ending *-āni* in the neuter plural.

The short form in *-a* was also favoured in Vedic when several nouns and particularly adjectives in the neuter plural were listed, and this was evidently for the same reason, the absence of need for distinctiveness. This trend was noticeable particularly when the longer ending *-āni* already occurred once within the same noun-phrase.

It seems that there was still some survival of the Vedic situation in the earlier phases of Middle Indo-Aryan. The ending *-ā* is found in the Aśokan inscriptions everywhere except at Girnar (see Bloch (1950), 59):

(J. R.E.II) *osadhāni halāpitā ca lopāpitā ca*

noun adj. adj.

'medicinal herbs have been caused to be imported and planted'.

There are also instances of this usage in early Pāli texts (Weller (1915), 45) and in Ardhamāgadhi (Pischel (1900), §367), mainly in adjectives and in enumerations where one might expect the short forms according to the Vedic tradition:

jhāṇassa cattāri lakkaṇā, cattāri ālambanā, vāyānā paripucchāṇā 'of that meditation there are four outward signs, ... four supports, ... words, and questions' (*Thāṇaṅga* 4.1).

But this is rare, and can be regarded as an archaising stylistic variant.

The situation as discussed above can be summarized in the following manner :

Vedic neuter plural $-ā$ (archaic style, adjectives and enumerations)
 early Pāli, Amg., J.M., Aśokan $-ā$ (as before)
 usage then discontinued, $-ā$ supplanted by the long form $-āni$.

1. (b) The late MIA neuter plural $-ā$

There is a totally different situation where neuter plurals in $-ā$ are found in later Pāli texts, in southern Indian inscriptions (Mehendale (1948), 241) and particularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. These forms are not associated with adjectives or enumerations, they occur readily in all kinds of nouns, sometimes with complete confusion of gender: *sabbe te rūpā* 'all these appearances'. This different usage does not appear to have arisen from the Vedic tradition described above, and an explanation must be sought elsewhere. Such an explanation was already indicated by Hemacandra (Pischel (1877-80), I, 33) and was discussed further particularly by Edgerton (1953), 58: the use of $-ā$ for $-āni$ in the neuter plural shows the influence of the old nominative masculine ending $-ā > -āh$.

The main argument in favour of Edgerton's theory is the early evidence of confusion between the neuter and masculine endings in the plural. Although the distinction between masculines and neuters was always weak (Renou (1961), 278), the confusion seems to have begun in the East and arose from the similarity of the neuter plural nominative, vocative and accusative ending $-āni$ and the masculine accusative plural ending $-ān$. This confusion and the subsequent use of $-āni$ in the masculine has been discussed in detail by Lüders (1913), 988 ff., and more recently by Regamey (1954), 526, and by Bechert (1958), 310.

The use of $-ā$ in the neuter plural, based on this confusion of genders, became more widespread in later Middle Indo-Aryan and was particularly common in the eastern Apabhramśa of the Dohakoṣas (Tagare (1948), 138). This is in agreement with the growing lack of distinction between genders which was especially pronounced in the east where all distinction between genders has disappeared in the modern languages (Bloch (1963), map 5). Gender distinction has also disappeared in the Niya inscriptions, and $-āni$ is only used in Sanskritizing formulae (Burrow (1937), 25). The situation can be summarized in the following table :

	<i>Sanskrit</i>	
	<i>Neuter pl.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>
Nom.		$-āh$
	$-āni$	
Acc.		$-ān$
<i>Middle Indo-Aryan (Eastern)</i> (Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, the eastern dialect underlying Pāli, and Apabhramśa)		
	<i>Neuter pl.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>
Nom.		$-ā$
	$-ā, -āni, -āñ$	
Acc.		($-āni$, traces in Pāli) $-e$ (Western influence)

2. The ending *-āīm*

There has been some discussion of the origin of this ending. Gray (1935), 566 thought of it as coming from Vedic *-ā* with the addition of *-īni* borrowed from nouns with a stem-final *-in*. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory, particularly in view of the existence of parallel forms in *-īīm* and *-ūīm* for the *-i* and *-u* stems. There is no other evidence of any such composite ending. *-āīm* is much more likely to be a derivative by metathesis and weakening from *-āni* (and *-īīm*, *-ūīm* from *-īni*, *-ūni*). This change was made possible by the well-known phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Middle Indo-Aryan (Turner (1927), 230). The isolated examples of a neuter plural ending *-īm*, e.g. *ḍhanāīm*, quoted by Kramadīśvara in his grammar, are of interest in that they may well represent intermediate forms.

The distribution of *-āīm* and *-āni* is as follows :

<i>-āni</i> only	<i>-āīm</i> and <i>-āni</i>	only <i>-āīm</i> (and minor variants)
Pāli	Ardhamāgadhi	Māhārāṣṭrī
Gāndhārī Dhammapada	Śaurasenī	Apabhraṃśa
Inscriptional MIA	Māgadhi	
Jain Śaurasenī	Jain Māhārāṣṭrī	

It is obvious that *-āni* is the older ending, and *-āīm* with its minor variants is more recent. This again involves a stylistic difference: *-āni* belongs to a more elevated and formal style, and it is therefore not surprising that it is the only ending found in inscriptional Prakrits. It is equally obvious that *-āni* survived longer in the west and that *-āīm* like many other innovations began in the eastern dialects. But it is those dialects in which both *-āni* and *-āīm* are found which are most interesting in this respect: it is here in Ardhamāgadhi, Māgadhi, Śaurasenī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī that the stylistic and syntactic differences between the two endings can be seen most clearly.

-āni is both the older and also the more emphatic ending: it is used in situations where 'phonetic weakening of terminational elements' is least likely to occur. Thus *-āni* is the prevailing form before enclitic and emphatic particles of any kind; some examples of this were already listed by Pischel (1900), §367):

ruppa-pāyāni vā, suvanna-pāyāni vā

encl.

encl.

'silver or golden vessels' (*Oṇavāiyasuttam*, 37)

aṇṇāni vi jāīm loe dukkhāīm

'and those other misfortunes that are in this world' (*Kuvalayamālā*, 135.24).

The ending *āni* is particularly common with *anna* < *anya* 'other' because a strong contrast is usually implied:

annāni ya mahā-kaviyara-kappiyāīm

'and those other works of great authors' (*Kuvalayamālā*, 174.23).

On the whole the stronger ending *-āni* is preferred in nouns rather than in adjectives and pronouns, particularly when there are no enclitic particles involved:

jantāni teṇa viraiyāīm pāvena

noun

adj.

'these devices have been set up by that evil-doer' (*Paṭimacariyam*, 6.226)

vatth'ābharanāni rāya-santiyāīm

noun

adj.

'the garments and jewels belonging to the king' (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen*)

eyāṁ pañca mūla-sippāni

demonstr. noun

pronoun

'these five basic skills' (*Avasāyakacūṛṇi*).

Sometimes both an enclitic particle and the adjective-noun contrast are involved :

bhavanāṇi toranāṇi ya, attālaya-vivaha-citta-tungāṁ

noun noun encl.

adj.

'dwellings and gates, high and bright with various upper stories' (*Paṭima-cariyam*, 28.87).

Although poetic works in particular show a certain amount of liberty in the use of the two different endings of the neuter plural, the basic theme of emphatic (-āṇi) versus less emphatic (-āṁ) prevails. This contrast is so strong that it should probably be reflected in translations :

tuttāṇi ya maṇḍalaggāṁ

adj. encl. noun

'and their scimitars were completely shattered'.

In the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* the ending -āṇi prevails, but -āṁ is used occasionally in conversational style and in quotations, and clearly the use of the two endings is governed by finer nuances of style.

The distribution of the endings of the neuter plural thus shows us that there is still much to learn about Middle Indo-Aryan style and details of syntax : the most important texts from this point of view are the vivid prose-stories in Jain *Māhārāṣṭri*.

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TIBETAN *STES*, *STES-TE*, ETC. AND SOME OF THEIR SANSKRIT CORRESPONDENCES

By WALTER SIMON

As is generally known, the correspondence Tibetan *stes-dban-gis*—Sanskrit *daivāt* or *daivena* was proposed by Johannes Nobel and translated by him as ‘durch Schicksalsfügung’ (by dispensation of fate). He did so in his edition of the Tibetan version *Udrāyana*,¹ offering the correspondence as a conjecture for *naivam*.² The equation has been taken over by Professor Lokesh Chandra into his *Tibetan–Sanskrit dictionary*,³ though failing to refer to it there as a conjecture. While I do not wish to contest in any way Nobel’s conjecture, I thought it useful to adduce certain other correspondences, most of which were found when trying—unsuccessfully so far⁴—to corroborate the conjecture by quotations from actual texts.

I venture to offer this attempt as a small tribute to the distinguished Indian scholar whose work we are celebrating in this issue.

I. Sumatiratna

A translation of a substantial portion of the entry *stes* in Sumatiratna’s *Tibetan–Mongolian dictionary*⁵ has been included by J. E. Bosson in a note to stanza 61⁶ of his edition of the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of Sa-skya Paṇḍita’s *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (*Legs-par bsad-paḥi rin-po-ch’eḥi gter*). He supports thereby his translation of *stes-dban-gis* as ‘by good fortune’, which is in fact the most common meaning of this compound. But before dealing with it (under V), I wish to consider the single word *stes* and a few other combinations.

II. *stes* in *re stes*

Two examples for *stes* in combination with *re* ‘how’ have been adduced from the Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara*, translated as ‘how excellent!’⁷ In the Sanskrit original the correspondence *śobhanam syāt* forms the main clause, preceded in the case of the two examples by a conditional clause and translated by Foucaux as ‘ce serait bien’.⁸

III. *stes* followed by *te* or *ho* (*so*) (sometimes preceded by *ma*); *stes* in combination with *la*

As an example without a Sanskrit text I wish to adduce a passage from the Tibetan version of the *Abhinīṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, the *mñon-par hbyun-baḥi*

¹ *Udrāyana, König von Roruka, eine buddhistische Erzählung*, 2 parts, Wiesbaden, 1951. See pt. 1 (*Tibet. Text u. Übersetzung*), 110, n. 6, and pt. 2 (*Wörterbuch*), 30.

² *Divyāvadāna* (ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil), Cambridge, 1886, 585, l. 7.

³ Pt. 5 (New Delhi, 1968), 972.

⁴ *daivāt* followed by *kāṣṭhit* occurs in *Divyāvadāna*, loc. cit., 592, l. 10. The text has, however, not been translated into Tibetan.

⁵ I, 884 of the *Bod-hor-gyi brda-yig* (Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, 6), Ulanbatur, 1959.

⁶ See p. 314 of his *Treasury of aphoristic jewels* (Uralic and Altaic Series, 92), Bloomington, 1969. The Tibetan text of the stanza appears on p. 51, Bosson’s translation of both versions on p. 213. It should be noted that Sumatiratna’s equivalent for *stes dban*, *stabs legs* (good mode), occurs in fact as a textual variant of *stes dban* in stanza 61.

⁷ See ‘Tibetan *re* in its wider context’, *BSOAS*, xxxi, 3, 1968, 559.

⁸ See *Le Lalita vistara, traduit du sanskrit en français par Ph. Ed. Foucaux* (Annales du Musée Guimet, 6), pt. 1, Paris, 1884, 228 and 229.

mdo, where *stes-so* is followed by a sentence with *stes-te*, and in both cases the combinations are preceded by *ma*. The death of a son is deplored as 'most unfortunate': (*Ti* (betan) *T* (ripīṣaka), xxxix, 25e, 1-2) 'E-ma-*ho Raṅs-byed-kyi bu lHag-spyod śi-ba de ni te-por ma stes-so* / 'e-ma-*ho Raṅs-byed-kyi bu lHag-spyod śi-ba de ni śin-tu te-por ma stes-te* / c'os *hdul-ba hdi ma t'os-so*.

In the second chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Pūrṇāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil, 29, 7-9 and 15-16), we find *ma stes-te* 'unfortunately' twice for *daivayogāt* (= *daivāt* 'disposition of fate'), thus showing the Tibetan version to be more in sympathy than the Sanskrit original with the prospective recipients of clothes and sugar who call on Pūrṇa on days when the more expensive relevant shops are closed (*Ti*. *T*, xli, 114a, 5-6 and b, 1-2).

In the 25th chapter (loc. cit., 443, 7-8), we find *stes-te* translating *śobhanam* when reading about the hunter Halaka who in pursuit of the Kinnarī Manoharā recalls having 'fortunately' (*stes-te*) received from his Nāga the 'unfailing sling' which will enable him to catch her: *śobhano 'yam mayāmoghaḥ pāśo nāgāl labdho Manoharāyāḥ kinnarīyāḥ kṣepsyāmi*, *Ti*. *T*, xli, 198d, 2: *bdag-gi klu-las don yod-paḥi žags-pa t'ob-pa stes-te de miḥam-ciḥi bu-mo Yid-ḥp'rog-ma-la gdab-po snyam-nas*. . . .

For *stes-la* ('luckily') Sumatiratna offers an example in the entry mentioned under I (though without a Sanskrit passage): *nyes-can stes-la śor-ra-re* ('May the guilty-one not have a lucky escape!').

For an example of *stes-nas* see under IV.

IV. *ji-žig-ltar* followed by *stes (-nas)*

An example from the Tibetan version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*—F. Weller in his *Index*⁹ lists in fact two—may serve to illustrate the addition of *stes (-nas)* to stress the good fortune of the event. *ji-žig-ltar* renders Sanskrit *katham*, *kathamcid* or *kathamcidapi* 'somehow'. In the verse concerned,¹⁰ Finot¹¹ translates *tathā kathamcid api* (= *de-bžin ji-žig-ltar stes-nas*) as 'je ne sais comment'.

For the translation of *ji-žig-ltar* by *stes dbaṅ* see under V.

V. *stes-dbaṅ*

As mentioned under I, J. E. Bosson translated *stes-dbaṅ-gis* as 'by good fortune' in a stanza of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, which is preferable to Nobel's 'by dispensation of fate'.¹² I shall adduce two further examples to confirm this meaning, though in both cases we have no supporting Sanskrit text. The first (*Ti*. *T*, xliii, 222a, 8) relates the story of a son who, after the death of both his parents, on a walk meets his landlord who turns out 'by good fortune' to be his future benefactor: *duś gzan-žig-na dehi p'a-ma gnyis duś-la bab-nas* / *de p'an-ts'un hk'yam-pa-na stes-dbaṅ-gis k'yim-bdag dehi k'yim-du p'yin-pa*. . . . The second example (*Ti*. *T*, xliii, 199e, 1-2) reports that a woman has become pregnant whose husband had for a long time been praying for a son: *dehi ts'e-na* / *hbrog-gnas-na k'yim-bdag cig hdug-pa de-la bu*

⁹ F. Weller, *Tibetisch-Sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl. 46, 3 and 47, 3), Berlin, 1952-5, 118 and 170.

¹⁰ III, 27 (Finot) = III, 28 (Weller).

¹¹ L. Finot, *La marche à la lumière*, Paris, 1920, III, 27, p. 41.

¹² This was in fact an improvement on Schiefner's 'power of fate', included in Jäschke's dictionary (p. 222b).

med-nas de yun-rin-po-nas kye-ma bdag-la bu yod-par gyur-čig čer smon-nas stas (instead of *stes*) *dbaṅ-gis dehi c'un-ma-la sems-can zugs-par gyur-o*. . . .

An interesting example of *stes dbaṅ-gis* occurs in the Tibetan version of the *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna* which was edited, together with its Sanskrit original by Tissa Rajapatirana in his (unpublished) thesis (Canberra, 1974), ch. 91, translation p. 80. We find there our compound, not like *stes-te* in IV as an addition to *ji-čig-ltar*, but as its equivalent: the caravan leader Karna, his ship destroyed in the great ocean, together with a child somehow found a plank. . . . Tibetan: *ded-dpon rNa-can yaṅ rgya-mts'o c'en-por g'u čig-pa daṅ / stes-dbaṅ-gis byis-pa čig daṅ lhan-cig spaṅ-leb-la hjus-te*. . . . Sanskrit: *Karṇasca sārthavāho mahāsamudrād bhagnayānapātraḥ kathaṅcit phalakam āśādyā*. . . .

In a similar way Sumatiratna in the entry *ji-čig-ltar* of his dictionary (I, 695) notes *ji-čig-ltar-te stes dbaṅ* understanding the *te* as *ni* and translating it as *inu*: *jambar nigen metu inu jol-un ike*.

In conclusion I should like to point out that *śobhanam* appears to be the most common correspondence to *stes* and its compounds. As its occurrence in the *Divyāvadāna* has shown me, it is often translated¹³ by *na nyes-so*, *ma noṅs-so*, or by *legs* and *bzaṅ-po*, and sometimes it is completely ignored.

¹³ Leaving out cases like *mk'o* (*Div.* 511, 14/15 and 511, 15/16) and *run-ba* (*Div.* 437, 29/438, 1).

ON THE PLURAL AND DUAL IN SOGDIAN¹

By NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

I

As a result of the gradual attrition of final syllables, which caused the Old Iranian nominal plural endings to become insufficiently distinct from those of the singular, the plural was extensively remodelled in almost all Middle and New Iranian languages.² Such renovation could come about in two ways. Either the more distinctive pl. inflexions, such as the gen. **-ānām* or the instr. and dat. forms containing **b*, could be extended or adapted to supply other cases, as happened in Parthian, Šuynī, etc., or the old pl. could be replaced by a surrogate pl. derived from a sg. collective noun. The latter process is well illustrated by Sogdian, where the usual pl. suffix is *-t* (oblique *-ty*) after heavy stems, *-t'* (obl. *-ty'*) after light stems. As is indicated by the inflexion, which is that of an old *ā*-stem, and by the fact that f. sg. forms of the articles and demonstratives are used with pl. nouns, this suffix derives from that of the OIr. f. abstract-collective nouns in **-tā*.³

In Yaγnōbī ('New Sogdian') the pl. in *-t* (obl. *-ty*) has entirely ousted the OIr. type of pl. inflexion and Sogd. is already well on its way to this state of affairs. The only certain attestation of a noun with nom. pl. in *-'* < OIr. **-ā* (Avestan *-ā*, Khotanese *-a*) is in the rightly so-called 'Ancient letters': *ZKy βγ' γ' r' n' t'* 'die Herren wurden zornig',⁴ though there are a few instances in Buddhist and Manichean texts of the use of this ending for the nom.-acc. pl. of light-stem adjectives,⁵ adjectives being naturally more resistant than nouns to the replacement of their old pl. by a collective noun. The obl. pl. in *-nw*, *-n* < OIr. **-ānām* is still fairly common in B and M Sogd., but it occurs almost exclusively in fixed expressions such as *βγ'n βγtm* (also written as a single word) 'most divine of gods, *devātidēva*'.⁶

The only other pl. suffix in common use in Sogd. is *-yšt* (obl. *-yšty*), which

¹ Bibliography.

- Barth.: C. Bartholomae, 'Mitteliranische Studien, VI', *WZKM*, xxx, 1917-18, 1-36.
 Benv.: E. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, II, Paris, 1929.
 Gauth.: R. Gauthiot, 'Du pluriel persan en *-hā*', *MSL*, xx, 1918, 71-8.
GMS: I. Gershevitch, *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1954.
 Morg.: G. Morgenstierne, 'Archaïsmes and innovations in Paahto morphology', *NTS*, xii, 1942, 88-114.
SGS: R. E. Emmerick, *Saka grammatical studies*, London, 1968.
 Ted.: P. Tedesco, 'Ostiranische Nominalflexion', *ZII*, iv, 1926, 94-166.

² The exception is of course Khotanese, which is unique in preserving a system with five distinct cases in the pl., only one less than in the sg. (cf. Emmerick, *BSOAS*, xxviii, 1, 1965, 24, and *SGS*, 249-50).

³ Ted., 151; Benv., 79; *GMS*, § 1069; differently Gauth., 75 (**-θwa* n.), and Barth., 18 (**-tāt*).—Also the Ossetic pl. suffix *-tā* goes back to **-tā*, cf. Bailey, *TIPS*, 1945, 24-6 (but note that the Choresmian cognate quoted there has proved to be illusory, cf. Henning, *Z. V. Togan'a Armajan*, Istanbul, 1956, 430-1).

⁴ AL III.23, cf. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, iv. Bd., *Iranistik*, 1, 38, n. 1. The further examples cited in *GMS*, § 1186, from SOE are of doubtful value in view of the prolific and inconsistent employment of the ending *-'* in this text (cf. *GMS*, § 1182). On M 88r' see below, p. 340.

⁵ *GMS*, § 1205. Cf. also § 1217: 'Heavy-stem adjectives showing no ending in the Plural, can be considered as virtually having the old Plural ending *-ā*'.

⁶ I take the opportunity to draw attention to one more occurrence of this compound in a fragment recently published by G. Gropp, *Archaeologische Funde aus Khotan* . . ., Bremen, 1974, 366-7. The text (in a cursive but legible Sogd. script) may be read thus: (1)]. *wyspyrwnc* (2)]w 'sp[t'] (k) . [(3) **βγ'n βγtm prw(t) [y*. For *wyspyrwnc* see *Dhy*. 153, 295; for *βγ'n βγtm prty* (*passim* in B texts) cf. also M370, 11-12 (*apud* *GMS*, §§ 254 and 1179).

is restricted to certain light-stem nouns denoting animate beings.⁷ This has been compared—probably rightly—with the Waxī nom. pl. ending *-išt* and also—certainly wrongly—with the Persian suffix (forming verbal nouns from present stems) MPers. *-išn*, NPers. *-iš*, Judaeo-Pers. *-išt*.⁸ The latter proposal is unacceptable on both semantic and phonological grounds.⁹ No more satisfactory is the suggested connexion with the Slavonic abstract-collective suffix *-ištvo*.¹⁰ In fact the only derivation so far offered for Sogd. *-yšt* which has a chance of being correct is Bartholomae's, according to which *-yšt* contains the pl. *-t* added to an element *-yš-* derived from the pronominal gen. pl. in **-aišām*¹¹; and even this suggestion is problematical in view of the fact that the Sogd. pronouns do not form their obl. pl. in ***yš(w) < *-aišām* but in *-yšn(w) < *-aišanām*¹² (whence, with the addition of the pl. *-t(y)*, a nom.-acc. pl. in *-yšnt* and a secondary obl. pl. in *-yšnty*).

By the end of this note it will be possible to make out a case for a new etymology of Sogd. *-yšt*. First, however, some rarer endings remain to be examined.

II

One case of the pl. not mentioned in the general survey above is the vocative. No voc. pl. of a light stem seems to have been noticed. Heavy stems, however, have a voc. pl. in *-ty*.¹³ A syntactic peculiarity of this form is that when a series of vocatives occurs only the last is inflected as such: *šm'x frumcyqt yrō'qt xwt'wty* 'you wise Roman lords';¹⁴ *fryt br'trty* 'dear brothers'.¹⁵ This is of course merely an instance of group-inflexion, which is a well-established phenomenon in Sogd. (*GMS*, § 1639 ff.), but it is of interest to note that in this case the construction appears to be obligatory, at least in Christian Sogd. (no evidence for or against this rule has been found in B or M texts).

On first consideration one is tempted to assume that the voc. pl. in *-ty* is merely a special use of the obl.¹⁶ However, such an assumption is contradicted by the vocalization of these endings in C Sogd. In the lectionary C5, for instance, there occur two examples of the voc. pl., both pointed *-ty*, i.e. [-tē],¹⁷ while the obl. pl. is regularly pointed *-ty*, i.e. [-tī].¹⁸ The voc. pl. must therefore be

⁷ There is some variation in usage. Thus, the pl. of the loan-word *yks* 'yakra' is formed with *-yšt(y)* in Christian and Manichean texts (C2/12R.2 = *BST* ii, 849.2; Henning, *BBB*, pp. 102 on f8 and 139 s.v.; *BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, H16; xii, 2, 1948, 312, l. 103) but with *-t*, *-ty* in B Sogd. (P2.338; P5.6; P6.160; P11.16, 19; P21 ii.11, iii.1; O², 29).

⁸ Gauth., 76, n. 1; Benv., 79.

⁹ On the origin of *-išn* etc. see Benveniste, *Les infinitifs avestiques*, Paris, 1935, 105–7 (cf. also Henning, *Sogdica*, London, 1940, 17–18, on *bāmbušt < bāmbišt*).

¹⁰ Gauth., 76, n. 1.—For the sake of completeness a reference should here be included to the derivation of Sogd. *-yšt* from the superlative suffix **-išta-* (proposed by H. K. Mirza, *Proceedings of the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists*, II, New Delhi, 1968, 235).

¹¹ Barth., 2 ff., where however several incorrect forms are adduced.

¹² *GMS*, § 350; rather differently Henning, *ZDMG*, xc, 1936, 197, and *GMS*, § 1399¹.

¹³ Examples in *GMS*, §§ 1259–60 (**aka*-stems), 1229 and 1251 (other heavy stems).

¹⁴ *ST* ii/4.41–2.

¹⁵ *ST* ii/6.18; C2/12R.28; C2/48R.27 (= *BST* ii, 883.25).

¹⁶ Cf. the situation in Pašto, where the voc. pl. is identical with the obl. pl. (Morg., 101), and in Khot., where the instr.-abl. pl. in *-yaw* is used for the voc. pl. also (*SGS*, 260, 265).

¹⁷ *ST* i, 23.4 ([*frtyty*]), 25.6 (*nfrtyty*).

¹⁸ The obl. pl. is pointed thus some 60 times in C5, but only twice *-ty* (*mrlxmyty*, Sundermann, *Allorientalische Forschungen*, I, 1974, 254, l. 12, and 256, l. 15; Müller in fact read **yty* in both instances, but Sundermann, who kindly re-examined the passages at my request, confirms that the MS has **yty*). The evidence of the MS C2 is less straightforward. In this MS the pointing *y* is altogether extremely rare: where C5 has *y*, C2 generally uses unpuncted *y*, occasionally *y*. A fairly typical example of this mode of vocalization (which probably results from a phonetic

regarded as distinct from any other case. Consequently, since the *t*-plural is in origin a f. sg. noun in **-tā-* its voc. can hardly be other than the voc. sg. of the *ā*-declension, Av. and OInd. *-e* (an identical form is found for the voc. sg. of *i*-stems, m. and f., in Av. sometimes also of *i*-stems). The pointing of *-ty* is in perfect agreement with this conclusion.

If this explanation is correct one might also expect to find in Sogd. a f. sg. voc. in *-y*. Possible instances include: B *γwt'(h)yny(h)* 'queen', *pry(h) γwt'yny(h)* 'dear queen'; C *šyrqcy* 'virtuous lady'; M (Sogd. script) *γšnk' γw'ryh* 'beautiful sister'.¹⁹ No comparable form has been identified in Khot., where the nom. sg. f. is used for the voc. also.²⁰ In Pašto, however, f. nouns of relationship such as *mor* 'mother', *xor* 'sister' have a voc. sg. in *-e* distinct from any other case: *more*, *xore*, etc.²¹

III

The C Sogd. MS C2 is an extensive collection of translations from Syriac, gathered, no doubt, from more than one source but copied by a single scribe. Its contents may be divided into two sections, the first text (ff. 1–29) differing from the rest in many features of language and orthography. The morphology of this MS includes some impressive archaisms as well as some striking innovations; what is important to note in the present context is that, at least in the language of the latter part of the MS (ff. 30–120), these are combined into a morphological system of remarkable internal consistency.²²

In ff. 30–120 of C2 the inflexion of **aka*-stems is as follows. Sg.: nom. and obl. *-y*; acc. *-w*; ²³ abl. and voc. *-'*. Pl.: nom.-acc. *-yt*; obl. *-yty*; voc. *-yty*.²⁴ In addition there is a nom.-acc. form in *-'*, of which there are the following instances: *dw' dw's* 'two neighbours'; *dw' z(')t'* 'two sons'; *(dw')(frys)t'* 'two angels'; *ds' ny(z)b(')[n](')* 'ten passions'; *xwšrts wyc'w* 'sixteen martyrs'.²⁵ The first two of these examples were pointed out by Schwartz, who suspected a survival of the ancient dual.²⁶ However, as the above citations show, the ending *-'* is used not only after *dw* 'two' but also after higher numbers. At least from a synchronic point of view, therefore, these forms cannot be defined as duals; here the term 'numerative' has been adopted.

shift of [i] to [e], contrasting still with /e/ = [e]) is provided by the nom. sg. *byy*, which is spelt thus, without points, about 20 times in C2, but also twice with *y* (23R.28 = *BST* ii, 859.28; 77V.15) as against C5's *byy*. Similarly the obl. pl. in *-ty* is usually left unvocalized in C2 (about 170 examples); *-ty* occurs six times (31R.13, 23; 31V.20 bis; 39V.3; 56V.9), but a feeling that this pointing is incorrect is indicated by the fact that on three further occasions the points have been deleted (51R.8; 57R.14 bis). The overwhelming preference for unpointed *-ty* seems to rule out an interpretation with /e/ = [e], for which the pointing *y* is very liberally employed in this MS.

¹⁹ *VJ* 301, 309, 323, etc.; *ST* ii/1.40; K16 (unpublished), 1.3 ('*γšnk'* is either uninflected or more likely nom. sg. f.; cf. the instances of group-inflexion in the voc. pl. referred to above and the even more closely comparable m. sg. equivalent *pry z't'* 'dear son', *VJ* 24a).

²⁰ *SGS*, 285.

²¹ Cf., for instance, E. Trumpp, *Grammar of the Pāṣtō* . . ., London, 1873, 90.

²² Justification for these and similar general statements will be found in my forthcoming edition of C2.—In the present article references to my text of C2 are wherever appropriate accompanied by references to the edition of O. Hansen, 'Berliner sogdische Texte, II', *Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Kl. der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur in Mainz*, 1954, 15 [= *BST* ii].

²³ Recognized by M. Schwartz, *Studies in the texts of the Sogdian Christians* (unpublished Berkeley dissertation), 1967, iii.

²⁴ Only C2/68R.28 (= *BST* ii, 843.28): *'y γw'q-qy(y)ty* 'O evil-doers'.

²⁵ C2/60R.2 (= *BST* ii, 888.2); C2/87V.3 (= *BST* ii, 878.3); C2/94R.23; C2/40V.19 (= *BST* ii, 907.19); C2/68V.12 and 69R.30 (= *BST* ii, 843.43 and 846.32). These forms were discussed in *AM*, NS, xviii, 1, 1973, 100, but a definitive treatment was not possible at that time.

²⁶ Schwartz, op. cit., 15 and 151.

Although a numerative ending distinct from those of either the sg. or the pl. has only been demonstrated for the nom.-acc. of **aka*-stems, it is of course permissible, even mandatory, to consider forms of other cases and other declensions as being in the numv. when they occur in contexts syntactically comparable with those which call for the nom.-acc. numv. of **aka*-stems. If one does define the numv. in this way, its use and formation in ff. 30–120 of C2 may be most economically and plausibly described in the following terms.

The use of the numv. is restricted to, and compulsory for, *nouns qualified by and directly following a numeral higher than 'one'*. That is to say, when the noun precedes the numeral it is put in the pl. rather than the numv., and similarly when the noun is separated from the numeral by an adv. or adj. Adjectives themselves have no numv. but stand in the pl. in agreement with the nouns which they qualify. Pronouns likewise seem to have had no numv. (though a better formulation might be that their numv. is identical with their pl.). For these statements, which are admittedly deduced from very meagre evidence and may therefore need to be adjusted, one may refer to the following examples: *šm'šyt dw' x'nt* 'those two deacons'; *dw' prw f(yq)t* 'the two shoulders together'; *dw' (ny)t (by)yšt* 'two other gods'.²⁷

The numv. of heavy stems other than **aka*-stems is identical with the sg., having nom.-acc. without ending (*passim*, e.g. *dw' 'yc* 'two things', *ds' dyw* 'ten demons') and obl. in *-y* (only once, *št' dywy* 'eight demons');²⁸ **aka*-stems have nom.-acc. numv. in *-'* (examples above), the obl. being most unfortunately unattested. No numv. of a light stem happens to occur in any part of C2, with the probable exceptions of *ywxtly* (nom. numv. *neuter*, cf. below, p. 342 with n. 39) and the *u*-stem *prtw* < **upa-r(a)tu-* in the adverbial phrase *šy prtw* 'three times'.²⁹ However, since the sg. inflexions of **aka*-stems in ff. 30–120 are merely borrowed from the 'thematic' m. light stems, it is a reasonable assumption that the nom.-acc. numv. in *-'* derives from the same source.

One may therefore define as 'numerative' the following m. light-stem nom.-acc. forms from MSS other than C2: Mug 'šwy 'zvr' 'two hauberks', B1.1; B 'šw' kp' 'two fishes', P2.180, 181 (beside 10s³⁰ *kwtly kp'yšt* '100,000,000 fishes', P2.179, and the obl. *cywōδ dyβnw*³¹ *kp'yštch* 'of those two fishes', P2.189); M *iv δβr* 'four gates', M178.88 (beside *xii δβrt* 'twelve gates', M178.94).³² From the contrast in the last two examples between the numv. after '2' and '4' and the pl. after '12' and '100,000,000' it seems probable that the nom.-acc. numv. in *-'* does indeed derive from the OIr. dual and that its use was only gradually extended to the position after the higher numbers. One should compare the fate of the dual in the Slavonic languages: in Russian, where it is now identified with the gen. sg., the former dual is used after '2, 3, 4' and 'both', while in Bulgarian and Macedonian it is employed with all numerals other than '1' as well as with certain adjectives such as

²⁷ C2/57R.25 (= *BST* ii, 904.25); C2/57R.29 (= *BST* ii, 904.29); C2/69R.14 (= *BST* ii, 846.16).

²⁸ C2/94R.28 (= *BST* ii, 826.28).

²⁹ C2/56V.31 and 57R.29 (= *BST* ii, 904.29). The etymology of *prtw* is due to Schwartz, op. cit., revisions (1969), 9.

³⁰ *Sic*, cf. *IJ*, xx, 3–4, 1978, 260 on *Dhu*, 269.

³¹ Sogd. *δ(y)βnw* surely corresponds to the Khot. gen. *dvīnu* (on which see *SGS*, 249). Differently *GMS*, § 1320.

³² M178 *apud* Henning, *BSOAS*, xii, 2, 1948, 312 (cf. also *Sogdica*, 53 on t8 *j(iv) δβr*).—Unfortunately the sg. is not attested of *pnc fep* 'five rugs(?)', M178.74–5, which may also belong here.

'how many?', some, several'.³³ From the phonological point of view it is of course equally possible that the Sogd. nom.-acc. numv. in -' is to be equated with the rare nom.-acc. pl. in -' < OIr. *-ā (cf. above, p. 337), but this would not account for the apparent distinction between numv. and pl. in the M and B examples quoted above.

A numv. in -a is found also in Pašto, where its use seems to be restricted to m. nouns ending in consonants—basically the old thematic stems, together with certain other nouns which have been absorbed into this class.³⁴ Morgenstierne chose to derive this form from an OIr. pl., but he mentions the possibility that it might go back to the ancient dual, an explanation which the Sogd. evidence encourages one to prefer.

IV

If the numv. in -' goes back to an OIr. dual, the question next arises whether those numeratives which coincide in form with the sg., such as *dyw* or *prtw*, should not likewise be derived from ancient duals, **daiwā*, **upa-r(a)hū*, etc. According to *GMS*, §§ 1662–77, either the pl. or the sg. may be used after cardinals higher than 'one', but it can hardly be by chance that all the instances of such a use of the 'sg.' which are to be found anywhere in the 'Ancient letters', Mug documents, or M and C texts³⁵ are either from heavy stems³⁶ or from light *u*-stems³⁷—precisely those classes of nouns in which the phonologically expected outcome of the old nom.-acc. dual would be identical with that of the nom.-acc. sg. Light stems other than *u*-stems are almost always put into the pl. after numerals other than 'one', and one may suspect that this usage results from the obsolescence of the distinctive numv. (i.e. dual) endings of such stems.

This is not merely idle speculation, since the expected numv. forms, not only of m. but also of f. and n. light stems are in fact occasionally attested. The principal forms to be considered in this connexion are the following:

M. light stems (OIr. *a*-stems): nom.-acc. numv. in -ā (= Av. -ā, OPers. and Vedic -ā, nom.-acc. dual). (Examples above.)

F. light stems (OIr. *ā*-stems): nom.-acc. numv. in -ē (= Av. and OInd. -e, nom.-acc. dual). Examples: *xxxi yxsyh* '32 vesicles of musk(?)', AL II.58, sg. *yγsh*, M *yxz*;³⁸ *'δwy wyzβcyh*, *'βt wyzβcyh* (meaning unknown), Mug B1.14, as against *'yw(h) wyzβch*, *ibid.*, *bis*. The same ending is sometimes found with

³³ Cf. L. Beaulieux, *Grammaire de la langue bulgare*, Paris, 1953, 53–4; H. G. Lunt, *A grammar of the Macedonian literary language*, Skopje, 1952, 32. I am most grateful to Bernard Comrie for drawing my attention to the Slavonic phenomena.

³⁴ Cf. Morg., 94; D. L. R. Lorimer, *Pashtu, I, Syntax of colloquial Pashtu* . . ., Oxford, 1915, 48; I. A. Smirnova, *Formy čisla imeni v iranskix jazykax*, Leningrad, 1974, 197, n. 28.

³⁵ Apparently sg. forms are, however, sometimes found in B texts, e.g. *δry čmy*, VJ 915; *cnn δβno čm*, VJ 277; *'βt 'yāph*, P6.128. In this respect, as in so many others, the B usage is probably merely 'sub-standard'.

³⁶ Examples *passim*, cf. for instance *GMS*, § 1662 ff.

³⁷ *C prtw* (cf. above); *M rtw* 'ten seconds' (M14, R1, R4, and *passim* *apud* Henning, *JRAS*, 1945, 149–53) and *jmnw* 'hour' (M14, R10; further examples *apud* *GMS*, § 1662). In my view (differently Henning *apud* *GMS*, § 512¹) *jmnw* 'time, hour' is in origin the nom.-acc. sg. of a neuter *zamn-* < **jamana-*: to this stem belong also the loc. sg. *jmnw* and the pl. *jmnā*. It has, however, been re-interpreted according to the analogy of light *u*-stems such as *thw*, *plw*, *myw*/*myr-*, etc., as is shown not only by the nom.-acc. numv. *jmnw* but also by the variant loc. sg. *jmnwy* and by the gen. sg. (with f. ending for an old n.) *zwmny* in *ST* t, 84.14 (not loc. as assumed by Henning). Similarly *M wkrw* 'kind' (nom. sg., e.g. *BBB* 533), treated as a *u*-stem in the nom.-acc. numv. *ii wkrw* (*BBB* a5; M697 and M778 *apud* *GMS*, § 1662), may originally have been a n. *a*-stem, a possibility which seems to be favoured by the B form *wkry* (*passim*, e.g. *yw wkry*, *δw wkry*). In any case *wkrw* 'kind' should be derived from **wi-kurV-*, cf. B *wk'wr* 'kin' < **wi-kaura-* (Gershevitch, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 493–4).

³⁸ Cf. Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 728; *GMS*, § 807.

f. heavy stems, e.g. *iv sr'kyh* 'four helmets(?)', B4.2, as against *'ywo sr'kh* 'one helmet(?)', B4.2, 3.

N. light stems (OIr. *a*-stems): nom.-acc. numv. in *-ē* (= Av. and OInd. *-e*, nom.-acc. dual), obl. numv. in *-yā* (= Av. *-ayā*, gen. dual). Examples: [*dwt's*] (*y,w*)*xyt* *γ(w,t)* (nom.) ~ Syr. *trt'sr' pānyn* 'twelve yokes (i.e. pairs of oxen)', C2/105R.3;³⁹ *ii βyny* 'two temples' (nom.), Tale E, 46; *δyny*[*δ*] *yβnw βyny* *cyndr* 'in those two temples' (obl.), *ibid.*, 48, contrast the abl. (not loc.) sg. in [*δ*] *ywyδ βyn* *cyndr* 'in that temple', *ibid.*, 42.⁴⁰

In view of the considerable extent of the corpus (AL, Mug, M, and C) from which these instances are drawn, they might be thought to be too few in number and uncertain in character to establish the survival into Sogd. of such a range of OIr. dual forms. On the other hand, any attempt somehow to explain these examples away as singulars will have to account for the non-occurrence in this same corpus of any such unambiguously sg. forms as **ii βny*, **ii wñ*, **iv štw*, etc.

In passing it is worth noting that the inflexion of nouns qualified by numerals in Ossetic shows some peculiarities reminiscent of the Sogd. usage.⁴¹ Nouns preceded and qualified by a numeral higher than '1' take the ending Dig. *-i*, Iron *-y* (identical with the gen. sg.) in the nom.-acc.; for the obl. cases Iron uses the ordinary suffixes of sg. nouns, while Dig. has a special set of endings consisting of *-e* + pronominal sg. suffixes.⁴² However, when the numeral follows the noun (in an enumeration) the noun is put in the nom. pl.⁴³ For the present the question must be left open whether the numv. suffixes *-i* (*-y*) and *-e* derive from OIr. duals, or whether the use of the 'gen. sg.' after numerals may be attributed to Slavonic influence.

V

Amongst the treasures contained in the MS C2 is a Sogd. translation of a metrical homily by Bābay bar Nšibnāye, one couplet of which reads thus:

p(r) [c](p)ty wyrr'(t)y swqy 'y γmqyn. 't tw' qwt(yy) '(wδ)t(y)t(.)
't [p](t)zrtq t'(f') ft'r(m)yt 'yšty ynt'q xwysm:

'Why are you awake, O rich man, and your dogs asleep,

And (why) does an evil solicitude for superfluous things afflict you?'⁴⁴

Although the original Syriac of Bābay's poem seems not to be extant, the interpretation of *qwt(yy)* as the pl. of *qwt* 'dog' is made certain by a comparison with another instance of the same *topos* in a hymn by St. Ephraem:

'The rich man too is awake, for Mammon has driven away his sleep;

His dogs are asleep but he is guarding his treasures from thieves.'⁴⁵

³⁹ The passage is poorly preserved, but it is hard to imagine a plausible alternative to the restoration here proposed. Cf. Av. *yusta-* 'pair, team' (rightly assumed by Bartholomae to be a n. rather than a m. noun, though direct evidence of gender is lacking), NP *hust*.

⁴⁰ Tale E *apud* Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1945, 473. That *βyn-* is neuter is most clearly indicated by the nom. sg. *βyno*, which occurs in a verse from the unpublished Sogd. version of the MPers. hymn-cycle 'Gōwišn ig grw zindag': *zokyh β't ZKn tw' βynptw oo ky ZY βy ZK βyno pršt' prw 'z-prtyh* 'Hail be to Thee, lord of the temple, whose temple has been prepared in holiness' (13399a, R12-14; Sogd. script, unpublished).

⁴¹ See W. Müller, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, i, Anhang, 47-9; V. I. Abaev, *A grammatical sketch of Ossetic*, 22.

⁴² In Dig., numerals themselves, when used substantivally, also take *-e* + pronominal sg. suffixes in the obl. cases. For a further idiosyncratic use of this *-e* see Bailey, *T'PS*, 1950, 125-6.

⁴³ Abaev, *op. cit.*, 82, n. 4.

⁴⁴ C2/51R.27-9 (= *BST* ii, 913.50-8).

⁴⁵ Ephraem, *De Nativitate*, 1.67, *apud* E. Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syriens Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, LXXXII), Louvain, 1959, 9.

Confirmation for the reading of the pl. ending as *-yy* is provided by the acc. pl. *spy* 'horses', Mug *'spy-y*.⁴⁶

From these few examples the nom.-acc. pl. in *-yy* seems to be restricted to light-stem nouns denoting animate beings, perhaps specifically animals. Similar restrictions appear to apply to the rare B Sogd. nom.-acc. pl. in *-yh*, *-y*', of which the following instances have been observed: ⁴⁷ *'spyh*, *'spy* 'horses'; ⁴⁸ *'kwtyh* 'dogs'; ⁴⁹ **'rwšt'ryh* 'camels'.⁵⁰ Twice this ending is spelt *-yh*, suggesting a pronunciation [-yā] or [-iyā]: *'kwtyh*, *'rwšt'r'yh*.⁵¹ Tedesco proposed that certain apparently sg. forms in *-y*, belonging to the same light stems, should likewise be interpreted as plurals. Though there are a number of plausible examples of this nom.-acc. pl. in *-y*,⁵² the only one which can be regarded as entirely certain is *'rwšt'ry* 'camels'. This form is surrounded by the plurals *'rwth* 'oxen', *'spyh* 'horses', and *pyδth* 'elephants' at each of its three occurrences.⁵³ Moreover, it is surely significant that the stem is spelt *'rwšt'r-* only in these three instances and before the pl. ending *-(')yh*; in the sg. it is always *'rwšt'r-*. The inserted *'* must represent a *svārabhakti*-vowel (cf. *GMS*, § 483). The only conceivable reason why this should occur in the pl. but not in the sg. is that both these pl. suffixes, unlike those of the sg.,⁵⁴ at some stage began with a consonantal *y*. One may therefore confidently derive *-yh* [-iyā] from *-yā* (with a differently placed *svārabhakti*-vowel) and *-y* [-i] from *-yī* (by dissimilatory loss of *y* before a palatal vowel).⁵⁵ From the same *-yī*, with *svārabhakti*, will come C *-yy* [-iyī].⁵⁶

According to Tedesco the pl. *-yā* is identical with the Sogd. abstract suffix *-yā*. However, the latter occurs almost exclusively with heavy stems; moreover, this explanation cannot account for the pl. in *-yī*. I am therefore happy to adopt an elegant solution proposed to me by Dr. Gershevitch, whereby the endings *-yā* and *-yī* are to be equated with the two alternative nom.-acc. pl. endings of the Khot. f. *ī*-declension, respectively *-e* < **-yāh* (OIr. *ī*-declension) and *-ā* < **-yah* (*ī*-decl.) and/or **-ayah* (*i*-decl.).⁵⁷ These endings have been generalized, he suggests, from the word for 'dog', Sogd. (*'*)*kw-*, which must have been one of the most frequently used animal names.⁵⁸

The OIr. form of this word has been reconstructed as **kuti-* (presumably m.) on the basis of the Oss. equivalent, Dig. *kui*, Iron *kydz*.⁵⁹ It is generally held that the m. *i*-stems of OIr. went over to the thematic class in the later EIr. languages,⁶⁰ an opinion based mainly on the outcome of **gari-* 'mountain' as Sogd. *γr-* m., Khot. *ggara-*, Pašto *γar* (pl. *γra*, *γrūna*). *A priori* one might

⁴⁶ C2/60V.28, 30 (= *BST* ii, 890.60, 891.62); B15.10.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ted., 153; *GMS*, § 1187. It is possible that a few of the examples quoted may be sg. (with merely graphic *-h*) but this can hardly be true of all, in particular not of *'spy*'.

⁴⁸ *VJ* 47, 86, 164 (*-y'*), 416, 13c, 618, 10e, 11e, 843, 1166; *Vim.* 64; P2.980.

⁴⁹ SCE 226.

⁵⁰ *VJ* 618 (MS *'rwšt'ryh*!). Note that the spelling *'rwšt'ryh* cited by Tedesco and Gershevitch does not in fact occur.

⁵¹ P2.784; *VJ* 86.

⁵² e.g. *'spy* and *'rwšt'ry* in *VJ* 497, 560, 977, etc.

⁵³ *VJ* 416, 13c, 1165.

⁵⁴ The loc. sg. (in *-yā*) of *'rwšt'r-* does not occur.

⁵⁵ Cf. for instance *š* < *yē* in the inflexion of Sogd. *yā*-stems: *AM*, NS, xviii, 1, 1973, 98 (on l. 80), 99-100 (on l. 107).

⁵⁶ The pointing indicates [-i(y)ī].

⁵⁷ See Emmerick, *SGS*, 280, 293.

⁵⁸ A m. *i*-stem may also be assumed to lie behind Sogd. *kyrm-* 'snake' (cf. OInd. *kṛmi-* m. 'worm'), but this word would hardly have been used sufficiently often to provide the sole starting-point for the spread of these pl. endings.

⁵⁹ Abaev, *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1958, 605; Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959, 173, fn.

⁶⁰ *GMS*, § 947; *SGS*, 250, 289; Morg., 93.

suppose that m. nouns in *-i-* could equally well have been transferred to the f. *ī*-declension, thus changing their gender but retaining their inflexion. A possible trace of such a process, even in the case of **gari-*, might be the f. adj. in B Sogd. *krt'yuch yrw* 'mountain of knives', SCE 206.⁶¹ There seems therefore to be no essential objection to the idea that the inflexions of f. *ī*-stems could have come to be applied to a m. noun such as **kuti-*.

On the other hand, cognates of Sogd. (*')**kut-* other than the Oss. forms indicate a m. stem in *-a-* with a corresponding f. in *-ī-*: for Iranian cf. Šuynī *kud* 'dog', f. *kid* with umlaut,⁶² for Indo-Aryan Pkt. *kutta-*, f. *kutti-*, and their descendants.⁶³ It therefore seems advisable to derive Oss. *kui/kydz* from the attested **kuti-* rather than from an otherwise unattested **kūti-*. For the generalization of the feminine the perfect parallel is to hand in the shape of Av. *sūnī-* 'dog', originally 'bitch' like OInd. *śuntī-* but m. in grammatical gender and used of dogs of either sex; cf. also Waxī *šač* 'dog' < **šwačī-* f.⁶⁴

A derivation of Sogd. (*')**kut-* from **kūti-* (possibly, but not necessarily, merged with its original masculine **kuta-*) has the advantage of accounting directly for the plurals **kūtyā* and *kūtyī*. Moreover, if this explanation is accepted it becomes unnecessary to attribute to the word for 'dog' sole responsibility for the origin of the endings *-yā* and *-yī*. There will certainly have been other animals names with feminines in *-ī-*, e.g. **uštī-* 'she-camel' (OInd. *uštī-*, possibly also Av. **uštī-* in the m. personal name *Avāraōštī-*) or **zari-* 'jenny-ass' (continued by Sogd. *xyrcq* 'lewd woman, fornicator, etc.', cf. *xyrny* 'fornication' from *xr-* 'donkey'),⁶⁵ and **kūti-* need not have been the only such feminine to be generalized. Positive evidence for the latter process in Sogd. is provided by animal names in *-yc* (< **-ačī-* or perhaps rather **-ī-čī-*), such as *kp'wt'yč* 'pigeon' or *yyn'yč* (meaning unknown),⁶⁶ which correspond to the type seen in Šuynī *vārij* 'mare' < **bāračī-* beside *vōrij* 'horse' < **bāraka-*,⁶⁷ and by *wyrk-* 'wolf', whose palatalized vowel is best explained from **wṛkī-* (OInd. *ṛkī-* 'she-wolf')⁶⁸ as hinted by Morgenstierne, *EVSG*, 91b.⁶⁹

VI

It is now possible to return to the etymology of the Sogd. pl. in *-īšt*,⁷⁰ a question which had to be left in abeyance on p. 338 above. By this stage of the argument it is almost superfluous to state that *-īšt* too must be brought into relationship with the f. *ī*-declension. Though its usage has become a little

⁶¹ Cf. also Sogd. *qoš-* m./f. 'side' ~ OInd. *kukṣī-* m. (see *BSOAS*, XIII, 1, 1979, 134).

⁶² Morgenstierne, *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group*, Wiesbaden, 1974, 40a.

⁶³ Turner, *Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, London, 1966, No. 3275.

⁶⁴ Morgenstierne, *Irano-Dardica*, Wiesbaden, 1973, 105.

⁶⁵ Full details will be given elsewhere.

⁶⁶ P13.17; cf. *III*, XVIII, 1-2, 1976, 59.

⁶⁷ Morgenstierne, *Irano-Dardica*, 104.—It is tempting to explain OPers. *uša-bāri-* 'camel-riding', whose suffix contrasts oddly with that of *asa-bāra-* 'horse-riding', as a *bahuvrīhi* 'having a camel as steed', the second element of the compound being a f. noun **bāri-* 'riding-animal' (cf. Chor. *β'ρεγκ* f. 'id.', Henning, *Togan'a Armağan*, 431).

⁶⁸ Cf. also Šuynī *wirjīn* 'she-wolf' < **wṛčī-nī-* (Morgenstierne, *Irano-Dardica*, 107) and, for the non-palatalization of *k*, Pašto *spōi* 'bitch' < **spaki-* (ibid., 103, cf. 108).

⁶⁹ In *GMS*, §§ 140-1, an occasional development of unpalatalized **r* to *yr* is assumed, but all three examples quoted may in fact show palatalization: *wyrk-* < **wṛk-*; *kyrm-* 'snake' < **krmi-* (or **krmi-*); *M'ngyr(p)* 'with united bodies', *Kawān*, G14, perhaps to be read *'ngyr(f)* (a possibility specifically mentioned by Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 1, 1943, 68, n. 6) and derived from some such form as **han-kṛf-ya-*.

⁷⁰ This transcription is based on the pointing in *ST* i, 6.8-9: *wyrqyštī, grnyštī*. No reliance can be placed in the pointing *-yšt* four times in C2 (6R.15, 12R.3, 12V.6, 24R.8), cf. n. 18 above.

wider than that of *-yā* and *-yī*, probably on account of its greater distinctiveness,⁷¹ the restrictions which govern the use of the three endings are too similar to be left out of account. Hence *-īšt(i)* must be decomposed into two elements *-īš-* (or *-īč-*) and *-t(i)*, the latter being of course identical with the usual heavy-stem pl. ending *-t(i)*. The former component is scarcely likely to be the suffix *-yc* referred to above, since one would be hard put to it to account for the non-appearance of the expected singulars **kwtyc*, **wyrkyc*, etc. Nor can it be the *i*-stem nom.-acc. pl. ending **-īš* as the analogy of the pronominal pl. in *-yšnt(y)* (from the obl. pl. *-yšn* + *-t(y)*, cf. p. 338 above) might induce one to suppose. Morphologically, such a process would not be conceivable before the Mlr. period, by which time the loss of the original final *š* would have made it phonologically impossible.

There remains, in my opinion, only one possibility against which no such objections can be raised: that the pl. in *-īšt* derives from a collective-abstract noun in **-tā-* formed already in OIr. times on the basis of a nom. sg. in **-īš*.

The use of the nom. sg. instead of the bare stem, both in compounds and before certain suffixes which were regarded as virtually independent words, is well attested in OIr., cf. Bartholomae, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, I, 1, 150, where the examples containing the suffix *-tāt-* are particularly noteworthy. The phonological shape of the Oss. pl. suffix *-tā* shows a similar treatment of the synonymous **-tā-* 'in semi-independence in a compound'.⁷² There would therefore be nothing in principle surprising about an OIr. formation such as **kutīš-tā-* or **wrkīš-tā-*, and it is particularly easy to believe in the existence of this type in proto-Sogd., since Sogd. possesses an even more irregular example of the addition of a suffix to the nom. sg., namely *drywšk-* 'disciple' < **driquš-ka-*.

It remains to justify the assumption that the nom. sg. ending to which the suffix **-tā-* was added was **-īš*, a form not certainly attested elsewhere in Ir., rather than **-īš*, the usual nom. sg. ending of the *i*-declension. Exchanges between the *i*-declension and the f. *i*-stems are found already in Av.⁷³ and in Khot. and Pašto the two declensions have merged into one.⁷⁴ Thus it is quite possible to imagine that an *i*-stem such as **kutī-* might have formed a nom. sg. **kutīš* according to the *i*-declension. However, a derivation of Sogd. *kwtīšt* from **kutīš-tā-* is almost certainly to be rejected on phonological grounds, since *i* in a non-initial syllable should have been syncopated.⁷⁵ I have therefore preferred to postulate a nom. sg. in **-īš*. This could either be a form created in OIr. by the addition of the nom. **-š* to the usual *i*-stem nom. sg. in **-ī*⁷⁶ or more likely an inherited equivalent to the Ved. nom. sg. *-īh* of the *vrkī*-declension, in which case Sogd. *wyrkyšt* 'wolves' < **wrkīš-tā-* may be directly compared with Ved. *vrkīh* and its oft-quoted Icelandic counterpart *ylgr*. One must suppose that the pl. in *-yšt* spread from *wyrkyšt*, *kwtīšt*, and perhaps one or two similar words⁷⁷ to other light-stem nouns denoting animals and persons.

There is of course no phonological reason why heavy stems also should

⁷¹ To the same fact one may attribute the still wider use of the nom. pl. *-īš* in Waxī, whether one regards this as a borrowing from Sogd. or as a common inheritance.

⁷² Bailey, *TPS*, 1945, 25.

⁷³ *GIP*, I, 1, 227, 229-30.

⁷⁴ *SGS*, 288-9; Morg., 93.

⁷⁵ Cf. *GMS*, §§ 114 ff., 163 ff.

⁷⁶ An explanation sometimes proposed for OPers. *B-a-x-t-r-i-š*, etc., cf. for instance R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* . . . , 2nd ed., New Haven, 1953, 60.

⁷⁷ It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of the Ved. nouns declined like *vrkī-* consists of f. animal names, mostly corresponding to masculines in *-a-*.

not have taken the pl. in *-yšt*. Consequently, it is not necessary to assume that the ending of the isolated B Sogd. *γw'r'yšt* 'sisters', P2.927, has been 'erroneously extended from the light-stem inflexion' (GMS, § 1230a). This form may equally well go back to a genuine OIr. **hwahrīš-tā-* from the *i*-stem whose gen. pl. **hwahrīnām* survives as Parth. *wə'ryn*, MPers. *rw'ryn*. There seems to have been a general tendency for the f. nouns of relationship to go over to the *i*-declension, perhaps specifically to the '*vrkī*-declension': cf. also OPers. **duaxī-* 'daughter; princess' in Elamite *duksiš* and later derivatives, Khot. gen.-dat. sg. *merā* (< **māθryah*) 'mother' (see SGS, § 44). In Pašto the f. nouns of relationship in *-r*, such as *mor* 'mother', *xər* 'sister', *lūr* 'daughter', make up a distinct declension. Since the only other class of f. nouns whose nom. sg. ends in a consonant is that which comprises the old *i*-stems,⁷⁸ it seems likely that these nom. sg. forms in *-r* derive from **māθrī(š)*, **hwah(ā)rī(š)*, **duxθrī(š)*, etc.⁷⁹—a derivation which would also account perfectly for the vocatives *more* < **māθre* etc. already referred to.

The fact that a nom. sg. in **-īš* is not certainly attested in any other Ir. language can by no means be regarded as a conclusive objection to the proposal that it may have existed in proto-Sogdian.⁸⁰ Khot. similarly has an acc. sg. in *-u* < **-yam*, an ending not demonstrable elsewhere in Ir. but corresponding to that of Ved. *vrkyām* (SGS, 289, 291), while the nom.-acc. pl. Sogd. *-yā*, Khot. *-ie* < **-yāh* (SGS, 289, 293) shows the survival into EMIr. of an IE ending (**-iās/*-iēs*) attested neither in OIr. nor in OInd.⁸¹

⁷⁸ *Bən* 'co-wife', etc., cf. Morg., 93.

⁷⁹ Differently Morg., 99–100, where an extension of the obl. forms (*mor* < **māθrah*, etc.) is assumed.

⁸⁰ OIr. *i*-stem nom. sg. forms in *-īš* such as OPers. *B-a-x-i-r-i-īš* or Av. *dāīrīš* are inevitably ambiguous, containing either *-īš* (from the *i*-declension) or *-iš*, while no later Ir. language could be expected to show distinct reflexes of final **-iš*, **-iēš*, and *-i*.

⁸¹ For several valuable references used in this article I have to thank B. Comrie, R. E. Emmerick, I. Gershevitch, D. N. MacKenzie, M. Schwartz, and W. Sunderman. To Gershevitch I am further indebted for his fruitful suggestion quoted on p. 343 above.

METRE AND TEXT IN WESTERN INDIA

By JOHN D. SMITH

In the preface to my restoration of the text of the *Viśaḷadevarāsa* I remarked, 'To the best of my knowledge, it has never before been found necessary to emend an entire text on metrical principles' ;¹ and I rather assumed that it was unlikely ever to be found necessary again. I certainly did not imagine that a great part of my work over the next years would be devoted to further large-scale metrical emendation; yet so it has turned out, and what is offered here is an interim progress-report, together with a few tentative generalizing conclusions.

Some rapid recapitulation of earlier work is necessary before my present theme can be dealt with. The *Viśaḷadevarāsa* is an early Rajasthani text, dating almost certainly from the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.² As a poem it is unremarkable, but its early date (especially when this was absurdly exaggerated)³ gained it some attention from scholars. In 1953 Mātāprasād Gupta published a semi-critical edition of it.⁴ What is truly exceptional about the text is a feature which only became fully evident in the light of this edition and the apparatus criticus it contains, namely the fact that in every known manuscript the 'poem' is wholly non-metrical, something unique in Indo-Aryan verse. By way of exemplification I quote three sample stanzas as given by Gupta: opposite each line is a statement of (a) the number of syllables it contains, (b) the number of *mātrās*⁵ it contains; the metrical irregularity will be evident from the figures.

	syllable-count	<i>mātrā</i> -count
6. <i>bhojarāja taṇau mīlyau chai divāṇa</i>	15	19
<i>bahu nara baiṭhā chai agavāṇi</i>	13	15
<i>rāi rāṇā cihum dāsi taṇā</i>	10	14
<i>rāṇi jī binavāi rāi narīmḍa</i>	11	17
<i>bārāi ho bahatāi āpanai</i>	10	15
<i>kumarī paraṇāvījyau joi nai vimḍa</i>	15	19
7. <i>paṇḍita tohi bolāvai re rāi</i>	12	18
<i>le patāḍau paṇḍiyā rāvalai āvi</i>	14	19
<i>suvara sodhe mhākā josiya</i>	10	16
<i>āñijyo nāgara catura sujāṇa</i>	12	17
<i>suragāi mohai devatā</i>	10	13
<i>bīra bicakṣaṇa bisalade cahuāmṇa</i>	14	19
8. <i>bambhana bhāṭa bolāvīyā rāu</i>	11	17
<i>lagana sopārīya dīnhi paṭhāi</i>	12	18
<i>gaḍha ajameri nai gama karau</i>	13	14
<i>pāṭi vaisāri paṣālījyo pāya</i>	12	18
<i>beṭi kahījyo rājā bhoja kī</i>	10	18
<i>rājamātī bara bisala rāya</i>	11	15

¹John D. Smith, *The Viśaḷadevarāsa: a restoration of the text*, Cambridge, 1976 (henceforth 'Smith (1976)'), vii. Since publication I have noticed a number of misprints in this work, and take this opportunity of publishing a list of corrections: (a) p. 10, l. 18, add full stop at end of line; (b) p. 16, l. 7, for *-r-* read *-r-*; (c) p. 23, l. 6, close parenthesis after (i.e. *jūth[ar]au*); (d) p. 24, l. 22, for *budhavarā* read *budhāvāra*; (e) p. 47, n. 13, for *vanasāṇḍa*, *causāṇḍi* read *vanasāṇḍa*, *causāṇḍi*; (f) p. 63, n. b, for *nisāṇe* read *nīsāṇe*; (g) p. 76, n. b, for *usāṇi* read *usāsī*; (h) p. 159, n. a, for *-ā-* read *-ā-*; for *havadaī* read *havadaī*; (i) p. 184, n. 4, for *na* read *ne*; (j) p. 232, l. 1 of text, for [ra] read [rā]; (k) p. 236, l. 3 of text, the first word is *saupa*; (l) p. 296, no. 1, l. 2,

None of those who had written on the *Viśaḍadevarāsa* had chosen to comment on this singularity; and yet, apart from being noteworthy in its own right, it is the very non-metricality of the text which is its most informative feature. An Indo-Aryan verse text cannot be non-metrical; therefore the text of the *Viśaḍadevarāsa* is corrupt, and those elements which violate metrical requirements may be adjudged spurious.⁶ The problem in this case was that the relevant metrical requirements were unknown, since the 'correct' metre was not immediately identifiable, and since the few available metrical indications (approximate line-length, rhyme-scheme, cadence, etc.) bore no resemblance to any known metre.

In fact, however, it was possible to deduce the form of the original metre without too much difficulty: it proved to consist of long lines (4 + 4 + 4 *mātrās* + cadence -) and short lines (4 + 4 *mātrās* + cadence - -) arranged in a particular rhyme-bound structure.⁷ This metrical form could now be used as a grid to isolate the genuine, and to eliminate the spurious, elements in Gupta's text: so, for example, it transpired that the stanzas quoted above were originally of the following form (the sign ~ indicates that an apparently metrically long vowel is to be read as short):⁸

6. *rājā bhoja mīlyau dīvāna*
bahu nara baiṭhā chai agavāni
rāi rānā cihum diśi tanā
rāni vinavai rāi narimda
vārai vahatai āpanai
kumarī parināvan jōi vimda
7. *paṁdita to naṭ bōlāvai rāi*
lēi patarau rāvalai āvi
so vara sodhe josiya
āne nāgara catūra sujāna
suragai mohai devatā
vara vicākṣana viśala cahuāmṇa
8. *bambhana bhāṭa bōlāvyā rāu*
lagana sōpārī dīnhi paṭhāi
gadha ajameri naṭ gama karau
pāṭi batsāri paṣālau pāya
beṭi rājā bhoja kī
rājamati vara viśala rāya

It can be seen that, apart from the deletion of spurious words, the process also necessitates changes in the spelling or scansion of words accepted by us as

for of read or; (m) p. 297, l. 11, for other read others; (n) p. 298, s.v. ahara, for adhara- read adhara-; (o) p. 299, s.v. āśiś- for ĀŚIŚ- read ĀŚIŚ-. I cannot guarantee that this list is complete.

⁶ Smith (1978), 26.

⁷ Ibid., 23-6.

⁸ Mātāprasād Gupta, *Agarand Nāṭhā, Bīśala Deva Rāsa*, Prayāg, 1953; 2nd ed., 1960. We have here used the 1960 edition.

⁹ A *mātrā* is a metrical instant with the value of one 'light' or half a 'heavy' syllable.

¹⁰ In the small scale this 'partitioning' of medieval texts according to metricity is a scholarly commonplace: one thinks, for instance, of the frequency with which the lines of a Hindi *dohā* are expanded to contain relative-correlative constructions, names of purported authors, etc. But in the *Viśaḍadevarāsa* we encounter this on an unprecedented scale: expanded lines are the norm, unexpanded lines a relative rarity.

¹¹ The normal stanza consists of six lines in the sequence long, long, short, long, short, long, with a rhyme-scheme AABODC.

¹² It will be noticed that various modifications in spelling etc. have been carried out for non-metrical reasons: see Smith (1978), 14-15, 21-2, and the notes to the stanzas in question.

belonging to the authentic text. Since it might appear that the metrical criterion represents a licence to tamper with an attested text, it should be stressed that this is far from being the case: not only do about two-thirds of the proposed emendations receive some support in the manuscripts, but in addition the majority of them fall into a handful of categories (deletion of possessive and personal pronouns, vocatives, particles, etc.) and often occur consistently throughout the text; what is more, the text revealed when these emendations have been carried out is both grammatically and semantically more self-consistent than that of Gupta.

Beyond doubt, the chief puzzle posed by the *Viṣaḍadevarāsa* is, 'Why should so many interpolations have entered the manuscripts that the metre itself became unrecognizable?' The answer I proposed,⁹ supported by some internal textual evidence, was that the *Viṣaḍadevarāsa* must have been in origin an oral sung text, and that when it was committed to writing the scribes made inadequate distinction between elements belonging to the text itself and verbal 'embellishments, sung, presumably, to musical ornamentations'.¹⁰ The next task was to seek supporting evidence for this hypothesis, and I accordingly turned my attention to oral sung material from present-day Rajasthan, in the hope of finding analogies.

A prominent place in the 'oral literature' of modern Rajasthan is held by two great epic songs, that of Pābūjī Rāṭhaur and that of Devnārāyan of the Bagrāvats. It is no whim of western scholarship to refer to these two in, so to speak, the same breath, for there are very close sociological links between them. In both cases the hero is a medieval aristocrat who is viewed by present-day semi-nomadic pastoralists as an incarnate deity: the Rebāris regard Pābūjī as an incarnation of Lakṣmaṇa brother of Rāma, whilst the Gūjars regard Devnārāyan as an incarnation of Viṣṇu himself. In both cases performances take the form of a night-wake in which the epic-singers perform extracts from the epic¹¹ to propitiate the deity in question on behalf of an audience consisting largely of Rebāris/Gūjars. In both cases singers perform in pairs. In both cases performances take place in front of a long narrative cloth-painting (*par*), normally painted by members of a particular sub-caste (Josi) in Bhīlwārā or Shāhpurā (SE Rajasthan); the *par* is a holy object which functions as a portable temple. In both cases the singers are called *bhopos* ('Little Tradition priests'), and are itinerants who travel a regular 'beat' in search of devotees willing to commission them to perform. Narrative content etc. apart, there are only four major factors distinguishing these two closely similar traditions: (1) the *bhopos* of Pābūjī are Nāyaks, members of a caste socially much inferior to their Rebārī audiences, whilst most *bhopos* of Devnārāyan are themselves Gūjars; (2) *bhopos* of Pābūjī normally perform with their wives (the woman is called *bhopī*), whilst it is exceedingly rare for women to perform the epic of Devnārāyan; (3) *bhopos* of Pābūjī accompany themselves on a spike-fiddle called *rāvanhattho*, whilst *bhopos* of Devnārāyan use a stick-zither called *jantar*; (4) the song-tunes of the Pābūjī epic are strophic, those of the Devnārāyan epic stichic.¹²

⁹ Smith (1976), 22-3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹¹ The complete epic text is so long that it would be impossible to sing it all during a single night.

¹² I have myself been working on the Pābūjī epic since the winter of 1973-4. For information on the Devnārāyan epic I am deeply indebted to my colleague Joseph C. Miller Jr. of the University of Pennsylvania, who has kindly permitted me to make use of his recordings, transcriptions and background material.

From the standpoint of this article only the fourth of these differences is significant, and it forms a good demonstration of the utter *impossibility* of intelligently discussing sung 'oral literature' without giving thorough consideration to the music to which it is sung. The song-tunes of the Pābūjī epic are indeed strophic; but the text sung to them is stichic. Each textual couplet is submitted to massive expansion with semantically 'lightweight' verbiage to produce a form of words that can be sung to one of the various strophic tunes used. My previous article on this subject contains three examples of this process at work:¹³ a single couplet is sung to three different tunes by one pair of performers in the course of a single performance, resulting in three differently-shaped forms of words in which the text itself is almost submerged by the great mass of extraneous material. Here one illustration must suffice, but it should be emphasized that it is in no way exceptional in the quantity or type of 'extra' verbiage it contains—indeed, it is sung¹⁴ to one of the commonest tunes used by Pābūjī *bhopos*, a tune known as *pherā rī dhāl*. The text of the couplet is:

ā-gī bainā sāvaṇa paīlī surāṅgī tīja ;
hīdā bandhāvd kākai rai hariyai bāga mē.

'Sisters, the lovely (festival of) Sāvaṇ rī Tīj¹⁵ has arrived; let us set up swings in my paternal uncle's green garden.' As sung, this text takes the following form (the words of the text, or their transmuted equivalents, are italicized):

e jī āya-gī sayelyā hamē bainā jī
sāmaṇa to jī e paīlāirī jī surāṅgī o tīja jī o
rāthaurā rī o jī saiyā i o re sayelyā āpai hīdā jī sā rāja
e jī e bandhāvdā i kākō-sā rai āpai hariyai he bāga mē o.

Examples such as this (and every strophe sung is a potential example) should make it clear why I have come to refer to the stichic text as a 'nuclear text', in distinction from the 'non-nuclear' verbiage used to build each couplet up into the strophic shape appropriate for whatever tune is currently in use. In this example the nuclear text contains 13 words, interspersed among 33 non-nuclear fillers, whose semantic import ranges from zero (*e, jī, to, o, i, re, sā, he*) through the minimal (*hamē* 'now', *āpai* 'we') to the merely redundant vocatives (*sayelyā* 'girl-friends', *rāthaurā rī . . . saiyā* 'Rāthaur girl-friends', *rāja* 'king'—this last inserted at this point in the tune by force of habit, and not really appropriate in the present case).

The epic of Devnārāyaṇ also makes use of fillers, but on a much more modest scale: typical is the following fragment¹⁶ (in which the fillers have been [bracketed]):

{ 1st singer: [*ye*] *bhoma dikhana kā cīra*
2nd singer: [*cīra, rānī ka*] *diriyā ko* [*re*] *ghāgharo*

¹³ 'The singer or the song? A reassessment of Lord's "Oral theory"', *Man*, XII 1977, 141-53 (henceforth 'Smith (1977)'), examples 1-3, p. 145.

¹⁴ By the brothers Javārjī and Rāṇā, recorded on tapes 83-6 in the collection of the Jodhpur branch of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. This extract occurs at the point where Pābūjī's niece Kelam and her friends go to swing in the garden.

¹⁵ This festival falls on the third day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August); it is celebrated in particular by girls swinging.

¹⁶ Pl.G1.7 in pt. 2 of Joseph C. Miller Jr.'s unpublished typescript 'The epic of the twenty-four Bagarāvat brothers and Devnārāyaṇ: A preliminary investigation of poetic form in an oral tradition of Rājasthān, India'. With Miller's consent I have here slightly modified his system of transcription for conformity with my own.

' Her (upper) garments are of cloth from the South country, her skirt of silk cloth '.

The reader must by now be wondering what sort of rabbit I can hope to draw from this unpromising hat. What possible link can be established between the medieval *Viśaḍadevarāsa* and two modern epic songs which even differ amongst themselves to an appreciable extent? In fact, I hope to be able to extract three rabbits, and to do so without sleight of hand.

The first is the quite unpredictable discovery that, in terms of metrical form, the three texts are closely related. The *Viśaḍadevarāsa* can be shown, by a process of metrical emendation, to have consisted of lines containing two or three feet of four *mātrās* each, followed by the distinctive cadences -- and --- / ---. The nuclear text¹⁷ of the Pābūjī epic too is metrical;¹⁸ it consists of couplets, each line containing five feet of four *mātrās* each, followed by the alternating cadences -- and --- (rarely, ---). The sung text of the Devnārāyaṇ epic also consists of paired lines:¹⁹ here, once the fillers are excised,²⁰ the lines prove to contain two feet of four *mātrās* each, followed by the alternating cadences -- and --- (less commonly, ---).

It might be objected that this similarity ought to be viewed with suspicion, since the lines of the *Viśaḍadevarāsa* are grouped in strophes making use of rhyme, whilst the modern epics are stichic and unrhymed. But I believe that we do not have to be over-cautious: previously it could only be said that the observable metrical features of the medieval *rāsa* 'bore no resemblance to any known metre';²¹ now we can say that they bear a resemblance to the metres of two other Rajasthani verse compositions. And it is surely significant that those compositions are oral and not 'literary': before encountering either epic I had already suggested that, in the case of the *Viśaḍadevarāsa*, metrical 'similarities are probably more likely to be found among folk-songs and ballads than among poetic metres'.²²

Another factor which narrows the gap between medieval poem and 'modern' epic is the strong probability that the epics themselves were actually composed in the medieval period. I have commented elsewhere²³ on the speed with which narrative songs commemorating a fallen hero come into existence, and one may reasonably expect the same consideration to have applied to the composition of the songs commemorating Pābūjī and Devnārāyaṇ. More

¹⁷ Readers who are puzzled or alarmed by my regular use of the word 'text' in dealing with an oral epic are referred to Smith (1977), where it is demonstrated that, *pace* the 'Harvard School', the Pābūjī epic has a fixed text which its performers know by heart. It is, *a priori*, probable that the same applies to the Devnārāyaṇ epic, but this remains to be investigated.

¹⁸ Thus my use of the sign ~ in the word *surāṅgi* on p. 350, above (in the nuclear couplet, but not in the sung strophe, since musical rhythm largely takes over from verbal rhythm): the word is pronounced (see p. 354, below) with the scansion ---, not the --- which a 'classical' Indologist might expect. (To write *surāṅgi* is tempting, but the nasal is fully realized as a consonant, and it is anyway better to retain a single sign meaning 'apparently metrically long but actually short'.)

¹⁹ For ease of comparison I continue to use the word 'line' in the sense 'passage of text containing a single final cadence'; musically speaking, the line is a recurring melodic unit answering to two lines of text.

²⁰ It is normally very easy to identify the fillers: firstly, the same filler tends to recur redundantly in line after line; secondly, the inclusion of a filler generally forces the performer to sing metrically long syllables to musically short notes; thirdly, occurring fillers tend to be textually 'unstable', that is, to be prone to replacement or omission in other performances or at equivalent points in the same performance.

²¹ P. 348, above.

²² Smith (1976), 22.

²³ In 'The two Sanskrit epics', a contribution to the forthcoming transactions of the London Seminar on Epic.

important is the fact that the nuclear text of the Pābūjī epic²⁴ shows distinct signs of antiquity in its phonology and morphology. The commonly-occurring name *cavāna* (= Cauhāṇ), for instance, seems regularly to require a scansion $\times - \sim$, suggesting its earlier forms *cahuāna*,²⁵ *cauhāna*. The use of postpositions is limited (note the absence of a possessive *rī/kī* to connect *sāvca* with *tīja* in the example on p. 350, above); and quite frequently postpositions occurring in the sung text have to be excised in isolating the metrical nuclear text. Similarly, sung forms such as the future *bandhāvālā* (in the same example) have regularly to be reduced to simple presents (in this case *bar-dhāvā*):²⁶ the future in *-l-* is a fairly recent development in the language. Present-tense forms are not reinforced with the auxiliary (substantive) verbs *ch-*, *h-*, as has been standard practice since the beginning of the seventeenth century.²⁷ My own estimate—of necessity a rough one—is that the original composition of the text of the Pābūjī epic occurred as early as, or even earlier than, that of the *Viśaladevarāsa*: small surprise, then, if both the oral and the orally-derived text share much in common from the metrical point of view.

What clinches the matter is that there exist other texts, both oral and written, which make use of the same fundamental metrical pattern (lines consisting of a number of feet of four *mātrās* each,²⁸ followed by the distinctive cadences $\sim \sim$ and $\times \sim \sim \sim$). There are a number of published transcriptions of Rajasthani oral poetry, some of it apparently related to the Pābūjī epic, to which I shall return shortly. There is *bhomyājī ro nevto* 'the invitation to the hero who died rescuing cows', which forms part of a sequence of up to ten songs sung in honour of various deities to invite them to attend the two weddings which occur in the Pābūjī epic.²⁹ There are very likely other modern Rajasthani folk-songs (in the broadest sense of that term) which could be mentioned here but which are not known to me. Particularly interesting, however, is the discovery of an eighteenth-century text, one known to have been sung, which employs a version of the same metrical pattern, but is composed in Gujarati rather than Rajasthani.³⁰ I refer to Sāmaḷa Bhaṭṭa's *garabo* on the fall of Pāvagaḍh, published as an appendix to the catalogue of the Gujarati MSS in the India Office Library³¹ in an edition prepared by Alfred Master and based on MSS 129 and 130 of the same catalogue. On pp. 131–2 appears an attempt to describe the metre of the *garabo* 'from an analysis contributed by Dr. T. N. Dave, who has made a special study of this type'. Dave quite rightly refuses to be misled by the eccentric spelling-habits of the two MSS ('The scansion is influenced by the normal pronunciation rather than by the spelling'), and he is also right to draw attention to the metre's 'superficial resemblances to the Sorathīya or inverse Dūhā'; but the metrical pattern he

²⁴ An equivalent investigation into the epic of Devnārāyaṇ remains to be carried out.

²⁵ As in stanza 7 on p. 348, above (where the *-m-* is merely scribal).

²⁶ As can be seen on p. 354, below, this form actually replaces *bandhāvālā* in the spoken *arthāv* equivalent of this strophe (for the term *arthāv* see p. 353, below).

²⁷ Smith (1976), 39–40.

²⁸ But metrical syncope (using the word in its musical sense) is permissible and fairly common—e.g. *Viśaladevarāsa* 23.6, *rūpa deṣi rājā hāṣyaṇ*, where the eight *mātrās* preceding the cadence $\sim \sim$ are grouped in the pattern 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 2, which is not divisible into 4 *mātrās* feet.

²⁹ These songs, together with a number of others, are to be distinguished from the narrative songs which constitute the bulk of the epic: they do not advance the story, and they are both musically and textually different in nature from the narrative songs.

³⁰ Hence my perhaps presumptuous title. I am grateful to my colleague I. M. P. Raeside for checking my comments on this text for factual inaccuracies, etc.

³¹ *Catalogue of Gujarati and Rajasthani manuscripts in the India Office Library*, by J. F. Blumhardt, revised and enlarged by A. Master, Oxford, 1954, 131–7.

sees in the text is one which requires liberal (and sometimes inaccurate)³² recourse to dotted notes and/or rests in a sample analysis using musical notation. This will not do: without hearing an actual performance we are not in a position to posit *phata* vowels or periods of silence in the middle of a metrical line. As Professor Chomsky might put it, Dave's model is too powerful: almost anything can be scanned when such a degree of licence is permitted.

For various reasons it would be a temerity on my part to propose a definitive metrical scheme for this text, and to seek to account for every apparent deviation (it would also far overstep the limits of this article). For one thing, I am not familiar with the Gujarati of the eighteenth century; for another, Master quotes from only two MSS, neither of which is, on the face of it, very reliable; thirdly, the apparatus criticus is not complete even for the two MSS in question, and there are not infrequent indications that editorial intervention has occurred, sometimes without adequate explanation (3b, 4a, 7a, etc.). The text is also often obscure, and it contains at least one misprint (53b *karajāda* for *karajāda*). Under these circumstances it is out of the question to seek a final resolution of metrical and textual problems. Nonetheless, it cannot go unremarked that each couplet consists of four short 'phrases' concluding with alternating cadences in -- and --- (less commonly, ---), and rhymed ABAB: thus, in essence, we are dealing with a stichic but rhymed variant of our pattern. In most cases it is not difficult to see an underlying group of 4 + 4 *mātrās* preceding the cadence, but this is very frequently distorted by insertions (typically the possessive and accusative/dative postpositions, the words *ne* 'and', *che* 'is', etc.), by apparently long but actually short syllables (no one who has worked on oral material from western India will bat an eyelid at scansions such as *rāhyo*, *karē*, etc.),³³ and by a number of hopelessly intractable lines. It is in fact possible to sing the *garabo* to the tune used for the Devnārāyaṇ epic song from which a fragment was quoted on p. 350, above—I have done it.

My first proposal, then, is to recognize a previously-unnoticed type of metrical form used for sung oral and orally-derived literature in western India, and used in various ways—stichically and strophically, with and without rhyme, with lines of the same or of differing lengths, etc. But the hat is not yet empty of rabbits. My second proposal is to suggest that performance of compositions belonging to this type appears always to involve the incorporation of greater or lesser quantities of extra verbiage, and that there is a strong tendency for some or all of this verbiage to 'stick'—to become so integrally associated with the text in the performer's own mind that he cannot fully distinguish one from the other. One result of this would be that if a performer were to dictate (or himself to write down) the words of such a song, he would be almost certain to include a proportion of this non-nuclear verbiage, and in doing so to obscure the metre. In this way we could understand why MSS of texts such as the *Viśaḍadevarāsa* and Sāmaja Bhaṭṭa's *garabo* pose problems for the scholar, especially the scholar who is unaware of the performance-techniques involved.

This is a hypothesis that can be tested, for performers of the two modern epics do indeed 'dictate' their lines as a standard feature of performance. This is called *arthāv* ('explanation'), and follows each section of song to

³² The crotchets over the word *rāe* in l. 2 of the couplet printed on p. 192 should not be dotted; note also that in the footnote to the same page the bracketed alternatives are inverted.

³³ For something approaching a complete list of possibilities see Smith (1976), 12–13.

recapitulate the text: ³⁴ it is whilst performing *arthāv* that singers point out the events depicted on the painted *paṭ* behind them. In neither tradition does the *arthāv* necessarily correspond exactly to the equivalent nuclear song-text; non-nuclear material of a (by now) familiar variety is regularly incorporated—vocatives, particles, etc. As a single but wholly typical example, here is the *arthāv* version of the nuclear couplet from the Pābūjī epic quoted on p. 350, above (the non-nuclear material is [bracketed]; *saṁjā* for *bairā* in l. 1 is a simple substitution of a synonym):

āy-gī saiyā [jo] sāvaṇa paṭi surāṅgī tīja;
[āj saiyā] hīdā bandhāvl kākai[-jī] rai hariyai [i] bāṇa mē.

And if the typography of that couplet bears a marked resemblance to that of my restoration of the *Viśaḍadevarāsa*, I submit that it is no coincidence.

The *Viśaḍadevarāsa* is not sung now, and we can never know exactly how it used to be performed. But—as usual—it is the violations of regularity, in this case metrical regularity, that allow us to make what deductions we can. It is very noticeable in the (unrestored) text of the *rāsa* that two metrical positions are especially favoured for the insertion of verbal embellishment: (a) before the cadence, and (b) at the beginning of the line. In a poem of 121 stanzas (a stanza normally consisting of six lines), no fewer than 77 stanzas contain at least one instance of an insertion before the word(s) bearing the cadence,³⁵ this figure including 23 stanzas containing two instances, seven containing three instances, and two containing four instances. Line-initial embellishment is only slightly less common: it occurs in a total of 60 stanzas, including 19 stanzas with two instances and four with three instances. Embellishment at other points in the line is very common, but it is not possible to discern any other specific position which is favoured in so positive a manner. It is therefore interesting to discover that a parallel 'preference' can be seen at work in performances of the two modern epics. The couplet of *arthāv* quoted above contains one instance of each positional type of embellishment in its second line, and insertion of a pre-cadential filler into lines of Pābūjī *arthāv* is certainly very common indeed (line-initial embellishment is rather less so): the favourite word is *kījai*, literally 'flat' but effectively, in such usage, without meaning; in a random sample of 32 lines of *arthāv* the *bhopo* Pārbū of Mārwar Junction introduces the word 18 times. The sung lines of the Devnārāyaṇ epic also regularly use the same two metrical positions for the insertion of fillers: this is exemplified by the fragment quoted on p. 350, above, which typifies the material currently available to us (in a sample passage of 31 couplets, 21 contain *ye*, *jī*, etc., initial in the first line, at least 27 contain a filler initial in the second line, and 20 contain pre-cadential *re* in the second line). The preference for line-initial embellishment is not difficult to account for: the music creates an 'empty space' between two lines of text, and *horror vacui* does the rest. But the fondness for pre-cadential embellishment, which always necessitates a 'compressed' delivery in singing, appears to be simply a feature of the style, and we must assume it to have been so in the case of the *Viśaḍadevarāsa* also.

³⁴ In the epic of Pābūjī it is customary to stop giving any *arthāv* at or about the point in the story where the avenger Rāpnāth is born; yet performers seem to experience little or no difficulty in producing *arthāv* for this 'missing' section if they are requested to do so—an example is quoted on p. 357, below.

³⁵ These figures are based on the text published by Gupta, not on any single MS; they are therefore likely to be on the low side, since Gupta's editing will have already suppressed some of the less well-attested embellishments.

One rabbit remains in my hat, but it is as yet a somewhat timid and undernourished beast. So far I have sought to suggest (a) that a particular metrical type, itself subject to much variation, is often employed in western India for the composition of sung verse, whether the text in question be oral or merely orally-derived, and (b) that verse of this type is regularly performed with the addition of verbal embellishment, which will always obscure the underlying metre (it is, so to speak, a feature of these metres that they should never be directly audible), and which seems to favour particular points in the line for its insertion. Despite the fact that, as far as is known, we are not here dealing with any improvisatory compositions, it is nevertheless clear that these texts are ideal hunting-grounds for poetic formulae. A formula, it will be recalled, is 'a group of words which is regularly employed *under the same metrical conditions* to express a given essential idea';³⁶ since what characterizes our texts is precisely that they contain much 'the same metrical conditions', and since certain 'given essential ideas' recur frequently, it is not unreasonable to expect analysis of these texts to yield examples of formulae. My final contention is exactly that a stock, or 'reservoir', of suitable formulae has been available to the composers of verse of this metrical type—that is to say, that resemblances between the different texts are not merely metrical but also textual. But all that can be given here is an indication: the greater part of the work remains to be done; indeed, we do not yet have access to all the texts in question, and the probability is that there are many other comparable poems of whose very existence we are still unaware.

As mentioned on p. 352, above, however, there do exist a number of published transcriptions of Rajasthani oral poetry with which I have not so far dealt, and these must now be considered. Those of most obvious relevance are a sequence of *parvāṇas*³⁷ or 'episodes' purporting to come from the epic of Pābūji as performed in front of the *paṛ*, and published in various Hindi articles.³⁸ These transcriptions place us in something of a quandary, since, though they formally very closely resemble the *arthāv* of present-day Pābūji performers, and though they contain numerous passages, short and long, which are more-or-less identical with the content of present-day *arthāv*, they nonetheless contain much else that is totally unfamiliar. All the transcriptions³⁹ were originally made by one man, Gaṇapati Svāmī, and it is almost certain that they are all of a single performer; the presumption must be that his version is in some way part of a 'deviant' tradition. Unfortunately, the editors have made the classic ethnographic error: they have given us no information at all on the original provenance of their material; and so we, in turn, are prevented from attempting any assessment of it.⁴⁰

³⁶ *The making of Homeric verse: the collected papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry, Oxford, 1971, 272. Emphasis mine.

³⁷ A word subject to various spellings: see notes 38 and 41 below.

³⁸ (1) Uṣā Malhotrā, 'Phar ko Pavāro', *Maru-Bhārati*, 1960, 47-57; (2) Kanhaiyālāl Sahal, *Mūlyāṅkan*, Jaypur, 1963, 286-330; (3) *ibid.*, 331-44; (4) Kanhaiyālāl Sahal, 'Satiyō kā Pavārā' (*Maru-Bhārati*, 1963, 22-39); (5) Uṣā Malhotrā, 'Nānarīye kā Pavārā' (*Maru-Bhārati*, 1967, 41-64).

³⁹ The originals are deposited in the Birla Central Library, Pilāṇī.

⁴⁰ I have, however, to refer to the attempt made by Kanhaiyālāl Sahal (see p. 26 of no. 4 in the list in n. 38, above) to analyse the metre of the published material, for, in his view, each line contains four *mātrās* more than I have allowed for the text of the Pābūji epic. The reason for this is simply that Sahal is seeking to determine the metre of what are clearly passages of *arthāv*, whilst I have sought to isolate a nuclear text underlying both the *arthāv* and the sung text. The published 'episodes', like all other known *arthāv*-passages, modify the nuclear text by processes of addition, substitution, and (sometimes) omission, and are thus not themselves—as Sahal admits—strictly metrical.

The same, alas, applies also to the other two published transcriptions which concern us. One ⁴¹ was originally collected by the same Gṇapati Svāmī who made the 'epic' transcriptions just discussed. It tells a part of the Pābūjī story—his arrival in Ūmarkoṭ, where the princess falls in love with him—but neither in form nor in content does it directly resemble the epic version. It consists of alternating lines of the form 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + ~, 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + ~-; embellishment is remarkably slight, save that the second line of the couplet is consistently preceded by *koī* and followed by *e morī saiyā!* 'O my girl-friends!'. Verbal resemblances to the epic text do occur, but only sporadically, and I do not propose to make further reference to this song (there being nothing further I can say about it).

Rather more interesting is the second of the two non-'epic' transcriptions.⁴² It is a verse narrative of Gogo Cauhān, which contains an account of his meeting with Pābūjī and his subsequent wedding to Pābūjī's niece Kelam. Not all of this text uses a metrical form comparable with the other sources we have been considering, but a large part does: the alternating cadences ~ and ~-, in the passages where they occur, are affixed to lines whose metrical basis appears to vary between two, three and four feet of four *mātrās* each, and in which much use is made of verbal embellishment. Here, though the story is not exactly the same, resemblances to the text of the Pābūjī epic are frequent and close: on p. 61, as a single instance, we find this description of the first gifts given to Kelam at her wedding:

lādalā re bābai-jī to dīnī dhoḥī gāya;
hāthī to dīnā bāt nā ghūmatā.

'Her father gave his darling a white cow; (someone) gave circling elephants to the girl.' With this we may compare the equivalent epic couplet: ⁴³

cāvarī caḍhatā dīdhī bābai dharvaḷa gāya;
māmā-sā garlotā hāthī dīyā hīdatā.

'As she ascended into the pavilion her father gave her a white cow; her Gahlot maternal uncle gave her (excellently-)moving elephants.'

The resemblances, both here and elsewhere, are too close to be ignored; on the other hand, the divergences are too great to permit us to think of the two as being basically 'the same'. We are dealing with a textual reservoir, a 'pool' of textual material into which any poet is entitled to dip at an appropriate moment. I propose to conclude this article with a few representative examples of such formulaic 'dippings'. They are taken, deliberately, from texts with no narrative 'overlap', and thus are not linked to particular events; they are also taken from the widest range of texts available to us.

One would expect that the smallest degree of comparability would be found in the one text which is not composed in Rajasthani at all, and one would be right. Nevertheless, among the eleven couplets which appear on the first page of Master's edition of Sāmaḷa Bhaṭa's *garabō* (p. 133) there occur three formulae for which parallels can easily be quoted from elsewhere. With *khele cosatḥa*

⁴¹ Narottamdās Svāmī, 'Pābūjī-rā Paṇārā—(1) Sodhijī-ro Paṇāro', *Rājasthān-Bhārati*, 1953, 79–86.

⁴² Candradān Cāraṇ, *Gogājī Cauhān rī Rājasthānī Gāthā*, Bīkāner, 1962.

⁴³ The form quoted is that which underlies the various versions of the couplet Aa + Bb discussed on 146–7 of Smith (1977). For further discussion see my 'The words and music of Pābūjī's epic', a contribution to the forthcoming work by E. Hartkamp-Jonxis, J. C. Miller Jr., J. D. Smith and E. van de Wetering: *Pābūjī's Par. essays on an Indian cliché-singing and its function in an oral tradition*.

jogaṇī (7a) compare *koi rudhira to pīvai chai bai ābai kī cosaṭa jogaṇī* (p. 344 of published transcription no. 3 in n. 38); with *sajyā soḷe saṇagāra* (9a) compare *kīnā gailovata rāṇī eka soḷai baṭisā sīṇagāra* (quoted from the beginning of Parbū Bhopo's *arthāv* of the birth of Rūpnāth, the avenger of Pābūjī); with *haide motī kerā hāra* compare [*ye*] *gaḷa motyā ko [ī] hāra* (P1.G1.13 of Joseph Miller's Devnārāyaṇ typescript referred to in n. 16). We may also note that the word *karajoda*, which occurs twice in the *garabo* (22b, 53b), and to which Master draws particular attention (p. 120) as a distinctive form, is very likely a formulaic Rajasthani borrowing (in fact consisting of two words, object noun + absolutive): cf. *Viśaḷadevarāsa* 4.6, 93.6.

At the opposite statistical extreme lies the song *bhomiyaṇī ro nevto* mentioned on p. 352, above. It is sung by Pābūjī *bhopos*, and it contains large numbers of formulae occurring in the Pābūjī epic. Thus, for example, of the first 20 couplets sung by Parbū Bhopo, 14 contain at least one such formula, including a significant number containing more than one. There is clearly good reason here to suppose that the song postdates the epic, and that it has been constructed out of the materials closest to hand—the formulae of the metrically related epic of Pābūjī.

The *Viśaḷadevarāsa* too contains numbers of formulae, of which some recur in the modern epics, most notably—as far as available evidence suggests—in that of Devnārāyaṇ. For instance, an extract from the epic appears as band B5 of the gramophone record OCR 26/RIKS LP 10, and in it occur the following two couplets:⁴⁴

{ *gāvai māṅgaḷācāra, [bhōja na]*
 [*māṅgaḷācāra, xxxxxxx* ⁴⁵] *kaḷasa vāṇḍāvai kāmānyā*
 { *gāvai [ī] māṅgaḷācāra, [jī]*
 [*cāra,*] *dhina dhina [e] mātā dharata rī*

Compare *Viśaḷadevarāsa* 10.5, 14.3, 17.2, 12.6, 96.6:

kāmaṇī gāvai māṅgaḷācyāra
māṅgaḷa gāvai kāmāṇī
sāta saṣī mīlī kaḷasa vāṇḍāi
dhani dhani ho vīsaḷa cahuāmṇa
dhana dhana deva tūṃhī jagānātha

As a concluding example I should like to quote an instance in which a particular textual formula has persisted over a period of time in the course of which its meaning has changed. It was Professor Burrow himself⁴⁶ who gently pointed out my error in translating *Viśaḷadevarāsa* 108.3, *mūṅgaphaṭī sī āṅgūṭī*, as 'her fingers [were] like groundnuts': the groundnut was unknown in fifteenth-century India. Yet modern *mūṅgaphaṭī* means, unequivocally, 'groundnut'; so that when a modern Devnārāyaṇ singer sings *mūṅgaphaṭī sī āgaḷī* (P3.G3.2 in Miller's typescript), that is what he must mean. Thus whilst Rajasthani ladies' fingers may once have resembled *Phaseolus mungo* L., nowadays they resemble *Arachis hypogaea* L.; and yet neither text nor finger has changed its shape during the intervening centuries.

⁴⁴ The repetition is a standard feature of Devnārāyaṇ epic performance.

⁴⁵ Words indistinct.

⁴⁶ *BSOAS*, xii, 1, 1978, 179.

DĪ- AND UDDĪ- 'TO FLY' IN INDO-ARYAN

By R. L. TURNER

The root *dī-* is found in the *R̥gveda* some 13 times as *dīyati* and once as *dāyate* (*dāyamāna-*), including once each with the preverbs *nis* and *pāri*, and once in *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* in the intensive *dēdīyitavāt*. Pali has *dayati* (beside *dēti*) = *uppatati*.

Among the modern languages this exists still in Shina *dīzoiki* 'to fall' (semantically cf. *pātati* 'flies, falls'), and possibly Himācali¹ *dīṇō* 'to snow' ('*iū dīa* 'snow falls'), *dīṇ*, *dīṇ* f. 'snowfall', for which T. R. Joshi in his *Dictionary of the Pahari dialects* has *dīṇu*, *dīṇu* 'to snow', though this *-h-* and the level tone of Him. *i* are favourable to Hendriksen's perhaps semantically less likely derivation from **dīhati* (*dēhati* 'smears'), and in any case *-h-* is lost in both dialects, e.g. ktg. *dīṇō*, kc. *grāṇo* < *dāhati*, *ulgrāhayati*. Possibly also Ashkun and Waigali *dī-*, Kati *dī-*, Shumashti and Gawar-Bati *dī-* 'to go', though Morgenstierne NTS ii 253 derives rather from *ātiyēti* (but cf. Him. ktg. kc. *deṇō*, *-o* 'to go' < *dayatē* 'flies' also in *Naighanṭuka* with the meaning *gatikarman-*).

This *dī-* last appears in *ŚBr.* in one form only, namely the infinitive of the intensive. In Sanskrit it is replaced by *ḍī-*, in Pāṇini and in frequent forms in the Epic language, whether this is due to the random representation of Indo-Iranian dentals by Indo-aryan dentals or cerebrals, as e.g. Pali *ḍahati*, *ḍamsati* beside Skt. *dāhati*, *dāmsati*,² or whether according to Mayrhofer, *EWA*, I, 460 it is possibly to be attributed to the influence of **nīḍī-* (seen once only in RV as *nīradīyam*), which, if it had not been reconstituted as *nīrdī-*, would have appeared in Old Indian as **nīḍī-* (RV **nīḍī-*).³

The simple verb *dayatē* appears in Pāṇini and *ḍīyatē* in *Dhātupāṭha* and with many different preverbs (*ati*, *abhi*, *ava*, *ud*, *prōd*, *ni*, *parā*, *pari*, *pra*, *vi*, *sam*, *avasam*, but not *nis*) in the Epic language. Among the Middle and New Indo-aryan languages: Pa. *dēti* 'flies', Gawar-Bati *dēi-* 'to flee', Bashkarik *dā-*; Assamese *deiba* 'to slip over', *deo* 'jump'; Oriya *deibā* 'to jump', *dīḍibā* 'to toss up', *dīā* 'throbbing'; Him. ktg. kc. *deṇō*, *-o* 'to go', Joshi *deṇu* < *dayatē* (with meaning given in *Naighanṭuka* as '*gatikarman-*'). Hendriksen on account of *u* and *w* and *o* in Dogri present *ḍoa* suggests contamination with *davati* or *drāvati*.

The NIA languages preserve only one of the numerous compound verbs with *ḍī-* of the Epic language, namely that with the preverb *ud*, giving Pa. *uddēti*, Pk. *uddēi* and the general NIA word 'to fly': Lahnda *uddan*, Panjabi *uddnā*, Kumaoni *urno*, Nepali *urnu*, Assamese *uriba*, Bengali *urā*, Oriya *uribā*, Old Maithili *udai*, Bihari *urab*, Bhojpuri *urab*, Hindi *urnā*, Old Marwari *ūdai*, Gujarati *udvū*, Marathi *udnē*: in each case with the appropriate representation of MIA *-dd-*.⁴

One of the peculiarities of the Himācali dialects disclosed by Hendriksen

¹ The vocabularies of the two dialects, spoken in the Simla district, Kotgarh and Kotl, are set out in his invaluable *Himachali studies*, I *Vocabulary* by Professor Hans Hendriksen, København, 1976.

² A view strongly supported by Professor Burrow to whom this note is addressed in honour of his great contribution to Sanskrit and Dravidian etymology.

³ Compare the development of **nīḍī-* and reconstituted *nīrdī-* in the penultimate paragraph below.

⁴ *Collected Papers*, 239-56.

is the loss of an initial vowel before a following heavy syllable: thus *khoṛ* 'walnut' < *aksōṭa*, *genno* 'kindling' < **agnidhānya*, *geṭṭho* 'fire-place' < *agnisṭhā*, *gōw* 'ahead' < **agramukha*, *g'wāl* 'embrace' < *ankapālī*, *garṭho* 'charcoal' < **āṅgāriṣṭha*, *guṭho* 'thumb' < *āṅguṣṭhā*, *j'usnō* 'to be lighted up, get burnt' < **adhyusyatē* (*adhyusitē* 'at dawn' *MBh.*), *nādz* 'corn' < *annādyā*, *ṭhāra* '18' < *aṣṭādaśa*, *cušnō* (with level tone on *u*) 'to be burnt' < *atyusyatē* (cf. **adhyusyatē* above, *āti* with *dah-* in *SBr.*, and *Pa.* and *Pk.* *accunha* < **atyusna*; *Ku.* *ciśno*, *LSI*, ix, 4, 269 'to burn' < **atyusati* and *Joshi coṣṇu* 'to burn' tr. < **atyōṣati*) rather than with *Hendriksen* < *cūṣati* 'sucks' which is semantically less acceptable.

If the initial vowel is *u-* or *ō-*, it is transposed into the following syllable: *tsuwalno* 'to pick up' < **uccālayati*, *twano* 'supine' < *uttānd-*, *pwaro* 'miraculous feat' < *utpāta*, *pwar* 'hill' < **utpāhāda*, *g'warṇō* 'to open' < *udghāṭa-yati*, *ḍwār* 'cave' < **uddāra*, *d'wār* 'loan' < *uddhāra*, *d'wārṇō* 'to borrow' < *uddhārayati*.

After *r* or before *o* or *u* (< earlier *-p-*) this *u* is lost or absorbed: *grāno* 'to collect revenue' < *udgrāhayati*; *corno* 'to flee' < **uccaṭati*, *podznō* 'to grow' < *utpadyatē*; *tauḷo* 'rash' < **uttāpala*, *dz'euṇō* 'to wake up' < **ujjhāpayati*, *Pa.* *ujjhāpēti*. (*u'tarno* 'to take clothes off' instead of expected **twarṇo* < *uttārayati* is a loan from Panjabi or Hindi or reconstruction after *uttarṇō* 'to come down' < *ūtatarati* in which before a light syllable preservation of *u-* is regular.)

In the Kocī sub-dialect of Himācalī in which MIA *-ḍḍ-* > *-ṛ-* (e.g. *Pk.* *buddha* > *buṛ'o* ~ *ktg.* *budd'o*) 'to fly' is *uṛno* < *Pk.* *uddar* or *uddēi* (unless it is a loan from Hindi) in which initial *u-*, not being followed by a heavy syllable, remains. On the other hand in the West Kocī sub-dialect another form of the root-syllable is preserved, namely *dyā-* (~ *daya-* or *dī-*) in the present **uddriyāti* > **uddiyā-* and, with *u-* attracted into the following heavy syllable, **ḍwiyā-*. Alternative forms were produced which lost either *w* or *y* and were recorded as *ḍwāṇo* or *ḍyāṇo* 'to fly'. Similarly the causative *uddāpayati* > *ḍwaṇo*.

In the Koṭgarhī sub-dialect MIA *-ḍḍ-* remained: an **uddiyā-* would have become *uddē-* and, with transposition of *u-*, **ḍwē-*. Instead *Hendriksen* records *ṛeuṇō*, *ṛēṇō*, caus. *ṛauṇō*: that is, the previous stage must have been **ūr-* with Sanskrit (Old Indian) *-ṛ-*, not *-ḍḍ-*.

Hendriksen suggests that the Koṭgarhī form was derived from **uddriyā-* which also possessed the unexplained *r*: Sindhi *uḍiranu*, Lahnda *uḍran* (whence caus. *udāran*), Panjabi *ḍog.* *uḍarnā*, W. Pahari khaś. *uḍarnu*, bhal. *uḍirnu* in which *r* may have resulted from contamination with **uddrāti* 'flees' in Kati *vudra*, Bagromatal *undra* 'to fly'. But the Si. Lah. Pj. and WPah. forms seem rather to have an affix *ar/ir*. In any case, on phonetic grounds it seems unlikely that *-ḍḍr-* should develop into *-ṛ-* when *dr* > *ḍḍ* in *vaḍra* > *baḍḍo* 'big', *oḍra* > *oḍ* 'carpenter', **bhedrapāla* > *baḍ'āḷo* 'shepherd'.⁵

But it may be that in *ṛeuṇō*, caus. *ṛauṇō* Koṭgarhī has preserved pre-Vedic **uddriyāti* > **ud'diyā-* > **uḍiyā-* > **ūde-* > **ūre-* > *ṛeu-* for which in Epic and Classical Sanskrit, the cerebral form *ḍī-* having become general, a reconstruction with *ud* would preserve the preverb little changed and the new initial of the root unchanged. Elsewhere⁶ I have given several examples of

⁵ *Ktg.* *b'er* 'sheep: of. Sk. *bhēda* ~ *bhēdra*; but since *dr* of *bhēdra* is attested in W.Pah. bhalesi *bhēdd*, cameali *bhradd*, *b'er* may be a loan from Kocī in which *-ṛ-* represents either.

⁶ *Collected Papers*, 402-4.

such forms which, phonetic changes having obscured the derivation, have been reconstituted in Epic or even Vedic Sanskrit. These 'regularizing' reconstructions have not penetrated all the modern languages in every case, but the descendant of the original form has remained here and there to testify to an older stage of the language. For example, **bud'dhi* > **būdhi* in Ashkun *būrs* 'mind' ~ reconstructed *buddhi-* in S. *budhi* and all other middle and modern languages, **krūdha-* in Hi. *kuṛhnā* 'to be vexed', Mar. *kuḍhā* 'sullen' ~ *kruddha-* in Si. *kudho* 'froward', **śūdha-* in Guj. *sudvū* 'to clear a field of weeds' ~ *suddha-* in Nep. *sudho* 'straight'. Similarly with original **niḍ-dāti* > **nīdāti* in Bg. *nīrā* 'to weed' ~ **nir-dā-* (*nirdātr-* 'weeder, reaper' Mn.) in Guj. *nīdvū* 'to weed', or **duḍdhī-* > *dūdht-* (RV *dūḥt-* 'malevolent') in Waigali *dūrī* 'thief' ~ *durdhī-* MBh. Also with *ud*: *ud-dhvār-* (if with *dhvāratī*, not *hvdratī*, *hvdlatī*) > *ūd-* in Ku. *uṛhālo* 'elopement of married woman', Nep. *urālo jānu* 'to run off (with a girl)', Mth. Bhoj. *uṛharī* 'a woman who has eloped', Hi. *uṛharnā* '(a married woman) to elope', *uṛhārnā* 'to seduce (a married woman)' ~ reconstructed **uddhvāl-* in Lah. *udlhalan* 'to elope with', Pj. *uddhalaṇā*, Hi. *udhalaṇā* 'to be seduced', Guj. *udhalvū* 'to run off (of a woman)', Mar. *udhalṇē* 'to run off (of a tenant)'.

Thus it may be assumed that Kotgarhī, apparently alone, has preserved an original *ūr-* (< **uddiyāti*) in *reunō* or *reñō* and *raunō* while all other Indo-aryan languages have a reconstructed form based on *ḍayatē* (Ṭa. *uddēti*).⁷

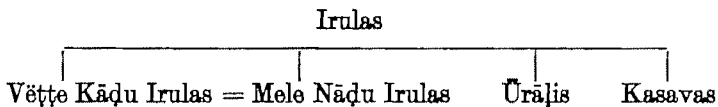
⁷ Kotgarhī seems to have other archaic features: for example in the survival of vocabulary recorded by Professor Hendriksen, one word *śihḍram* which occurs once only in R̥gveda and once only in a compound *bhūtiśihḍra-*, but nowhere else in Sanskrit, nor in Pāli or Prakrit or in any other modern language, has been handed down in the speech of Himalayan shepherds some 3000 years after its use by a R̥gvedic singer to end up as *thāc* 'summer station on a hill for grazing sheep and goats'.

IRULA RIDDLES¹

By K. V. ZVELEBIL

1. INTRODUCTION

The Irulas² are a tribal complex of four tribes inhabiting the lower slopes of the northern, eastern and southern parts of the Nilgiri mountains of South India. They speak a tribal language of their own—the *ērla narya*—in four dialects; it belongs, historically, to the Tamil-Malayalam group of South Dravidian.³ Two of the tribes intermarry, so that the Irula complex forms a tribal group of three endogamous units. Linguistically and from the point of social organization, the Irula situation may be thus symbolized as



The creativity of Irula-speaking tribes finds expression mostly in music,⁴ dance, and above all, in verbal art.⁵ They have a wealth of oral traditions characteristic for most pre-literary cultures; though modernization—thus far mostly in the socio-economic sphere—has had its impact on the Irula-speaking tribes, the absolute majority of the Irulas are still illiterate. Hence story-telling, oral rendering of myths, legends and genealogies, and other forms of verbal art are still very much alive.

One of the very frequent forms of oral literature among the Irulas is the numerous riddles. During my recent field-trip to the Nilgiris⁶ I collected about four dozen riddles among the three Irula-speaking communities of Vēṭṭe Kāḍar, Mele Nāḍar and Ūrālis. A few characteristic features of the riddles should be pointed out. First, many of the riddles were common to the three communities mentioned above, and while this is not at all surprising as far as the Vēṭṭe Kāḍar and Mele Nāḍar are concerned—since these communities

¹ This paper is offered to Professor Thomas Burrow, one of the great discoverers of hitherto unknown or undescribed Dravidian languages.

² The Irulas call themselves *ērla*, pl. *ērlaru*; in some dialects, *īrla/īrla*.

³ cf. K. V. Zvelebil, 'Irula—a South Dravidian language', *New Orient Bimonthly*, III, Prague, 1968, 94–5; K. V. Zvelebil, *The Irula language*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1973. During my last field-trip to the Nilgiris, it was established beyond doubt that the Irula language has four main dialects: Vette Kāḍu, Mele Nāḍu, Ūrāli and Kasava. The first of these (VK) is spoken by Vette Kāḍaru, on the southern lower slopes of the Nilgiris, and in a few valleys of the Kerala part of the Nilgiri mountains, notably the Attapadi Valley. The second (MN), probably the most prestigious, dialect, is spoken by the Mele Nāḍaru, on the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern slopes of the mountains. Ūrāli Irula is spoken by the tribe of the Ūrālis north of Satyamangalam in the Coimbatore district, towards the Karnataka border. Kasava is spoken by the Kasavas, a small tribe on the northern and north-western lower Nilgiri plateau, next to the Wynad area.

⁴ The Irulas use three wind instruments: the *ko:lu* / *koalu* / *kogalu* (cf. Ta. *kulal*, DED 1511), a kind of oboe made of wood with sonorous higher tone; *bugari* (DED 3482), a thin bamboo flute with very deep sound, and a smaller bamboo flute with higher sound with five plus one holes. They also use a variety of drums, the main among them the *pore*, the *davilu*, the *ta:la* and the *calange*; also *tamboṭṭe* and *mattali* drums.

⁵ Different Nilgiri tribes manifest their creativity in different ways and through different channels. Thus e.g. whereas the creativity of the Todas is manifested mostly in the high skill of *ad hoc* composition of songs, in dance, and, above all, in the famous Toda embroidery (but not in any outstanding narrative skill or composition of stories), in contrast the Irulas do not have any outstanding material culture of their own or any great skills in manufacturing objects, but manifest high creativity in the narrative art, story telling, playing of flutes and oboes and drums, and dancing.

⁶ In February–April 1978.

intermarry and live in contiguous areas—it was somewhat striking in the case of the Ūrālīs who form a strictly endogamous tribe and live nowadays in discontinuous and somewhat remote areas. Obviously, verbal art like riddles goes rather with the linguistic division (Ūrālī is clearly a dialect of Irula) than with (probably more recent?) social and geographic divisions; in any case, the identity of the riddles underlines the deep linguistic and cultural unity of the Irula-speaking communities. Second, the riddles are favourites with all age-groups, from the oldest members of the community to small children. Third, as far as the formal structure of the riddles is concerned, they begin with the text of the riddle, followed invariably by the question *ad' enna/ adu-y-enna*? 'What's that, what is it?', followed by brief answer.⁷

The following thirty-nine riddles have been arranged according to certain topics like parts of the body, tools, plants, nature, etc. I make no distinction in the arrangement among Mele Nāḍu Irula, Vēṭṭe Kāḍu Irula, and Ūrālī riddles; however, this tribal-cum-dialect division is indicated in brackets by the following symbols: MN, VK and Ur. Each riddle is followed by brief linguistic notes, and, if necessary, by explanatory notes.

2. TEXT OF THE RIDDLES

1a. *naḍu*⁽¹⁾ *vereli*⁽²⁾ *oru*⁽³⁾ *kuruvi*⁽⁴⁾ *kuḍu*⁽⁵⁾. *adu*⁽⁶⁾-y-*enna*⁽⁷⁾? A⁽³⁾ bird's⁽⁴⁾ nest⁽⁵⁾ in the middle⁽¹⁾ of the rock⁽²⁾. What⁽⁷⁾ [is] that⁽⁶⁾? *adu*⁽⁸⁾ *pokku*⁽⁹⁾. That⁽⁸⁾ [is] the navel⁽⁹⁾. (MN)

vere-li. *vere* 'rock, rocky slope' + loc. suff. -*li*.

1b. *naḍu vereli oru kuriivi kuḍu*. *ad' enna*? *adu bokku* (VK)

2. *naḍu*⁽¹⁾ *vereli*⁽²⁾ *mede*⁽³⁾ *nikkudu*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? A hillock⁽³⁾ stands⁽⁴⁾ in the middle⁽¹⁾ of the rock⁽²⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *mule*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ a breast⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

nikkudu 3p.nt.sg. non-past of *nillu*- 'stand'.

In these two riddles, *naḍu vere* 'the middle rock', is equivalent to our body (Ir. *mōyi*).

3. *naḍu*⁽¹⁾ *vereli*⁽²⁾ *kōyi*⁽³⁾ *vinjugā*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? In the middle⁽¹⁾ of the rock⁽²⁾ he calls by waving⁽⁴⁾ the hand⁽³⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *kaṇṇu*⁽⁸⁾. That⁽⁷⁾ [is] the eye(lid)⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

vinjugā 3p.m.sg. non-past of *vinju* 'to call (by gesture)'; the gesture being the typically Indian moving of the hand as a signal of calling, with the palm down.

4. *namuku*⁽¹⁾ *vanda*⁽²⁾ *nattaḷu*⁽³⁾ *naṇe*⁽⁴⁾ *ariye*⁽⁵⁾. *ad'*⁽⁶⁾ *enna*⁽⁷⁾? I myself⁽⁴⁾ do not know⁽⁵⁾ the guest⁽³⁾ who came⁽²⁾ to us⁽¹⁾. What⁽⁷⁾ [is] that⁽⁶⁾? *adu*⁽⁸⁾ *kaḍu*⁽⁹⁾. That's⁽⁸⁾ the ear⁽⁹⁾. (MN)

namuku dat. of pers. pron. *namu* 'we'.

vanda past rel. part. of *va-*, *varu-* 'to come'.

nattaḷu s.opd. 'guest' (cf. *ILI* 254).

naṇ-e lp.sg. + emph. -*e* 'I myself'.

ariye lp.sg.neg. 'I do not know' (archaic form).

5. *anju*⁽¹⁾ *iṭṭiku*⁽²⁾ *oru*⁽³⁾ *karu*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? One⁽³⁾ handle⁽⁴⁾ for five⁽¹⁾ spears⁽²⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *kōyys*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ a hand⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

iṭṭi-ku. *iṭṭi* 'spear, lance' + dat.suff. -*ku*.

⁷ A very interesting and linguistically important article on the riddles of another Nilgiri Hill tribe, the Pālu Kurumbas, was prepared by Dieter B. Kapp (*BSOAS*, xli, 3, 1978, 512–22). I herewith express my thanks to the author for enabling me to read his paper in the manuscript form.

6. *gēn' illatta*⁽¹⁾ *mūṛiṅga*⁽²⁾ *podeli*⁽³⁾ *bodd' illatta*⁽⁴⁾ *kadame*⁽⁵⁾ *mergina*⁽⁶⁾. *adu*⁽⁷⁾-*y-enna*⁽⁸⁾? In a thicket⁽³⁾ of ringless⁽¹⁾ bamboo⁽²⁾ boneless⁽⁴⁾ sambar-deers⁽⁵⁾ are grazing⁽⁶⁾. What⁽⁸⁾ [is] that⁽⁷⁾? *telemāṇḍe*⁽⁹⁾ *pernu*⁽¹⁰⁾. Hair⁽⁹⁾ [and] lice⁽¹⁰⁾. (Ur.)

gēnu 'ring (on bamboo)'; -*illatta* 'non-existent; without; -less'.

pode-li. *pode* 'thicket' + loc.suff. -*li*.

bodd' illatta 'bone-less, without bones'.

mergina 3p.pl. non-past 'they graze': *meṣ* + non-past -*g* + p.g.n.suff. -*ina*.

7. *muppadu*⁽¹⁾ *kīlikku*⁽²⁾ *ore*⁽³⁾ *bogotṭe*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? One single⁽³⁾ hole⁽⁴⁾ for thirty⁽¹⁾ parrots⁽²⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *pallu*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ the teeth⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

kīli-kku. *kīli* 'parrot' + dat.suff. -*kku*.

or-e. *oru* + emph. *e* 'one single, only one'.

8. *randu*⁽¹⁾ *kurreku*⁽²⁾ *ore*⁽³⁾ *viṭṭa*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? One single⁽³⁾ central beam⁽⁴⁾ for two⁽¹⁾ houses⁽²⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *muṅku*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ the nose⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

9. *idi*⁽¹⁾ *viḍuga*⁽²⁾ *gundu*⁽³⁾ *paṭṭana*⁽⁴⁾ *vandu*⁽⁵⁾ *paṭṭana*⁽⁶⁾ *poṅgudu*⁽⁷⁾. *ad'*⁽⁸⁾ *enna*⁽⁹⁾? A ball⁽³⁾ sent out⁽²⁾ from this place⁽¹⁾ goes⁽⁷⁾ to town⁽⁶⁾ [with the intention to] reach⁽⁵⁾ town⁽⁴⁾. What⁽⁹⁾ [is] it⁽⁸⁾? *adu*⁽¹⁰⁾ *kannu*⁽¹¹⁾. That's⁽¹⁰⁾ the eye⁽¹¹⁾. (MN)

poṅgudu 3p.sg. neut. non-past 'it goes'.

10a. *tarakkambarakkam*⁽¹⁾ *cante*⁽²⁾ *poṅge*⁽³⁾. *ad'*⁽⁴⁾ *enna*⁽⁵⁾? I go⁽³⁾ to the market⁽²⁾ [with the loud sound] *tarakkambarakkam*⁽¹⁾. What's⁽⁵⁾ that⁽⁴⁾? *adu*⁽⁶⁾ *ceruppu*⁽⁷⁾. That's⁽⁶⁾ the sandals⁽⁷⁾. (MN)

poṅge 1p.sg. non-past 'go' (*poṅ-g-e*).

10b. *tarkaporka*⁽¹⁾ *candeki*⁽²⁾ *poṅgā*⁽³⁾. *ad'*⁽⁴⁾ *enna*⁽⁵⁾? He goes⁽³⁾ to the market⁽²⁾ [with the sound] *tarkaporka*⁽¹⁾. What's⁽⁵⁾ that⁽⁴⁾? *adu*⁽⁶⁾ *ceruppu*⁽⁷⁾. That's⁽⁶⁾ the sandals⁽⁷⁾. (Ur.)

poṅgā 3p.m.sg. non-past 'he goes' (*poṅ-g-ā*).

11. *uḷḷaṅgōydeṛnnumu*⁽¹⁾ *ariyapaḍaṛ*⁽²⁾. *poṅaṅgōydeṛnnumu*⁽³⁾ *ariyapaḍaṛ*⁽⁴⁾. *ore*⁽⁵⁾-*y-ele*⁽⁶⁾. If you say 'the palm of the hand'⁽¹⁾, it will not be seen⁽²⁾, and if you say 'the back of the hand'⁽³⁾, it will not be seen [either]⁽⁴⁾, such a⁽⁵⁾ leaf⁽⁶⁾. *ad'*⁽⁷⁾ *enna*⁽⁸⁾. What⁽⁸⁾ [is] that⁽⁷⁾? *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *cīle*⁽¹⁰⁾. It's⁽⁹⁾ a garment⁽¹⁰⁾. (MN)

uḷḷaṅgōydeṛnnumu. *uḷḷaṅgōy* cpd.s. 'the palm of the hand' + *deṛ* 'emph. particle' (cf. Ta. *tāṇ*) + 'nnu + -mu, ger. of *en* 'to say so-and-so' + -mu 'and; even; also' (cf. Ta. -um).

ariya-paḍaṛ. Inf. *ariya* 'to know, be visible, be seen' + *paḍaṛ* neg. of *paḍu*, auxiliary, 'not convenient, unfit, impossible' (productive in Old and Middle Tamil, not in Modern Tamil).

cīle is primarily the Ir. designation of the Hindu-style many-coloured female dress (sari), whereas the one-coloured (usually dark-red, purple, dark green, dark blue) tribal type of female dress, worn in the tribal fashion (both shoulders uncovered, dress tied in the back under the shoulder blades, in front just about covering the breasts) is called *vanna*. In this riddle, the *cīle* is compared to a (large) leaf which while walking, moves, flutters and flaps so that one cannot see well either the front or the back, the upper or the under part.

12. *ar*⁽¹⁾ *ana*⁽²⁾ *de*⁽³⁾ *ancukallu*⁽⁴⁾. *mur*⁽⁵⁾ *ana*⁽⁶⁾ *de*⁽⁷⁾ *mirnc*⁽⁸⁾ *uḷḷallu*⁽⁹⁾. *ombad*⁽¹⁰⁾ *ana*⁽¹¹⁾ *daraganda*⁽¹²⁾. *ad'*⁽¹³⁾ *enna*⁽¹⁴⁾? Six⁽¹⁾ annas⁽²⁾ [worth] bead⁽⁴⁾, only⁽⁷⁾ three⁽⁵⁾ annas⁽³⁾ [worth] glittering⁽⁸⁾ stone⁽⁹⁾, nine⁽¹⁰⁾ annas⁽¹¹⁾ [worth]

door-frame⁽¹²⁾, what's⁽¹⁴⁾ that⁽¹³⁾? *adu*⁽¹⁵⁾ *ta:ḷi*⁽¹⁶⁾. That's⁽¹⁵⁾ a *tāḷi*⁽¹⁶⁾ (marriage-necklace). (VK)

Married Irula women, like South Indian Hindus, wear nowadays the typical *tāḷi* or marriage-badge, which is compared in this riddle to a door (*darra*, IA loanword!) frame (*ganda*) worth nine annas, filled with beads and glittering stones. For *mi:ncu*⁽⁹⁾ 'to glitter' cf. Ka. *miñcu* (Ta. *min*, DED 3994). The form *murru*⁽⁵⁾ 'three' (DED 4147 Ka. *mūru*) is odd in Irula; but then the lexical material of this riddle is all strongly 'Kannadized'.

13. *aḷag'uḷḷa*⁽¹⁾ *pombiḷḷeki*⁽²⁾ *aḷeyiḷi*⁽³⁾ *ortte*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? A beautiful⁽¹⁾ girl⁽²⁾ [has] a hole⁽⁴⁾ in the side of [her] body⁽³⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] it⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *ta:ḷi*⁽⁸⁾. It's⁽⁷⁾ a *tāḷi*. (Ur.)

aḷagu s. 'beauty' + *-uḷḷa* post. 'possessing' → *aḷag'uḷḷa* 'beautiful'; *pombiḷḷe-ki* dat.possess.

aḷe-y-iḷi. *aḷe* 'side of the body; waist' + loc.suff. *-iḷi*. The beads of *tāḷis* or marriage-badges used to have a hole in the middle; these hollow *tāḷis* are considered traditional and old-fashioned.

14. *porga porga*⁽¹⁾ *bodaḷḷuḷḷe*⁽²⁾ *kōyi*⁽³⁾ *viḍuga*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? As [one] goes and goes⁽¹⁾, [one] lets⁽⁴⁾ [one's] hand⁽³⁾ inside the bush⁽²⁾. What's⁽⁶⁾ that⁽⁵⁾? *adu* *curukkupāyri*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ a small string-bag⁽⁸⁾. (VK)

boda-kku-uḷḷe. *boda* 'bush, low jungle' + dat.suff. + postp. *-uḷḷe* 'inside'. *curukkupāyri* ['surukku'pāyri], a cpd. subst. (lit. contract/furl/close + bag) designating a small cotton bag with a string to tie it close; worn (traditionally) in the knot of the *vēṣṭi*, or round the neck on a string.

15. *vēṭṭina*⁽¹⁾ *kōneli*⁽²⁾ *kōyi*⁽³⁾ *kuḡugudu*⁽⁴⁾. *adu-y-enna*⁽⁶⁾? A cock⁽³⁾ is cooing⁽⁴⁾ in a cut-off⁽¹⁾ branch⁽²⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *koarlu*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ an oboe⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

vēṭṭina past rel. partic. of *vēṭṭu* 'to cut, cut off, chop off'.

kōne-li. *kōne* 'branch of a tree' + loc.suff. *-li*.

kuḡugudu 3p.nt.sg. non-past of *kuḡu* 'to cry, coo, call (as a bird)'.

koarlu, *korlu* (MN), *kogalu* (VK) is one of the two most frequently used musical instruments of the Irulas, a wooden oboe with sonorous tone; it has six holes; the bell is usually adorned with carvings; the mouthpiece is a rather complex and delicate piece of work.

16. *kattāle*⁽¹⁾ *ku:reli*⁽²⁾ *drumbi*⁽³⁾ *mīrugudu*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? A bee⁽³⁾ is humming⁽⁴⁾ in a dark⁽¹⁾ house⁽²⁾. What's⁽⁶⁾ that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *vī:cunḷallu*⁽⁸⁾. It's⁽⁷⁾ a grinding stone⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

17. *karr*⁽¹⁾ *naryi*⁽²⁾ *va:ḷuku*⁽³⁾ *vēḷḷi*⁽⁴⁾ *pīḍi*⁽⁵⁾ *pīḍipicikkaṛru*⁽⁶⁾. *ad'*⁽⁷⁾ *enna*⁽⁸⁾? They have fixed⁽⁶⁾ a silver⁽⁴⁾ anklet⁽⁵⁾ to the tail⁽³⁾ of a black⁽¹⁾ dog⁽²⁾. What⁽⁸⁾ [is] that⁽⁷⁾? *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *lakka*⁽¹⁰⁾. That's⁽⁹⁾ a pestle⁽¹⁰⁾. (MN)

va:ḷu-ku. *va:ḷu* 'tail' + dat.suff. *-ku*.

pīḍipicikkaṛru, a cpd. verb form, 3p.pl. personal perfect tense from the causative verb *pīḍipi-* 'to cause to hold, to fasten, to fix to'; + past-tense marker *-cci*; + finite verb form of *iru* (auxiliary of perfect); *irukkaṛru* → *-kkaṛru*.

18. *kannarḍi*⁽¹⁾ *ku:rekkuḷḷe*⁽²⁾ *renda:ḷu*⁽³⁾ *aḍugaru*⁽⁴⁾. *reṇḍu*⁽⁵⁾ *ṇṇan*⁽⁶⁾ *tambi*⁽⁷⁾ *aḍugaru*⁽⁸⁾. *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *-y-enna*⁽¹⁰⁾? Two people⁽³⁾—two⁽⁵⁾ [brothers], elder⁽⁶⁾ [and] younger brother⁽⁷⁾, dance^(4,8) in a glass⁽¹⁾-house⁽²⁾. What⁽¹⁰⁾ [is] that⁽⁹⁾? *adu*⁽¹¹⁾ *voccu*⁽¹²⁾. 'That's⁽¹¹⁾ a watch⁽¹²⁾. (MN)

arūgaru 3p.pl. personal non-past, *arū* 'to dance' + non-past tense -g- + p.g.n.suff. -aru.

* *voccu* [wotʃu] < Engl. *watch*.

19. *arīdivaci*⁽¹⁾ *pōndruku*⁽²⁾ *kundacari*⁽³⁾ *mole*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? *Ādivāsī*⁽¹⁾ women⁽²⁾ [have] back-side⁽³⁾ breasts⁽⁴⁾. What's⁽⁶⁾ that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *mura*⁽⁸⁾ That's⁽⁷⁾ a winnowing fan⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

arīdivaci was pronounced [a·divætʃi]; the use of this term is of course an innovation in imitation of the 'official' designation of the tribals as *ādivāsīs* 'the original (*ādi*) inhabitants (*vāsī*)' (of India). It is deemed to carry respect and prestige.

pōndruku. *pōndru* < *pōndiru* pl. 'women' (with the old suffix -iru < *-ir) + dat.suff. -ku.

* *kundacari* (often also *kundacāri*), a cpd. subst. meaning 'back-side' (usually of the body). The Irulas seem to be obsessed with the notion of 'back-side breasts'; they have even stories about women having breasts on the reverse side of the body (see forthcoming *Irula texts*). The winnowing fan is compared to a 'dark' *Ādivāsī* woman with back-side breasts because there are two protrusions on the back part of the winnowing fan.

20. *cīringa*⁽¹⁾ *cīṭṭeku*⁽²⁾ *oru*⁽³⁾ *mula*⁽⁴⁾ *varlu*⁽⁵⁾. *ad'*⁽⁶⁾ *enna*⁽⁷⁾? The *cīringa cīṭṭe*⁽¹⁻²⁾ bird [has] a tail⁽⁵⁾ one⁽³⁾ cubit⁽⁴⁾ long. What⁽⁷⁾ [is] that⁽⁶⁾? *adu*⁽⁸⁾ *cimaruru*⁽⁹⁾. It's⁽⁸⁾ a broom⁽⁹⁾. (VK)

cīringa cīṭṭe was glossed as a pretty little bird, a kind of swallow; *cīṭṭe* (DED 2073 Ta. *cīṭṭu*, Tu. *cīṭṭe*) means 'a small bird'; in Ta., 'anything small'. *mula*, Ta. *mulam* (DED 4093) 'cubit'.

21. *dēne*⁽¹⁾ *pakka*⁽²⁾ *dīṭṭu*⁽³⁾ *ērā*⁽⁴⁾ *maṭṭarṅga*⁽⁵⁾. *ad'*⁽⁶⁾ *enna*⁽⁷⁾? They won't⁽⁶⁾ go up⁽⁴⁾ the edge⁽³⁾ at the side of⁽²⁾ the veranda⁽¹⁾. What's⁽⁷⁾ that⁽⁶⁾? *adu*⁽⁸⁾ *rallu*⁽⁹⁾.⁸ It's⁽⁸⁾ a mortar⁽⁹⁾. (VK)

* *dēne*; in other Ir. dialects, *dīne*, *dīne*, *dīne*, an important part of the Irula house: the veranda in front of the house, or around the house, several feet above the ground level; a mud platform under the eaves of the roof on which people relax and sit talking, smoking, joking, etc. The social life takes part to a great extent on the *dīne*.

maṭṭarṅga 3p.pl.pers.negative auxiliary 'they won't'.

rallu (DED 560 Ta. *ural*). Husking is done with the wooden mortar (*rallu*) and pestle *lakke*, *lakkā* (DED 580 Ta. *ulakkā*); *rallu* is a high cylindrical block of wood with a central depression at the top; the grain which is to be husked or pounded is put into this depression; *lakke* is a long, heavy, cylindrical piece usually of *nurra* or *narva* (*jambū*-tree) wood (while the trunk of the jackfruit tree is used for making the *rallu*).

22. *adappa*⁽¹⁾ *kombili*⁽²⁾ *doddappa*⁽³⁾ *durṅguga*⁽⁴⁾.⁹ *ade*⁽⁵⁾-y-*enna*⁽⁶⁾? On a large side-branch⁽¹⁻²⁾ swings⁽⁴⁾ grandfather⁽³⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *cakke-kayi*⁽⁸⁾.¹⁰ That⁽⁷⁾ [is] the jack-fruit⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

adappa was glossed as a 'large side-bough' (of any wide-branched tree) *kombili*. *kombu* 'branch, bough' + loc.suff. -ili.

durṅguga 3p.sg.m. non-past *durṅgu* 'to hang; sleep'.

* 23. *erunuru*⁽¹⁾ *korāṅgu*⁽²⁾ *ore*⁽³⁾ *varl*⁽⁴⁾ *ta*⁽⁵⁾. *ad'*⁽⁶⁾ *enna*⁽⁷⁾? Two hundred⁽¹⁾

⁸ An alternative answer was *rallu kuyi* 'the mortar-pit' (i.e. the central depression in the mortar).

⁹ An alternative form quoted by a different informant: *ne:ṭuga*.

¹⁰ An alternative answer was *te:nu* 'honey-comb'.

monkeys⁽²⁾ [have] only⁽⁵⁾ one single⁽³⁾ tail⁽⁴⁾. What's⁽⁷⁾ that⁽⁶⁾? *adu*⁽⁸⁾ *vā:kolle*⁽⁹⁾. That's⁽⁸⁾ a banana-bunch⁽⁹⁾. (MN)¹¹
korangu (also *koranku*) is the big black monkey (Nilgiri langur; the smaller brownish monkey is called *kordā*.

24. *aṛe*⁽¹⁾-*y-illa:da*⁽²⁾ *pille*⁽³⁾ *pēruḡa oru pēndu*⁽⁵⁾, *ad'*⁽⁶⁾ *enna*⁽⁷⁾? A woman⁽⁵⁾ without⁽²⁾ husband⁽¹⁾ gets⁽⁴⁾ children⁽³⁾, what's⁽⁷⁾ that⁽⁶⁾? *a-ru*⁽⁸⁾ *vā:kolle*⁽⁹⁾. That's⁽⁸⁾ a banana-bunch⁽⁹⁾. (VK)

25. *manca*⁽¹⁾ *kūriv*⁽²⁾ *nenca*⁽³⁾ *pīlandu*⁽⁴⁾ *bagavarnuku*⁽⁵⁾ *puṛje*⁽⁶⁾. *ad'*⁽⁷⁾ *enna*⁽⁸⁾? The heart⁽³⁾ of a yellow⁽¹⁾ bird⁽²⁾ split⁽⁴⁾ open—in worship⁽⁶⁾ of the Lord⁽⁵⁾. What's⁽⁸⁾ that⁽⁷⁾? *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *vā:epammu*⁽¹⁰⁾. That's⁽⁹⁾ a banana⁽¹⁰⁾. (MN)

pīlandu ger. from *pīla-* 'to split, crack, etc.'

bagavarnuku dat. *bagavarn* < lw. Ta. or Ma. < Skt. *bhagavān*.

puṛje 'worship' < lw. Ta. or Ma. < Skt. *pūjā*.

vā:epammu cpd.s. *vā:e* 'banana, plantain' (DED 4403 Ta. *vā:la*) + *pammu* 'ripe fruit' (DED 3299 Ta. *paḷam*).

An example of profound Sanskritization-Hinduization.

26. *karnanjo:leli*⁽¹⁾ *kambuḷi*⁽²⁾ *ku:kuṭṭukkar*⁽³⁾, *adu*⁽⁴⁾ *a:ru*⁽⁵⁾? He squats⁽³⁾ in the deep forest⁽¹⁾ [covering his head with] a rug⁽²⁾. Who⁽⁵⁾ [is] that⁽⁴⁾? *adu*⁽⁶⁾ *nurapammu*⁽⁷⁾. It's⁽⁶⁾ a *jambū*-fruit⁽⁷⁾. (MN)

karnanjo:leli cpd.s. *karnan* + *jo:le* + loc.suff. *-li*; the cpd.s. is made up of *karna* + morphophon. *-n-* (DED 1194) 'forest tract, woodland' + *co:le* (DED 2357) 'jungle'.

kambuḷi, lw. from Ta., Ma. or Ka. < lw. IA, cf. DBIA 76 Skt. *kambala*, Pa, Pkt. *kambala*, etc.).

ku:kuṭṭukkar 3p.m.sg. of a cpd. verb-form *ku:ku-* 'to squat' + *-ṭu* (< *vidu*) + *-kka:* (< *iru*).

nurapammu cpd.s. *nura* 'jambū' + *pammu* (DED 3299) 'fruit'. *Jambū*-fruits grow in small black bunches on the boughs of the *jambū*-trees ('rose-apple').

27. *to:uritta*⁽¹⁾ *munne*⁽²⁾ *cante*⁽³⁾ *cuṭṭuḡudu*⁽⁴⁾, *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? A skinned⁽¹⁾ hare⁽²⁾ roams⁽⁴⁾ in the market⁽³⁾. What's⁽⁶⁾ that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *ṭeḷi*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ a tamarind⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

uritta past rel.part. *uri* 'to peel off, etc.'; *to:ḷ* 'skin' + *uritta*.

munne; other forms *munna* (Kas.), *monna* (DED, DEDS 4071). Cf. III item 407; *cuṭṭuḡudu* 3p.nt.sg. *cuṭṭu* 'to roam, go about, etc.'

Before it is sold, the outer skin of tamarind fruit is removed; hence the possibility of the riddle.

28. *curuṅga*⁽¹⁾ *moṭṭiya*⁽²⁾ *cante*⁽³⁾ *a:ḡuḡa*⁽⁴⁾. *ade*⁽⁵⁾-*y-enna*⁽⁶⁾? A wrinkled⁽¹⁾ scrotum⁽²⁾ dancing⁽⁴⁾ in the market-place⁽³⁾. What⁽⁶⁾ [is] that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *kurumalagu*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ pepper⁽⁸⁾. (VK)

curuṅga inf. in attrib. function, cf. DED 2213, Ta. *curuṅku* 'to shrink, wrinkle, be creased, etc.'

moṭṭiya s. 'scrotum, scrotum with testicles, testicles'; other dialects *moṭṭe*, cf. DED 4048 Ta. *moṭṭai*, Ka. *moṭṭe* 'egg, ovum, testis'.

¹¹ Another version of the same riddle: *aṛyira korangeku ore: vā:lu* (MN) 'a thousand monkeys [have] one single tail'.

¹² The very unusual word-order of this utterance (the 'regular', statistically absolutely prevalent WO would be 12534) is most probably due to the fact that it is a riddle, with specific emphatic relationships.

¹³ Another reading: *cuṭṭivarugudu* 'comes roaming'; yet another version: *a:ḡuḡudu* 'moves about, dances'.

29. *toluritta*⁽¹⁾ *monna*⁽²⁾ *cante*⁽³⁾ *adudu*⁽⁴⁾. *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? A skinned⁽¹⁾ hare⁽²⁾ roams⁽⁴⁾ in the market⁽³⁾. What's⁽⁶⁾ that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *bōngiya*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ onion⁽⁸⁾. (VK.) Cf. No. 27.

bōngiya, MN *vēngiya*; other dialects also *veṅgaya*, cf. Ta. *venkāyam*, *venkāyam* 'onion'.

30. *aryira*⁽¹⁾ *taccar*⁽²⁾ *kaṭṭina*⁽³⁾ *koṭṭe*⁽⁴⁾ *ore*⁽⁵⁾ *kannili*⁽⁶⁾ *parttar*⁽⁷⁾ *diḡudu*⁽⁸⁾. *ad'*⁽⁹⁾ *enna*⁽¹⁰⁾? You aim (lit. when one looks⁽⁷⁾ with a single⁽⁵⁾ eye⁽⁶⁾) at the fortress⁽⁴⁾ made by⁽³⁾ a thousand⁽¹⁾ artisans⁽²⁾, it will break up⁽⁸⁾. What's⁽¹⁰⁾ that⁽⁹⁾? *adu*⁽¹¹⁾ *ternu*⁽¹²⁾. It's⁽¹¹⁾ a honey-comb⁽¹²⁾. (MN)

kaṭṭina past rel. part. *kaṭṭu*- 'to build, construct, make, etc.'.

kannili. *kannu* 'eye' + loc.suff. *-ili*.

parttar: condit. *parru*- 'to look see'; *ore*: *kannili parru*- 'to aim (with one eye)'.

diḡudu 3p.nt.sg. non-past *di*- 'to vanish, be scattered; fall off; break up; come down, drop down, be reduced, diminish'. Cf. DED 426 Ta. *ili*.¹⁴

31. *tande*⁽¹⁾ *coriya*⁽²⁾, *taryi*⁽³⁾ *jāḍatti*⁽⁴⁾, *maga*⁽⁵⁾ *muttukuṭṭi*⁽⁶⁾, *ad'*⁽⁷⁾ *ennardu*⁽⁸⁾? The father⁽¹⁾—a man full of scabies⁽²⁾, the mother⁽³⁾—a woman with matted bushy hair⁽⁴⁾, the daughter⁽⁵⁾—a little pearl⁽⁶⁾, what thing⁽⁸⁾ [is] that⁽⁷⁾? *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *cakkeppammu*⁽¹⁰⁾. That's⁽⁹⁾ a jack-fruit⁽¹⁰⁾. (VK)

muttukuṭṭi opd. subst., lit. 'the young (*kuṭṭi*) of a pearl'.

32. *cikku cikku*⁽¹⁾ *bindige*⁽²⁾, *ciṅgarra*⁽³⁾ *bindige*⁽⁴⁾, *aruvattu*⁽⁵⁾ *bindige*⁽⁶⁾ — *narne*⁽⁷⁾ *tumba*⁽⁸⁾. *ad'*⁽⁹⁾ *enna*⁽¹⁰⁾? Very very small⁽¹⁾ vessel⁽²⁾, beautiful⁽³⁾ vessel⁽⁴⁾, sixty⁽⁵⁾ vessels⁽⁶⁾—and I⁽⁷⁾ [am] full⁽⁸⁾. What's⁽¹⁰⁾ that⁽⁹⁾? *adu*⁽¹¹⁾ *cundekeyi*⁽¹²⁾. It's⁽¹¹⁾ a *cunde*-fruit⁽¹²⁾. (MN)

ciṅgarra, lw. < Ta. *ciṅkāram* < Skt. *śṛṅgāra*-. In Ir. as in Tamil, the adjective means 'beautiful, embellished'.

tumba 'full'; adv. used in the context of 'eating fully'.

cunde (DED 2194) *Solanum torvum*, *S. verbascifolium*, *S. pubescens*; Indian tree-potato; a shrub with small edible fruits.

33. *vēḷḷe*⁽¹⁾ *cakkarakayku*⁽²⁾ *komb'*⁽³⁾ *ille*⁽⁴⁾, *ad'*⁽⁵⁾ *enna*⁽⁶⁾? White⁽¹⁾ sweet potato⁽²⁾ without⁽⁴⁾ branch⁽³⁾, what's⁽⁶⁾ that⁽⁵⁾? *adu*⁽⁷⁾ *koryimutte*⁽⁸⁾. That's⁽⁷⁾ a hen's egg⁽⁸⁾. (MN)

34. *ḍakkene*⁽¹⁾ *y-ēṇna*⁽²⁾ *paḍa*⁽³⁾, *parye*⁽⁴⁾ *curuṭṭa*⁽⁵⁾ *paḍa*⁽⁶⁾, *ad'*⁽⁷⁾ *enna*⁽⁸⁾? It is impossible⁽³⁾ to count⁽²⁾ the areca-nuts⁽¹⁾, it is impossible⁽⁶⁾ to roll⁽⁵⁾ the mat⁽⁴⁾. What's⁽⁸⁾ that⁽⁷⁾? *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *varnatti*⁽¹⁰⁾ *miṇe*⁽¹¹⁾. It's⁽⁹⁾ the stars⁽¹¹⁾ in the sky⁽¹⁰⁾. (MN)

¹⁴ I suspect that the loss of initial vowel accompanied by the appearance in the initial position of the alveominal-retroflex plosive must point to some rules of accentuation different from those of Tamil-Malayalam, and probably connected with the Nilgiri areal linguistic features (in some Kurumba languages one may observe accentuation definitely different from the regular 'primary stress on the first syllable'). It is striking that Irula should go in some items as far as Telugu, and some Central Dravidian languages even further: e.g. DED 78 Ta. *ataikkāy* 'areca-nut', Ir. *dakke*; DED 799 Ta. *uṭai* 'to break': Ir. *ḍepisu* 'to cause to break'; DED 426 Ta. *ḷi*, Te. *ḍigu*, Kui *ḍiva*, etc.: Ir. *ḍi*: 'to drop down, etc.'.

Cf. further cases such as Ir. *raṅgu*: Ta. *iraṅku* (DED 439) 'to descend', Ir. *ronga*: Ta. *uranuku* (DED 806) 'to sleep', Ir. *re*: Ta. *arai* (DED 191) 'to grind', Ir. *laru*: Ta. *alaru* (DED 211) 'to shout', Ir. *le*: Ta. *alai* (DED 203) 'to roam, wander'. These cases prove that the Irula development of the loss of the initial vowel and the subsequent changes (occurrence in initial position of consonants which do not regularly occur initially in Dravidian, i.e. *d*-, *r*-, *l*-; lengthening of the vowel, like Ta. *ḷi*: Ir. *ḍi*-, Ta. *alaru*: Ir. *laru*; change in vowel-quality, like in Ta. *uranuku*: Ir. *rongu*) are of general and far-reaching nature, and can only be explained by strong accentuation of the second syllable. We may probably symbolize the process by the following tentative ordered rules (e.g.): (1) Pre-Ta. **alay* → pre-Irula **ale*-. (2) **ale* → **a'le* (change of accent). (3) Proto-Irula **a'le* → Ir. *le*-. 'to roam' (DED 203).

dakkene. dakke 'areca-nut' (DED 78 Ta. *aṭaikkāy*) + acc.suff. -*ne*.

enna, curuṭṭa infinitives; for *paḍar*⁽⁸⁾, cf. No. 11.

varnatti. varna 'sky' + loc.suff. -*tti*.

35. *ammanṭu*⁽¹⁾ *panatte*⁽²⁾ *puḍikka*⁽³⁾ *mudiyadu*⁽⁴⁾, *agueṭu*⁽⁵⁾ *par-atte*⁽⁶⁾ *maḍikka*⁽⁷⁾ *mudiyadu*⁽⁸⁾. *ad*⁽⁹⁾ *enna*⁽¹⁰⁾? It is impossible⁽⁴⁾ to grasp⁽³⁾ the money (= coins)⁽²⁾ of the father⁽¹⁾, it is impossible⁽⁸⁾ to fold⁽⁷⁾ the money (= banknotes)⁽⁶⁾ of the mother⁽⁵⁾. What's⁽¹⁰⁾ that⁽⁹⁾? *adu*⁽¹¹⁾ *minvarna*⁽¹²⁾. That's⁽¹¹⁾ the starry sky⁽¹²⁾. (MN)

ammanṭu. amma 'father' + morphophon. -*n*- + gen.suff. -*tu*.

panatte. pana 'money' + acc.suff. -*tte*.

puḍikka, maḍikka infinitives.

mudiyadu neg. verb 'is not possible, cannot'.

agueṭu. ague 'mother' + gen.suff. -*tu*.

Basic kinship terms of Irula and Ūrāḷi:

	FATHER	MOTHER	GRANDFATHER	GRANDMOTHER	SON	DAUGHTER
MN	<i>amma</i>	<i>ague</i>	<i>ēṭappa</i>	<i>ette</i>	<i>ruṇa</i>	<i>maga</i>
VK	<i>amma</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>aiya/appa</i>	<i>appe</i>	<i>ragā</i>	<i>maga</i>
Ur.	<i>appa</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>ēḍḍa</i>	<i>ēḍḍe</i>	<i>ragā</i>	<i>maga</i>

36. *iyatti*⁽¹⁾ *cakkara*⁽²⁾ *naṭṭu*⁽³⁾, *ayatti*⁽⁴⁾ *koḍi*⁽⁵⁾ -*y-appi*⁽⁶⁾, *arci*⁽⁷⁾ *appara*⁽⁸⁾ *puṭṭu*⁽⁹⁾ *arṇe*⁽¹¹⁾ *appara*⁽¹²⁾ *kayṇi*⁽¹³⁾, *ad*⁽¹⁴⁾ *enna*⁽¹⁵⁾? Sugar⁽²⁾ planted⁽³⁾ in lead⁽¹⁾, creepers⁽⁵⁾ stuck⁽⁶⁾ on to iron⁽⁴⁾, the paddy⁽⁷⁾ has flowered⁽⁸⁻¹⁰⁾ so much⁽⁸⁾, and the elephant⁽¹¹⁾ has extended [its] trunk⁽¹³⁾ so far⁽¹²⁾—what's⁽¹⁵⁾ that⁽¹⁴⁾? *adu*⁽¹⁶⁾ *curriyan*⁽¹⁷⁾. That's⁽¹⁶⁾ the sun⁽¹⁷⁾. (MN)

This highly poetic (and almost surrealistic) riddle was explained to me as referring to different qualities, colours, and the heat of the sun (ultimately compared to the *arṇe* elephant stretching its trunk—the rays—'so far') and its rays (= creepers, flowers of paddy, the elephant's trunk); the striking thing is the mythico-poetic vision of the sun as a huge hot leaden-iron elephant, giving warmth and nourishment.

iyatti. iya 'lead' + loc.suff. -*tti*; *cakkara*⁽²⁾ refers to 'sugar-cane'.

naṭṭu ger. of *naḍu* 'to plant'.

ayatti. aya 'iron' + loc.suff. -*tti*; the *koḍi*⁽⁵⁾ 'creeper' refers to one of the creepers giving edible roots.

appi ger. of *appu* 'to apply, stick to, clap on'.

arci, Ta. *arici* (MN Ir. pron. [arṭi]) 'paddy'.

appara adv. 'thus much, to that extent; thus far'.

puṭṭu ger. of *pu* 'to flower'; lit. 'the paddy has flowered with so many [and] so far-reaching flowers'.

37. *varadi*⁽¹⁾ *varada*⁽²⁾ *aṭṭa*⁽³⁾ *oleḷi*⁽⁴⁾ *burd*⁽⁵⁾ *ille*⁽⁶⁾. *ad*⁽⁷⁾ *enne*⁽⁸⁾? There's no⁽⁶⁾ ash⁽⁵⁾ in the oven⁽⁴⁾ wherein a barren woman⁽¹⁾ and a childless man⁽²⁾ cook⁽³⁾. What's⁽⁸⁾ that⁽⁷⁾? *adu*⁽⁹⁾ *vēḷi*⁽¹⁰⁾. That's⁽⁹⁾ a [double-barrelled] gun⁽¹⁰⁾. (MN)

aṭṭa⁽³⁾ past rel.part. *adu* (DED 66) 'to cook, roast, etc.'

oleḷi⁽⁴⁾. *ole* 'fire-place, oven, hearth' + loc.suff. -*ḷi*.

vēḷi⁽¹⁰⁾ (DED 4502) 'gun'; a double-barrelled gun is meant here.

Just as e.g. Nos. 34 and 36 manifest a very high poetic vision of the riddle-makers, No. 37 shows a nice sense of humour; indeed, almost all the riddles show great skill in metaphoric substitution and metonymic transformation. In this sense, many of the riddles may justifiably be viewed as parts of creative verbal art.

REVIEWS

H. W. F. SAGGS: *The encounter with the divine in Mesopotamia and Israel*. (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, xii.) xviii, 243 pp. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1978. £8.50.

A book written by a scholar who is an expert in the Mesopotamian field and which takes the form of a comparison of certain aspects of Mesopotamian and Israelite religion is potentially of great value and Professor Saggs does not disappoint the expectations of the reader. The book is well written and produced and only three small typographical errors have been noted (p. 112, 'staeg' for 'stage'; p. 130, 'exta' for 'extant'(?); p. 161, 'apostacy' for 'apostasy'). Those who are principally concerned with Mesopotamian studies will have their critical powers teased and provoked by what Saggs has to say about Mesopotamian religion. The present reviewer has looked more closely at the critical positions adopted by the author in respect of Old Testament material and the influence which these have exercised on his comparative study of the two religions.

In the opening section on method his statement on the function of form criticism ('To get back to the setting of the religious literature in the cult', p. 13) is not one to which general assent will be given. It is true that the form-critical method has been largely used in this way and that alleged demonstrations of original cultic *Sitze im Leben* for *Gattungen* have been achieved by means of it. This, however, is no more than a particular application of the method, and form criticism in principle is concerned with the *Sitz* of a *Gattung*, whatever that *Sitz* may be. When Saggs says that 'the *Gattung* is the framework in which the idea is preserved, not necessarily the setting in which it was created' (p. 14), the point which he is making is not clear and his illustration 'Zounds!' does nothing to relieve this obscurity. The circumstance that one can discover from the *OED* that 'Zounds!' is an abbreviation of 'By God's wounds!' will not inform us how the expletive functions in the particular literary contexts where it appears. The important discovery is not that it has this etymology and that it may once have been used with a solemn intention. The necessary consideration is rather the functioning of 'Zounds!' in any piece of literature where it appears. Thus the suggestion that the setting is in some way merely a container and the 'conceptual meaning' is more fundamental than the meaning within the setting and is to be had by abstraction from it is a misunderstanding. The idea itself or the essential idea will not be reached by discovering the setting in which it originally appeared, although such a *Gattungsgeschichte* is historically valuable, nor by disengaging the 'concept' from any setting in which it appears.

The reference to Paul Radin carries the

discussion beyond the limits usually accepted by form critics and there is no harm in that: 'Any manifestation of religion in the form of a religious text must have come in the first place (to use the terminology of Paul Radin) in answer to a psychological crisis within a religious man' (p. 13). This is a consideration which ought not to be neglected, although it is likely that it has simply been assumed by those who hold that the Psalms are cultic and are designed for public, liturgical use. When it is said that the *Sitz* of the book of Psalms is cultic there is no suggestion that they were composed by a committee of priests rather than by individuals who were gifted in composition. The issue is rather whether they were composed in the first place for liturgical use or whether they were effusions of private religious experience which were subsequently adopted for cultic use. The main differences between Gunkel and Mowinckel, however, do not arise in this area. They are connected rather with a difference of opinion as to whether extant psalms are, for the most part, cultic and liturgical compositions or whether they are original cultic compositions which have been 'spiritualized' and captured as private expressions of individual piety.

The other interesting question which arises in the section on method concerns the nature of the account of Israelite religion which is preserved in the Old Testament. Saggs observes that what we have in the 'canon' is a prescriptive account of OT religion or a definition of normative Yahwism. The documents are not principally occupied with actual, empirical manifestations of Israelite religion and these are allowed to appear only as aberrations in relation to the norm. Hence Saggs says, 'To obtain a valid picture for comparison, it is Yahwism as it was (the Yahwism of historical fact), not Yahwism as it should have been (the Yahwism of theological judgement), nor Yahwism as it ultimately became in consequence of the repression of certain features, that we must consider' (p. 22). There is a measure of validity in Saggs's affirmation, but the distinction between 'actual' and 'theological' or between empirical Yahwism and an expurgated Yahwism should not be pressed too far. The normative Yahwism has been determined in decisive respects by the actual Yahwism and is not simply the creation of canonical thinkers, reformers, and expurgators—an ideal religion which was never practised. However it may have been refined and subjected to norms of orthodoxy, it still had to be recognizable as a particular, historical religion.

In fact Saggs's procedures cannot tolerate too much of a divorce between 'the Yahwism of historical fact' and 'the Yahwism of theological judgement'. If the actual, historical religion has been entirely superseded in the OT by 'the Yahwism of theological judgement', the OT cannot be used in order to reconstruct the history of Israelite religion. But Saggs has greater confidence in the OT

as a source of *Religionsgeschichte* than many OT scholars and he draws conclusions about 'Mosaic religion' and 'Patriarchal religion' from which some would abstain. Thus he holds (pp. 36-8) that the particularism of the final form of the Moses traditions justifies a conclusion that the religion of the historical Moses must have displayed a similar, narrow nationalism, and that the universalist tendencies in the final form of the patriarchal narratives are an indication that patriarchal religion itself contained the seeds of such universalism. Some of the practitioners of *Überlieferungsgeschichte* would argue with good reason that what a corpus looks like at the end of its development does not enable us to make historical conclusions about the religion of Moses or the religion of the patriarchs.

The main topic of ch. ii is creation doctrine and the bearing of this on the widening of the horizons of Israelite religion. Whether or not Saggs is right in supposing that Jer. 27:4-6 derives from the historical prophet Jeremiah is a critical nicety which may be left aside, but in any case he makes this single passage bear a heavy burden of interpretation. In the context of the chapter the reference to Yahweh as creator in 27:6 has an incidental character which one would not suspect from the weight which Saggs attaches to it and the conclusions which he builds on it. He makes everything turn on the claim by Yahweh to control kingdoms and world history, loosed from any reference to Israel's election and her special position over against Yahweh's dominion. The significance of any new departure in Jer. 27:4-6 is surely over-estimated. These verses have to be seen in connexion with the theme of the chapter which is 'the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar'. This is connected with the symbolic wearing of the yoke by Jeremiah and the encounter between Jeremiah and Hananiah described in Jer. 28. The particular point of all this is to supply a reason why Judah should submit to the Babylonian king. Yahweh created the world and peopled it, and he has the power to dispose of nations as he will. He has resolved to set Nebuchadnezzar at the head of a world empire and it is pointless for Judah to resist. Hence it is not clear that, as an advance in creation doctrine, Jer. 27:5 is so momentous as Saggs's account would lead us to suppose. However, he finds similar ideas in Deutero-Isaiah (45:12-13) and since most scholars have supposed that Yahweh's status as 'cosmic creator' is a significant part of the teaching of that prophet, the case can be made out on that basis. All the more so since the destination of the argument was that Jer. 27:4-7 perhaps furnished evidence of the influence of Babylonian religion on Israelite religion; that the doctrine of Ashur, the Assyrian God, was modified relative to cosmic creation as a consequence of an encounter with Marduk, and that 'Jeremiah was taking over for Yahweh claims he found already made for Marduk of Babylon' (p. 43). It is understandable that the emphasis on creation theology in Deutero-Isaiah might be partly attributed to the influence of Babylonian religion, if it is supposed that he was a prophet of the Babylonian exile.

It is not obvious that passages which Saggs cites (pp. 48 f.) in fact demonstrate that Nebuchadnezzar is emperor of the world in virtue of Marduk's cosmic plan and not because Marduk fights for him. This is a distinction so nice that it is difficult to discern. Thus in connexion with an affirmation of Nebuchadnezzar ('The widespread people, with whom Marduk the Lord filled my hand, I made subject to Babylon') Saggs comments, 'In the last passage quoted, we see a specific distinction between Marduk's granting control of the people to Nebuchadnezzar, which was the god's plan and must come to pass, and the implementation of the plan by warfare, which was Nebuchadnezzar's doing' (p. 49).

If the case which Saggs has presented for the influence of Babylonian religion on Yahwistic creation doctrine is complete, it does not appear that the Babylonian contribution was a major one. It might have been supposed that something would be made of the creation narrative in Gen. 1:1-2:4, since an exilic provenance may be assumed. Saggs's view is that far from influencing the thought of this passage Babylonian concepts have had the effect of driving the writer towards antithetical positions. He has gone out of his way to emphasize his differences with Babylonian religion and so the narrative is 'a reaction to Babylonian concepts' (p. 52). There is a deliberate separation of light from the sun and moon, 'so that what the Babylonians thought of as astral deities, or the symbols of astral deities, might be seen as mere physical instruments working the purpose of the one God' (p. 53). The supposition that *ʾhōm* preserves the faint recollection of a conflict associated with the process of creation is mistaken and there is no necessary connexion between conflict and cosmic creation. Such a conclusion has rested on a particular interpretation of *Enūma Eliš* which, however, is a composite work, analysed by Saggs into six separate myths. The mythological fragments in the OT which allude to conflict may not be used in order to reconstruct a Canaanite or Israelite creation narrative of which conflict was an element.

When we reflect at the end of this chapter on 'The Divine in Creation', we are left with a question about the sources of OT creation theology. Saggs says that Deutero-Isaiah achieves his universalism by developing a creation doctrine which features the deity El and he suggests that this is a reintroduction of 'a universalism latent in patriarchal religion but largely lost in the mainstream of Mosaic Yahwism, despite occasional protests by earlier prophets' (p. 51). But this is to turn away from Babylon and focus attention on Canaan. Eissfeldt has argued that Yahwism was enriched by El creation theology, not in connexion with the religion of the patriarchs, but in connexion with a syncretism of Yahwism and El religion subsequent to the settlement in Canaan, for it is this that we are to infer from the references to El in the patriarchal narratives. More particularly, any account of OT creation doctrine must devote attention to the book of Psalms. The 'Kingship of Yahweh' psalms are rich in creation doctrine and if one

is to look for a historical moment when El creation theology decisively affected Yahwism, it must be the occasion of the capture of Jerusalem, the appropriation of a Jebusite sanctuary whose deity may have been El Elyon, and the symbiosis of the old cult and the new one.

Saggs opens his chapter on 'The Divine in history' with severe criticisms of Gerhard von Rad in the course of which he alleges that von Rad has forced OT evidence 'into a Christian straitjacket' (p. 68). The effect of this long attack (pp. 64-9) is to postpone the opening of the chapter and a detailed consideration of it would introduce elements of disproportion into a review.

Saggs's principal concern in this chapter is to examine Lambert's view that events were not supposed to be decreed so absolutely in Israel as they were in Mesopotamia, and he introduces a distinction between individual concepts and their categorization: 'There is evidence suggesting that though Israelites did not achieve the categorization of the concepts regarded as divine decrees, the concepts themselves existed' (p. 73). There may have been no general concept of destiny, but there were specific divine decrees by which particular aspects of life were predestined (burial, Gen. 3:19; seasons, Gen. 8:22; length of life, Gen. 6:3; blood revenge, Gen. 9:6; sabbath, Gen. 2:3; labour pains, Gen. 3:16). It is questionable whether the intention of 3:19 is to decree burial as opposed to other possibilities such as 'being cremated, mummified, eaten cannibalistically or exposed to creatures of the wild' (p. 75). There may be an allusion to burial, but the main thought is that man is composed of dust and will decompose into dust. Again, 8:22 appears in a context where the emphasis falls on God's promise not to resort again to a judgement which calls in question the integrity of the created order. It is not therefore so much the promulgation of a particular decree as an assurance that no arbitrary act of God will henceforth disturb the stability of the created order.

Saggs's conclusion is that no difference in principle can be detected between Mesopotamian and Israelite attitudes to destiny as constituted by divine decrees: 'One may certainly feel that there is a greater emphasis upon direct intervention in history in Israel and upon destiny in Mesopotamia, but this impression can hardly be quantified, and even if it is factually based, represents differences of degree, not of principle' (p. 76). With the discussion on destiny so rounded off he takes up the consideration of another of Lambert's dicta that a concept of history which includes the working out of a plan is not found in the Mesopotamian cultural area (p. 79). Saggs presents evidence which, in his view, demonstrates that Sargon II was used by Ashur in order to prosecute a plan (pp. 81 ff.). The citations contain references to a renewal of the cultus and to world dominion: 'He (Ashur) fully made over the land of Assyria into my hands for administration and direction; he made my weapons bitter over the four (world) regions' (p. 81). There is evidence of a belief in an enduring dynasty 'a century before

King David' (p. 82): 'You have given to him his lordly destiny for power, and said that his high-priestly seed should stand for ever in the temple Ehursagkurkurra' (p. 82). Saggs's response to Lambert's opinion is that 'the gods, in particular Ashur, were promoting Assyrian imperialism, not in terms of a destiny decreed in primeval times, but as an activity within history relating to extending the might of the nation Assyria and perpetuating the dynasty' (p. 85).

Albrektson and Saggs have perceived that the distinction made between Israelite religion and other ancient Near Eastern religions, in terms of the purposeful, historical activity of Yahweh in the one and the non-significance of history as a sphere of divine purpose in the others, has acquired a schematic tidiness or even absoluteness which does not arise from a careful weighing of the evidence. There is, however, a suspicion that ambiguities associated with the word 'plan' need to be teased out further. Those who have argued that history is seen as an area of special significance in OT religion have not simply had in mind the ideology of Davidic monarchy—the enduring dynasty and the programme of world dominion attached to the Davidic king. The evidence which Saggs produces of 'a continuing dynamic plan' (p. 85) in Assyrian religious thought would not be regarded by them as comparable to the OT 'plan' consummated in and through historical existence, because it lacks a teleological element. What is being argued is that in the OT history is viewed as aimed at a goal and that the direction which it takes is meaningful, because its unfolding is the means chosen by Yahweh to implement his plans and bring them to fulfilment. Saggs does not appear to be discussing a divine plan and its relation to the historical process in this sense and his Assyrian evidence does not demonstrate the existence of such a plan.

In the concluding part of the chapter (pp. 87-92), which is occupied with the relation of Yahweh to nature, Saggs's mode of argument recalls his treatment of Gen. 1:1-2:4. The Mesopotamian tendency is to equate deities with heavenly bodies, or, at least, to blur the distinction between numen and phenomenon. The approximation of deity to heavenly body is not characteristic of the OT, where sun-worship is regarded as apostasy: 'The sun is merely a part of Yahweh's creation, and wholly distinct from him. Yahweh is never regarded as being immanent in the sun' (p. 91). Saggs prescribes a *via negativa* as a way of distinguishing between Yahweh and Mesopotamian gods. The intention of such a procedure will be to deny to Yahweh what is attributed to the gods of the ancient near east: he is not manifested plurally; he is not present in natural phenomena; he is not representable in human or animal forms. This is a type of approach which is associated particularly with von Rad. It is a recognition of a 'hiddenness of Yahweh' which discourages familiarity or a presumption of knowing too much about him. OT religion is marked by a growing awareness of the distance between God and men and by an appreciation

that thoughts and words will not contain the mystery.

In the chapter on 'The Divine in relation to good and evil' as also in the following chapter on 'Communication with the Divine', Saggs's expository gifts are exercised to very good effect and he achieves an enviable clarity in his explanations of difficult concepts. In a discussion about the relation between demons and deities in Mesopotamia he notes the suggestion that Enmesharra originated as an abstraction 'to comprehend the totality of the concept included in the formless nameless numina known as "the Seven"' (p. 101). According to this view the suppression of 'the Seven' represents a stage at which the anthropomorphic form of Enlil arose. Saggs observes that the accommodation of demons to the gods gave rise to theological problems to which aetiological solutions were attached, sometimes contradictory in character. The depredations of Lamashtu or *pāšītu*, directed particularly against nursing mothers and babies, could be explained as an activity which was contrary to the will of the gods (she was a rebel daughter of Anu) or on the assumption that she was employed by the gods to limit the numbers of the human race. Saggs's opinion is that the demons were 'originally independent of the gods and sometimes hostile to them' (p. 105). They were subsequently represented as agents of the gods or hypostases of them and this movement 'represents a theological process in which there was a progressive denial of the place of the irrational in life' (p. 105).

The coexistence of good and evil in Yahweh is not to be explained in terms of the absorption of a demonic element into the nature of Yahweh (pp. 106 ff.): the equation of 'god' with 'goodness' and 'demon' with 'evil' is a type of dualism which does not correspond with the texture of Mesopotamian religion and which obstructs the process of comparing it with Israelite religion. While Mesopotamian demons might be a source of evil, whether as the instruments of a god, or independent of a god, or contrary to the will of a god, it was also possible for a god to initiate evil. In Mesopotamian religion the demons were originally expressions of randomness and blind chance in human existence, and so their malevolence was represented as unmotivated. Their incorporation into the divine scheme of things served the ends of a type of piety which could not tolerate an irrational residue in human experience and which strove to explain everything in terms of the will of the gods.

Saggs detects a somewhat similar development in several OT passages. A story which was originally about the unmotivated attack of a demon has been rewritten in terms of a purposeful attack by Yahweh (Gen. 32: 24-30) and there are other accounts of 'evil spirits' under Yahweh's control and acting as his agents (pp. 110 ff.). But is Satan in 1 Chr. 21: 1 indeed a 'hypostatization of the sinister side of Yahweh' (p. 113)? For the most part, Saggs is describing a process which brought originally independent demons under the control of gods, but 2 Sam. 24: 1 (1 Chr. 21: 1)

will not fit into this pattern. If it did, the conclusion would have to be that 1 Chr. 21: 1 represents an earlier stage than 2 Sam. 24: 1, but this would certainly be an erroneous conclusion. Satan is introduced in Chr. because of a piety which will not attribute the incitement of David to Yahweh and which is concerned to disengage Yahweh from this act of provocation and to attribute it to Satan. It is a piety which in this instance finds a monistic position intolerable and which takes a step towards dualism.

In *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* Saggs finds a latent denial of the value of the cult and an agnostic tendency; in the 'Babylonian theodicy' he discerns a conclusion that all men are evil, that it is men who create suffering and not the gods (pp. 118-120). But is this latter conclusion one at which thought can come to rest? If the gods created men as they are ('With lies and not truth they endowed them for ever'), they made injustice and suffering inevitable. If the chaos in human society is caused by a fundamental lack of benevolence in the gods, to an ill-willed determinism of which they are the authors, what is the point of saying that the only recourse which man has 'is to throw himself upon the divine mercy' (p. 120)?

The problem of Yahweh's benevolence and the justice of his ways arises in a particularly sharp form in the OT, because he is brought into immediate connexion with the experiences of individuals and is made accountable for everything that happens to them. These are the matters which are raised in Gen. 18: 22-33 and which are explored more thoroughly in the book of Job whose author may have been acquainted with *Ludlul* and 'The theodicy' and may owe something to them. The author of Job does not deny the fact of unmerited suffering and he does not follow either of the Mesopotamian solutions. He does not even attempt to solve the problem 'but on the theological level he transcends it' (pp. 120-4). According to Saggs's view the author of Job abdicates from mental strife and rests in a personal communion with the divine where 'suffering dissolves into nothingness' (p. 124).

There are, however, also important agnostic indications in the book of Job and the lines which Saggs cites from *Ludlul* ('Who knows the will of the gods in heaven? . . . Where have mortals learnt the way of a god?') express significant aspects of Job's complaint. The insoluble problem of the book is at least as theologically significant as the intellectual surrender which, according to Saggs, is the price of release and rest. An important part of the dialogue is the realization that men do not know God and his ways nearly so well as they affect to do. The analogical language which makes God the judge who guarantees justice to individuals assumes an intimacy of superintendence which is divorced from experience. It is a reasonable expectation that a judge in a court of law will dispense justice and access can be had to him, but a theodicy cannot be constructed out of the language of the law courts and the enterprise should be given up. Men do not have this kind of access to God: they do not have the opportunity of engaging in legal arguments with him and

demanding justice from him. To use analogies which make it appear that God is accessible and accountable as those who hold offices in human society are, is to make a claim to knowledge where the truth is better served by agnosticism and reserve.

The question to which Saggs first addresses himself in the chapter 'Communication with the Divine' is whether Mesopotamian divination is fundamentally 'deistic' or 'non-deistic', and he concludes that in essence it has more to do with a concept of causation than with theism or revelation (pp. 125 ff.): 'The omen thus represented not a god's decision upon a situation but rather a recognized correlation between past and future phenomena. The gods came into the matter only as the divine beings able to intervene to cut the web' (p. 132). It appears, however, from Saggs's subsequent account that the breaking of the chain of causation, brought to light by an evil omen or a bad portent in a dream, 'might be effected by the non-deistic technique of a magical ritual and spell, or by the overtly deistic means of prayer to the Sun-god, or by the two techniques jointly' (p. 134). While evil omens or portents do not predict an ineluctable fate, they do establish a causal nexus which will produce an effect unless extraordinary measures are taken to disturb and override the normal sequence of events. Only a few accounts of dreams, in a personal, historical context, in which messages from a deity to individuals are conveyed, are preserved. Apart from these, which should be regarded as theophanies in the form of dreams, the correlations of portents and consequences in Dream Books are comparable with omen literature. This whole area of prediction arises from what was regarded as a science rather than communications from gods. Whereas good omens or portents do not necessitate any apotropaic activity, bad omens or portents call for measures to ward off the evil consequences which are predicted, whether these measures take the form of magical rituals or prayers to gods or a combination of both. Such a portent as 'If (in a dream a man) does the work of a seal-cutter, his son will die' requires anyone who has had such a dream to take urgent measures in order to prevent the otherwise certain eventuation of what is predicted. 'If he does the work of a fuller, for a poor man (it means) his misfortunes will leave him' does not demand any defensive measures. The happy chain of circumstances which is predicted can be left to eventuate. The argument that divination is fundamentally non-theistic allows that 'divination was taken under the umbrella of deistic religion at a fairly early date, certainly not later than the Old Babylonian period, though probably not earlier than that either' (p. 137).

Apart from dream theophanies, personal communications about future events are communicated through oracles. These are attested for seventh-century Assyria in the reign of Esarhaddon and are principally spoken by women. The inspired person (*ragintu*, 'one who calls out') is evidently in a state of ecstasy but the form of inspiration is not known. In some cases the *ragintu* is a cultic

official but in others the oracle would appear to have been uttered by a 'private ecstatic'. The Mari evidence is particularly important: it consists of letters which refer to messages from deities, some of which are dream theophanies. In twelve of these letters there are references to messages given through a *maḥḥum* 'frenzied person' or *āpilum* 'one who gives an answer'. In some places there are indications that the prophet was in an ecstatic state (*immaḥū*). Some of this prophesying was a cultic activity but it was not invariably so, since one oracle is spoken by the 'wife of a freeman' who would not have been so designated if she had held a cultic office. Usually Mari oracles consisted of a message of encouragement to the king or contained instruction about religious rites.

A striking aspect of all this, and one on which Saggs does not comment, is that all the oracles appear to have been spoken out of the hearing of the king, sometimes at a distance from the court, and to have been subsequently reported to him in letters. This is entirely at variance with the direct delivery of the oracle by the prophet to the person or persons whom it concerns which is the rule in the OT.

When he turns to OT prophecy Saggs does well to question whether the present consensus of scholarship about certain passages (Amos 5: 21-7; Hos. 6: 6; Mic. 6: 6-8; Isa. 1: 11-17; Jer. 7: 22-8), to the effect that there is no root and branch condemnation of the cultus by the canonical prophets, is so admirable and satisfactory as is supposed. His employment of Deut. 13: 1-5 is, however, puzzling (p. 149), since there appears to be no appreciation in this passage of the difficulty of distinguishing between 'true' and 'false' prophets, where all prophets speak in Yahweh's name and claim his authority. It is assumed that any prophet who speaks in Yahweh's name is a true prophet, and the Deuteronomic passage turns rather on a true prediction made in the name of 'other gods', maintaining that the accuracy of such a prediction is not a guarantee that it was spoken by a true prophet.

The difference between Mesopotamian oracles and those of the OT prophets is, according to Saggs, one of scope. Mesopotamian oracles relate principally to royal affairs and divulge the will of a god for a particular person in particular circumstances, and there are prophets of this type (e.g. Nathan) in the OT. The oracles of the canonical prophets possess a greater generality and are 'not merely about the behaviour demanded from a particular man in a particular situation but about the behaviour demanded from mankind, not about the intentions of the gods for the immediate circumstance but about God's very nature' (pp. 151 f.).

While Saggs is to be followed in so far as he is indicating that there has recently been an under-estimation of the originality of the prophetic contribution to OT religion, his descriptions of the concerns of the canonical prophets and the spheres in which they operated will not gain general assent. One has the impression that he is representing them as principally teachers of a general, universal ethic. In fact their main concern was with

'immediate circumstances' and, for the most part, they addressed their messages to urgent, contemporary issues. It is true that rarely did they address individuals, but it was not their practice either to direct their words to 'mankind'. They addressed foreign nations (in so far as the foreign oracles which appear in the books bearing their names are attributable to them), but these bear no resemblance to a universal ethic for mankind. Some passages (e.g. Amos 1:1-2:16) may bear this interpretation, but their concern was taken up mainly with their own community which they saw under the threat of disintegration and whose doom they predicted as a theological judgement. Certainly they speak about the future, perhaps even a future which will contain restoration rather than judgement, but all their words arise out of their appreciation of the present state of the community in which they live.

Although the final chapter has the title 'Universalism', the subject is not reached until p. 176 and is departed from on p. 183, so that the principle of coherence in the chapter is not obvious. Nevertheless, it has interesting features, not least the indications that ancient men may not have been as different from their modern counterparts as has been sometimes supposed, that they did not after all live in a world dominated by gods, and that secularity is perhaps not so new as has been alleged. We learn that administrators of temples in Erech writing letters to the authorities in Babylon are more concerned with practical problems than they are with theology or mythology and that when negligence or embezzlement are mentioned they appear as cases of incapacity or dishonesty rather than sins against the gods who, nevertheless, according to the theology, are the owners. Although there are allusions to religious indifference in the OT (Amos 8:5; Isa. 56:2; 58:13; Zeph. 1:12; Jer. 5:12), references to religious practices disapproved by normative Yahwism are more typical of the book, and Saggs concludes that the attitudes of the common man were more dominated by religion in Israel than in Mesopotamia (p. 163).

Saggs observes (pp. 165 ff.) that a principal difference between Sumerian and Babylonian creation myths is that only in the Babylonian examples is the blood of a god an ingredient of human nature. This is not intended to convey a theological doctrine—that man's nature partakes of the divine. The questions which give rise to these creation narratives lie within human society and they are attempts to supply answers to these questions: 'They are intended to explain the existence of man himself, ghosts, and various customs of birth and death and other features of human society' (p. 168). The doctrine that man was created to serve the gods is the reflection of a social organization which was characteristic of Sumerian city-states of the first half of the third millennium, where the most powerful institution was the temple estate. This doctrine that man was created to supply labour for the gods, which is absent from OT creation narratives, has as its corollary that the gods are dependent on men who therefore

possess bargaining power over against them (p. 170).

Saggs accepts Oppenheim's view that there is no personal religious involvement present in Mesopotamian cultic prayers, but he finds evidence of prayer which has a personal intensity outside the cultic sphere. He remarks that since Eli thought that Hannah was drunk, her prayer could not have been accompanied by any recognizable posture or other external features which would have enabled him to recognize that she was at prayer. It was therefore a spontaneous, private approach to God rather than one through recognized cultic channels, although it happened at a cult place (1 Sam. 1:10, 12-13). If, however, we are to argue in this kind of way, it would also follow that private prayer must have been a rare phenomenon, since the high priest would not otherwise have misconstrued it as a state of inebriation.

Saggs approaches the topic of universalism through a consideration of Deut. 32:8-9, although it is arguable that this passage is more concerned with monotheism than it is with universalism, and Saggs's comment, 'A monotheism precludes such a view' (p. 176) is perplexing. It is probably correct that Elyon is, in the original conception, the supreme God who delegates responsibilities to other gods of whom Yahweh is one, but an attempt has been made to make this council of gods compatible with monotheistic Yahwism by identifying Yahweh with Elyon and by representing the other deities as angels or as heavenly beings who are less than deities. This is obscured by *בני ישראל* (MT), but is indicated by a Qumran fragment (*בני אל*) and by LXX (*κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεῶν*). Saggs's main contention that monotheism must necessarily lead to universalism is not particularly well served by Deut. 32:8-9.

Nor is the Assyrian royal inscription by a contemporary of Isaiah of Jerusalem which he cites necessarily an expression of universalism: 'Peoples of the four regions, of foreign tongue and diverse speech, living in mountains and plains, as many as the Light of the gods, the Lord of all, shepherded, at the command of Ashur my lord ... I took captive' (p. 179). The reference to the 'shepherding' of all peoples by 'a member of the Assyrian pantheon', even if some universalist significance is attached to it, is incidental in a context where everything leads up to the words 'I took captive', and where the weight falls on the subjugation of the world by the Assyrian king 'at the command of Ashur my Lord'. It may be observed that the so-called universalism of Deutero-Isaiah reserves a place of supremacy for Israel and that the aspect of the homage of the nations to Israel is not excluded from it, but the elements of universalism and subjector are there somewhat differently proportioned.

Saggs sees Israelite society as less tolerant than Mesopotamian and less willing to tolerate the coexistence of incompatible beliefs and traditions. This is the consequence of the differing tempers of polytheism and monotheism: the one accepts an accretion of incompatibles, while the other operates a more

rigorous selectivity. It is doubtful whether Saggs's definition of 'immanence' will be acceptable or his way of distinguishing between 'immanence' and 'omnipresence'. The implication of his definition is that where there is an affirmation about the unity of God, an antipathy to plurality of divine manifestations, and a prohibition of images, transcendence is given but immanence is excluded.

Saggs has written a book from which much is to be learnt. He achieves lucidity and incisiveness in the exposition of difficult ideas and those who are not specialists in Mesopotamian studies will lean on his expertise. His judgements about the OT are bold, provocative, and sometimes uneven and questionable, but all his work has a freshness and integrity which command respect.

WILLIAM MCKANE

EDWARD NOORT: *Untersuchungen zum Gottesbescheid in Mari. Die 'Mari-prophezie' in der alttestamentlichen Forschung.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Bd. 202.) x, 159 pp. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon und Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977. DM 50.

The French excavators at Mari unearthed 20,000 cuneiform tablets in 1934-6. G. Dossin, chief epigraphist to the expedition began to edit that enormous archive immediately, and the task continues; about 15 per cent is published. This volume is based on a dissertation submitted at Göttingen in 1975. It concerns 28 of the texts, loosely termed 'prophecies'. Since 1948 when the first was made known, it has been widely supposed that messages recorded in these texts from the gods for the kings can be related to the prophecy of the Old Testament. For Dr. Noort that conclusion is reached too easily. His thesis argues that the Mari texts are less relevant to the history or to the prehistory of Israelite prophecy than most scholars have proposed.

Dr. Noort points to the interval of almost a thousand years between the date of the Mari texts and most Old Testament prophecy, and to the different routes whereby each group has reached us, the Mari documents being first-hand reports, the biblical being literary compositions. The major part of his thesis rests upon analysis of certain elements in the Mari texts which may be criteria for their 'prophetic' nature. He considers the role of the ecstatic and notes that it is limited to seven texts, the verb 'to be in ecstasy' being specified as a means of divine communication twice (*Archives Royales de Mari*, x, 7.7; 8.7). The circumstances of each revelation are more important. A distinction may be made between the uninvited oracle and the divine answer to an inquiry. However, 'prophetic' texts are not limited to one form. Similarly, the style of address and role of the recipient as messenger show no peculiar features. In fact, there appear to be no formal

criteria for identifying a 'prophetic' text at Mari.

The texts in question plainly arose in a society where the cult was a part of life. In the third chapter of the book a survey of the archaeological and literary evidence for the cult at Mari is presented. All the Mari tablets belong to palace archives, so the king figures largely. His role in the cult, his freedom to accept or reject oracular advice, and his use of oracles in war are included here. Many gods and goddesses had a part in the cult, and eleven of them appear in the 'prophecies'. Chapter 4 deals with the representation of these eleven in the tablets as a whole, in paintings and sculpture, and in the sacrificial lists. Out of them, five are gods of other cities (Shamash of Sippar, Dagan of Terqa, etc.), the remaining eight are among the most revered at Mari. The geographic range shows the prophetic form of revelation was not a local phenomenon. Recipients of the revelations were often cultic personnel, *muhhām*, *āpilum sangum*, and others, but in a minority of cases appear to have been lay people. There is no evidence, therefore, that this style of communication was restricted to cultic mediums.

A divine message was a solemn thing. When established cult officers received an oracle, there need be no doubting of their word, in other cases some sign of validation was required, so we find a lock of hair and a piece of the hem of a garment taken from the medium and sent with the written text. There may have been a ritual involved in cleansing these, to free the medium from responsibility, but this is uncertain through damage to the tablet. If correct, it would show cultic control of the messages spoken by laymen.

After examining these matters, Dr. Noort asks whether we may speak of 'prophecy' at Mari, or not. He concludes there is such variety that the term becomes meaningless if applied to the texts he has studied. There is, therefore, no possibility of direct comparison between the 'prophecy' of Mari and the prophecy of the Old Testament, nor can the Mari material be termed the ancestor of the Israelite.

In chapter 6 the author discusses at some length the Hebrew methods of obtaining knowledge of God's will, mainly through the Urim and Thummim, and the Ephod. Textual and semantic problems related to these receive succinct treatment, most notably the problems of the ephod passages in 1 Samuel. Who might receive oracles in Israel also has a place here. In early Israel, it appears, the invited oracle dominated, both priest and prophet being involved. Some comparisons with Mari may still be legitimate, in both societies men obviously believed Deity had control of history, and in both oracles arrived at moments of crisis.

New texts from the Near East often spawn studies that over-emphasize similarities with the well-known ideas of the Old Testament. The formal scrutiny of such fashions is always welcome. Dr. Noort's thesis warns against too much stress on Mari in one area. Actually, in recent years, the attention paid to the Mari 'prophecies' has led to further study of cases

of prophecy in other texts outside the Old Testament, in particular in the inscription of Zakkur of Hamath. There is room for more investigation of how men learnt the will of the gods in ancient times, whether by divination or by other means, and whether or not there were differences of value between the various methods used. The rich archives of Mari are only one source, the texts of Ugarit and now of Ebla and Emar will yield more to careful students such as Dr. Noort, and none should overlook the enormous number of texts from Babylonia, the parent of these others, which remain the primary source.

A. B. MILLARD

J. C. L. GIBSON: *Canaanite myths and legends. Originally edited by G. R. Driver. Second edition.* xx, 168 pp., front. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke Ltd., 1978. £9.80.

Although there have been some changes, the general organization of Dr. Gibson's edition of *Canaanite myths and legends* is substantially the same as the first edition by the late Sir Godfrey Driver. Both begin with an introduction to the discovery of the Ugaritic texts and provide short summaries of the contents of the texts treated in the book. New to the second edition is a useful bibliography. New, too, is the theory that the order of the various texts in the Ba'al cycle is the work of a scribe of Ugarit called Elimelek. This theory is, however, treated as a fact and is not documented.

The next section is that comprising texts and translations. Here the second edition features an improved layout: instead of two columns of Ugaritic on the left and the corresponding two columns of translation on the right, each column of text is placed next to its translation. The translation itself has been updated, taking into account discussions and translations of the texts in the 21 years between the two incarnations of *Canaanite myths and legends*. Although the footnotes have been expanded, in part to compensate for the shortening of entries in the glossary, the notes are not as complete as those in *Textes ougaritiques* (1974), which offer a fuller discussion of problematic words and which provide the student of Ugaritic literary texts with insight into how a translation is arrived at.

An appendix to Gibson's book contains a transliteration only of some mythological fragments and recently published texts. The very existence of this section is, to this reader, most disappointing. Some of the mythological 'fragments' contain, as Gibson himself points out 'substantial stretches of reasonably preserved writing and are therefore important for a comprehensive view of Ugaritic mythology' (p. 31). Of the 'recently published' texts, those in *PRU V* were published in 1965 and those in *Ugaritica V* came out in 1968. Gibson states that he refrained from translating them because 'they have almost without exception engendered wide disagreement among com-

mentators and I have myself been unable to reach firm conclusions on the rendering of damaged or problematic passages or on their comprehensive interpretations' (pp. 31 f.). All Ugaritic study involves some uncertainty, and the first edition of *Canaanite myths and legends* did not invariably provide the 'correct' answer to a given problem. It was, however, always proactive and contributed much to the discussion of Ugaritic material.

Driver's 'Observations on philology and grammar' have been excised from the second edition. Those students who struggled to remember the principles underlying the highly individual organization of the glossary in Driver's work will greatly welcome the re-ordering effected in the second edition.

The texts have been renumbered according to the system adopted in Herdner's *OTA*, referred to as the 'official edition'. Students new to Ugaritic would seem a primary market for *Canaanite myths and legends*. This reviewer thinks it unfair to ask them to deal with the three separate systems of text numbering which they will now encounter in the second edition of *Canaanite myths and legends* (Herdner's system), *Ugaritic textbook* (Gordon's), and *ANET* and *Textes ougaritiques* (Virolleaud's).

The above are, however, all fairly minor points. Producing a second edition of a book as well known as *Canaanite myths and legends* would seem a difficult endeavour. Dr. Gibson has done an admirable job, and this new edition will provide students of Ugaritic with valuable assistance for years to come.

SANDRA L. LITTMAN

HANS EBERHARD MAYER: *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem.* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Bd. 26.) xxvii, 438 pp. Stuttgart: Antone Hiersemann, 1977. DM 130.

It is a paradox that although there are more abundant materials for the ecclesiastical institutions of the Crusader States than for any other aspect of its history, comparatively little work has been done on the Church in Latin Syria. The majority of the ecclesiastical documents of Outremer have been in print for almost a century (in some cases longer) and have been widely used by scholars in such fields as feudal tenure and economic organization, whereas their primary function as sources of information about the Latin Church has been largely disregarded. There have, of course, been specialist studies of individual foundations, like Professor Mayer's own work on the Premonstratensians of St. Samuel, but there is still no general study except Hotzelt's *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge*, which leaves many of the more interesting problems unanswered.

There are, however, signs that the attitude of Crusader historians is beginning to change. Professor Riley-Smith's magisterial study of the Knights of St. John appeared in 1967; in 1972 Dr. Hiestand produced his fine work

on papal legates in the Crusader States; in 1973-6 Dr. Fedalto dealt with the Latin Church in Syria as part of a wider work on Western Church influence in the eastern Mediterranean; and now Mayer has produced a collection of 15 inter-related essays about the ecclesiastical history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem before 1187.

The seven essays on bishoprics are chiefly concerned with the evolution of the Latin Church in central and southern Palestine. The main problem there, on which Mayer sheds a good deal of light, is the failure to provide Jerusalem with more than two suffragan sees before the erection of the dioceses of Hebron and Petra in 1168. He examines the ecclesiastical administration of Jaffa, Nablus and Ascalon in detail, and advances persuasive arguments about why they did not develop into bishoprics. The northern provinces of the Latin patriarchate are treated less fully in two essays, one on the see of Tiberias and the early relations between the diocese of Nazareth and the abbey of Tabor; and the other on the location and status of the crusader cathedral of Tyre.

The eight essays on monastic topics are dominated by a long section, almost a quarter of the entire book, devoted to our Lady of Josaphat. This is natural, since, apart from the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospital of St. John, Josaphat has a richer collection of documents than any other foundation in Latin Syria. As Mayer's expertise in diplomatic history would lead one to hope, he examines the authenticity of certain key documents in the early history of the community (e.g. Baldwin II's confirmation of its lands, Rohricht *Regesta* no. 134); though the most generally useful part of this section is probably the detailed examination of Josaphat's acquisition of property in the twelfth century. In addition, there are discussions of the early history of some of the other great abbeys of Jerusalem. Two are of particular interest: Mayer argues that Mount Sion was founded as a house of secular canons in the reign of Duke Godfrey but not, as was later believed, by him; and in his study of the Convent of Bethany he gives convincing reasons for rejecting the date of foundation recorded by William of Tyre, and has also suggested that before 1187 it was a double monastery after the pattern of Fontevrault.

It would be wrong to give the impression that this volume is of interest only to church historians, for Mayer sets his discussion in the wider framework of the general history of the Kingdom and often contributes to a fuller understanding of its secular history. His major contribution of this kind is in the essay about the attempt to re-found a bishopric at Ascalon in 1153, which leads to a wide-ranging discussion of the evolution of the County of Jaffa-Ascalon; but even such technical studies as that of the grant of land at Acre to the Cluniacs have a wider application: in this case the precise dating of Bishop Ralph of Bethlehem's embassy to Western Europe in Amalric I's reign.

Of course, not all Mayer's arguments are equally convincing. For instance, in the essay on St. Anne's, Jerusalem, there is a long

discussion about the choice of Melisende as Baldwin II's heir in preference to her 'purple-born' sister, Yveta. This is concerned with the theoretical aspects of succession-law, which at best are inferential, and it virtually ignores the need which must have been uppermost in the mind of the ageing king and his advisers to choose an heir of marriageable age whose husband could take charge of the defence of the realm.

Yet though one may disagree with some of Mayer's conclusions it would be difficult to fault his impeccable scholarship, based on a detailed knowledge of the primary and secondary sources. This being so, it is the more surprising to find no reference in the final essay, about the monastery of St. Saba and the Orthodox clergy of the Holy Sepulchre, to Pelagius's settlement of 1222 for the Church of Cyprus in which he refers to the presence of Greek suffragan bishops in Latin dioceses as the traditional practice of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Latrie, 1852-61).

In his preface Mayer refers to his essays as prolegomena for a history of the Latin Church in Syria. This is a just, though an unduly modest claim, since it ignores the wider value of this work to non-ecclesiastical scholars. It is to be hoped that other scholars will follow the lead which Mayer has given them and produce more work on the ecclesiastical history of the Crusades which has hitherto been unjustly neglected.

BERNARD HAMILTON

REFERENCE

Latrie, L. Mas. 1852-61. *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan* Paris III, 622.

FRANCESCO ASPESI: *La distinzione dei generi nel nome antico-egiziano e semitico*. (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Milano, LXXX. Sezione a cura dell'Istituto di Glottologia, 3.) ix, 76 pp. Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1977. L5,500.

The title suggests that this book is concerned with Egyptian and Semitic gender markings, although, in fact, the author devotes most of his treatise to the question of the origin and function of the so-called feminine -t ending.

In the first chapter, Aspesi discusses the historical treatment of this -t ending. He observes that: 'la -t indice di femminile per i primi grammatici e linguisti, caratteristica di un "genere inferiore" per l'Ascoli, connotatrice di "etwas minderwertiges" per il Brockelmann ed infine "sign of intensity" per il Wensinok' (p. 19). All four of these characterizations are valid; none is complete. Aspesi examines the conclusion reached by Féghali and Cuny that the -t ending was an 'element of opposition', marking one of the two opposing grammatical conceptions in pairs such as masculine-feminine, singular-plural,

concrete-abstract. However, the author thinks that this ignores the fundamental fact that of the two elements the one without the *-t* would have been primary, preceding the one with the suffix; he applies the label 'element of derivation' because the *-t* is used to derive a second noun from one that lacks it.

Aspesi explains in the second chapter that his choice of Egyptian as the focal point of the study is based on the number of features that it holds in common with the rest of the Hamito-Semitic group (Berber, Cushitic, Semitic) as well as on its great antiquity and ample written records. In the third chapter, the author details the use of the *-t* ending in Ancient Egyptian as a general formative for the derivation of nouns from adjectives, verbs, and other nouns. This, he states, is its primary function; the subsequent use of adjectives with suffixed *-t* with nouns ending in *-t* led to a split in the lexicon: nouns taking concord in *-t* formed one group, those with concord in ϕ or *-w* formed a second. As a result of the number of nouns designating females in *-t* with 'male' counterparts lacking this ending, a perceived dichotomy of gender arose. Based on grammatical form, this led to the extension of the feminine gender to all nouns in *-t*, regardless of origin, and the appellation of masculine to those lacking it. In the fourth chapter, Aspesi examines the Semitic languages for evidence of the historical development of gender distinction discovered in Ancient Egyptian.

That the final *-t* might best be described as an 'element of derivation' is not a new idea, although Aspesi presents it as such. Indeed, it is curious that Aspesi has not mentioned the article by E. A. Speiser, 'Studies in Semitic formatives: II. The so-called feminine ending' (*JAOS*, 56, 1936, reprinted in *Oriental and Biblical Studies*, 1967, 416-32); it is especially odd because Aspesi refers to Speiser's article 'The pitfalls of polarity', in which Speiser refers to his study of the *-t* ending, published two years previously. Before discussing the possibility that the origin of the formative *-(a)t* may be found in the Hamito-Semitic accusative element *-t* (pp. 428 ff.), Speiser states that the principal function of the *-(a)t* ending in Semitic 'was not to mark inferior classification, or to form abstracts, collectives, diminutives, or the like, but plainly to construct derivative stems with some special modification of the original meaning' (pp. 424 f.).

SANDRA L. LITTMAN

J. C. WILKINSON: *Water and tribal settlement in south-east Arabia: a study of the aflāj of Oman*. (Oxford Research Studies in Geography.) xvi, 276 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977. £12.50.

Dr. Wilkinson has long been the acknowledged expert on the systems of irrigation in Oman and his fundamental study on the exploitation of its water resources and 'the

traditional relationships that exist in Oman between land and social organization' is more than welcome and an excellent example of the combination of fieldwork with the literature, in this case—of the Ibāḍī community.

Commencing with a geographical survey of the country he passes on to describe the traditional techniques of water exploitation, wells, *ghayl aflāj* and *qanāt aflāj*. *Falaj* he defines as a generic name for a complete irrigation system, deriving from the term from *falaj* = *farag*, to divide. The *ghayl* is a perennial stream developed for utilization in irrigation. The *qanāt* (illustrated by a diagram on p. 77) is, broadly speaking, where an upland source is developed to irrigate a plain below it by excavating a tunnel, pierced by a series of shafts, to the surface. The *falaj* as a whole is a network of canals. These are described and the Omani technical terms supplied, many being local to Oman only, differing (p. 112), for example, from those employed in Bahrain. *Qanāts* in Arabia are not, however, confined to the eastern mountain provinces, for the reviewer has seen examples in Ḥaḍramawt and the Cambridge team working on Ṣan'ā' discovered that less than 10 years ago most of the principal Yemeni cities derived much of their water supply through *qanāts* which, however, are there called *ḥayls* or *kazimabs*; they are demonstrably early Islamic, some possibly pre-Islamic. Wilkinson puts the origins of the *qanāt* settlement pattern as finally established in Sassanid times with the Arabs, up to the coming of Islam, largely foreigners in the villages. 'One is liable to conclude,' he says, 'that the main exploitation of the land is (or was once) based on a very high level of skill in water management, and the investment of effort has been remarkable; at the same time a rider could be added, that it is improbable that this work could have been carried out by the people who now use these irrigation systems, at least not with the levels of skill, knowledge, attitudes, and methods of land organization they currently display' (p. 83 seq.). In a chapter on the impact of the Imāmate Government (i.e. the Ibāḍī Imāmate from its earliest inception) Wilkinson concludes that, 'The penalty paid for some of the more admirable social concepts that the Ibāḍī state has brought to Oman has been the inability of the tribesmen fully to adapt to the requirements of an agricultural community'. His view is that after the Arabs had overthrown the Persians, influenced by Ibāḍism they introduced a more democratic society dominated by a strong tribal structure.

Under the head of formalized social structure, tribal groupings are discussed at some length. These he classifies into five types (p. 171). Chapter ix deals with the sedentarization of the Bedu, more particularly over relatively recent times, and chapter x with settlement and tribal organization. For the examination of the social organization of a *qanāt* community Wilkinson has taken the village of Izki as a case-study using the record of water holdings in the *Maliki Falaj Book* in conjunction with Omani written records. He takes up the question of the Hināwī versus Ghāfirī alignments, often considered equivalent

to the earlier division between Nizār and Yemen. He rejects this identification, maintaining that these *shaff* (meaning approximately 'confederation') names were purely symbolic and parallel in their way to our York-Lancastrian red rose and white rose. Izki exhibits the old division in that its two main settlements are al-Nizār and al-Yaman, and the brief sketch (p. 217) of the Nizār-Yemen feud there 'shows that the quarrels in the village, far from being localized, formed part of a much broader picture of tribal struggles in Oman'.

An observation of some importance (p. 183) is that 'leadership of the great tribal confederations emerges from families that have traditionally been closely associated with "state politics", families that are themselves of impeccable descent but which have severed their tribal ties with their own clan'. Elitism arises from two sources, temporal power (*imārah*) and religious authority (*'ilm*). In Oman there is a situation, probably unique in the Islamic world, that no special rank is accorded the House of the Prophet, which seems to be entirely unrepresented there.

Another respect in which Oman would appear to be unique is that share-cropping and tenant farming are atypical of the tenure system (p. 215) though these occasionally are found (p. 88). 'In central Oman, at least, members of a village are vitally concerned in the prosperity of their *falaj* system, not just because it provides them with a living, but also because it belongs to them, and to them alone.'

One of the most important chapters in Wilkinson's study is concerned with the vital practical question of water-sharing (pp. 97-121); this complicated subject has been handled most ably and in considerable detail. The cycle by which the *falaj* water is distributed around the irrigated land is called *dawrān*. The several systems for measuring the time allotted for the flow of *falaj* water to individual plots include a star calendar of 24 stars from central Oman differing in nomenclature for the most part from the 28 *najūm al-zirā'ah* calendars already published by the reviewer. The *darr* calendar (for which see *BSOAS*, 1968, xxxi, 3, 513) is confined to northern Oman. In central Oman the time allotted for the water flow is measured by a man's shadow and by a stick sundial.

Much comment might be offered on the content of Wilkinson's study—he has himself made certain comparisons with other countries of the Middle East—but this must be restricted to the following remarks.

P. 28 The statement in local histories that the (specifically Yemeni) dye, *wars*, and *za'farān* were introduced so late to Oman by a seventeenth-century Imām, is difficult to credit.

P. 54 In connexion with the settlements of al-Liwā known as *mahdar* the reviewer has recorded *tahaddar* used by the Bedu there of their annual movement to these settlements. Wilkinson suggests as the origin of the name al-Jiwā, the Hollow (plural of *jaww*), which seems plausible, but Jaww al-Kudayf between Ḥaḍramawt and Bayḥān is certainly not a hollow.

P. 58 In connexion with the statement that the Ḥarāṣis reputedly live by hanging out blankets to collect dew in the monsoon air mass, it may be noted that in al-Mukallā bed sheets on the roof were wringing wet with dew by morning, and the Middle East Command Expedition to Socotra in April 1967 found it possible to collect a significant amount of water through condensation under plastic sheeting.

P. 93 The Omani 'ideal of 10 metres between [palm] trees' may be contrasted with the reviewer's notes that at al-Migaylis near Zabid the spacing (called *dimnah*) was 12 *madhāri* in poor land and only 8 *madhāri* in good land.

P. 111 There is no need to see in *al-tibishshara* (when the first *rutab* dates ripen) a dialectical form of *tabassara* as the note seems to imply. This would be *bishsharah*, the presage, as it were, of the ripe dates.

P. 144 Where land and the Islamic law of inheritance are concerned, especially in relation to women's shares, it would be useful to compare what actually happens in practice in the Yemen in Martha Mundy's field study in depth to be published in *Arabian Studies*, v.

P. 148 It is not possible to accept the *ḥadīth* in Yahyā b. Ādam's *K. al-Kharāj* that Muḥammad was so ignorant as not to know how palm trees were fertilized. In Medina, famous for its date plantations, he could not be unaware of so basic an operation. Likewise the suggestion that any recommendations he made were largely based on second-hand gleaning from the Companions is surely untenable? In any event agricultural *ḥadīths* attributed to the Prophet are likely to reflect ancient customary practice in the Hijaz.

P. 148 Pulses (*qutāni* not *qutāni*)—if there is a disparity as to what the term covers in Oman—would in the Yemen according to *Bughyat al-Jallāhīn*, comprise *himmas*, *'adas*, *māsh*, *lūbiyā*, *bāqilā*, *hindibā*, *'atar* (peas), *hurtuimān*, *hilbah*, etc. Incidentally in a classical text one should read *burr*, *dhurah*, *tamr*, for *barr*, *ḥarra*, *tamar*.

P. 162 One wonders if in Oman colloquial Arabic *jumā'ah* and *rubā'ah* are in fact used for the standard *jamā'ah* and western Arabian *rubā'ah*, for which latter important term Landberg's long discussion in the *Glossaire daïfinois* (p. 1087) is most relevant.

It is a pity that a study so original, so thorough, and so informative, essential to the understanding of Oman, should lack that proverbial ha'p'orth of tar represented in consistently accurate transliteration—more especially as it will be relied upon for spellings. Little that is actually incorrect although one must notice (p. 150) the Qur'ānic *riqāb* (slaves) is incorrectly *ruqqāb*, (p. 192) *qāḍi al-quḍā'* for *quḍāh*, and everywhere Shanū'a for Shanū'a(h).

There is a bibliography, an important and interesting appendix on Ibādī land laws, and a glossary of common terms. It would have been useful had Wilkinson included all the Arabic words appearing in the text in his glossary but one can sympathize with the author in that this would have entailed much

additional work on a book already involving a great deal of research and writing.

Only one who has so immersed himself in Oman as Wilkinson can do justice to this valuable piece of research; naturally there are occasionally points of query but one would have to be far more closely acquainted with the country and its distinctive culture to debate the author's findings. He concludes with the statement that 'One of the main aims of the foregoing analysis of the nature of tribal organization has been to account for the way settlement itself is organized. This is appropriate because Omani social structure essentially reflects both the way Arab migrants have adapted to the physical requirements of their new homeland and how far they in turn have imposed their own notions of social organization in it. It is precisely because of the intimate man-land relationship which exists in Omani tribal structure that the geographical distinctiveness of the region is reflected in a self-balancing tribal hierarchy peculiar to it (the Hināwī and Ghāfirī moieties)'. Wilkinson's monograph is indispensable to those concerned with the study of agriculture and irrigation in Middle Eastern countries.

R. B. SERJEANT

SIMON HOPKINS: *A miscellany of literary pieces from the Cambridge Genizah collections: a catalogue and selection of texts in the Taylor-Schechter collection, Old Series, Box A45*. (Cambridge University Library Genizah series, 3.) x, 110 pp. Cambridge: University Library, 1978. £16.

Although the present volume is designated as the third in what promises to be an important new series (to which S. Morag, E. J. Wiesenberg, S. C. Reif, and others are to contribute), it is, I believe, in fact the first to be published. Simon Hopkins, who is responsible for this first instalment, worked until recently as a member of the Cambridge Genizah team before being elected to the chair of Hebrew in the University of Cape Town. He is a very remarkable young Semitist, and, apart from some weighty reviews published in this journal and a doctoral thesis of rare maturity and merit (*Studies in the grammar of Early Arabic*—prepared under the supervision of J. E. Wansbrough), this is his first major publication.

Before I turn to the substance of the volume, a word of praise ought to be addressed to the printing department of the Cambridge University Library. The volume has been excellently produced, and the clarity and indeed beauty of the Hebrew characters are particularly commendable.

Box A45, despite its technical inclusion among Biblical fragments, does in fact contain a miscellany in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judaeo-Arabic, covering such disparate works as *piyyutim*, the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel, the scroll of Antiochus, the Alphabet of Ben Sira,

the *Sefer ha-razim*, a new leaf from Saadya's *Essa Meshali*,¹ etc. There are altogether some thirty pieces, and Hopkins has seriously decided to transcribe all these texts for which no printed editions are extant. The accompanying plates offer not only the authentic 'feel' of the original but they also enable the reader to assess the accuracy of Hopkins's transcriptions. The present reviewer has found it convenient to indulge in this largely supererogatory exercise only where plate and transcription are placed on either the same or facing pages. Texts in Arabic have generally been translated into English.

On p. 1, in relation to the *piyyut* in T-S A45.2, it is said to occupy the place of 3; in fact, however, I cannot detect any instances of this kind in the present poem—unless this refers merely to line (7) where *šason* appears in the alphabetic sequence of s.

On p. 6 (A45.3), I find it hard to read the last word in line (3) as כַּלָּה; it seems to me rather כֶּאֱחָד. In line (4) כֶּאֱחָד, וְיָקָד; r and d are difficult to distinguish here, and the operative letter in this word seems to me absolutely identical with the d in מִכְדָּתִים in line (9).

The version of the *pirg: maṣiah* (A45.6) is not without interest and is excellently transcribed and annotated by the present editor. Some texts are beautifully written: A45.11 and 12 or 15, in their different ways, are cases in point.

On p. 41, in the fine transcription and translation of a hitherto unidentified Judaeo-Arabic fragment, there are some differences, textually not insignificant, between the version here and that in *Sanhedrin* 97 b. It is in these Judaeo-Arabic texts and their treatment that Professor Hopkins's scholarship and learning are most clearly revealed.

It will be worth while some day to collate in detail the version of the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* offered here (18a and 20) with existing editions. In A45.21, the surviving leaf represents the opening passage of the treatise entitled *Kitāb al-ikhtilāʾāt*, i.e. 'book of twitches', ascribed to Šaem, son of Noah. Professor Hopkins exposes the present reviewer's unforgivable ignorance when he describes this Judaeo-Arabic text as belonging 'to the distinct and well-known [my italics] genre of *Zuckungsliteratur*' (p. 67). His transcription and translation of this complex text are most praiseworthy.

The Tobit texts (A45.23, 26 and 29) differ more than a little from the version in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* I; on the other hand, a cursory examination by me of the edition of Constantinople 1519 has revealed no substantial variants (eprosopos of Hopkins, p. 96, fn. 2).

It requires no great gifts of prophecy to foretell that the present work, with all its felicities and its great learning, is a mere hors-d'œuvre of what Simon Hopkins will do for Semitic studies in the future.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

¹ Cf. A. Scheiber, *TAEBIZ*, xxxiv, April 1965, 228–31.

CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH: *The mediaeval Islamic underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*. Part 2. *The Arabic jargon texts: the Qaṣīda sāsāniyyas of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafīyū 'l-Dīn*. vii, 181–361, Arabic text 100 pp., 4 plates. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976 [publ. 1978]. Guilders 96.

Volume 2 of Professor Bosworth's fascinating exploration into the mediaeval underworld of the Middle Eastern countries under Islamic rule contains the text of the two *qaṣīdahs* of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafīyū 'l-Dīn respectively, set forth in elegant and easily legible handwriting, along with a translation of the poems followed by copious annotation of each, with discussion of their linguistic content and historical background. This final volume is well indexed, with proper names, European and modern oriental authorities and technical terms; it is rounded off with a well selected bibliography.

The professions exercised by the characters described in these poems vary from what might be regarded as legitimate entertainment such as snake-charming, to simple fraud, rising to the most astonishing tricks of perverted ingenuity. The extreme depths of human depravity are repulsive indeed, but it seems that at least a good many of these practices also existed in mediaeval Europe, and in our own day many oddities have come to light. The publication of these poems is nevertheless of no small importance for social history and for the rich vein of linguistic and philological data revealed. Professor Bosworth has consulted a wide range of texts and individuals but, despite his remarkable success in eliciting sense from what at first seem almost incomprehensible verses, even then he has at times to confess himself baffled. Probably some of this argot of the thieves' kitchen will never be unravelled.

The rendering of al-Mandaqaniyyūn as beggars from Latin *mendico* is attractive (Abū Dulaf's *qaṣīdah*, p. 192, verse 23), but one should not be misled by the translation as 'beggars' brotherhood' into seeing here some indication of an inter-regional organization, with the members of which unbridled libertinage of every sort is almost a doctrine. Yet the poems do portray a kind of subculture but it is of a sort spawned in the great cities; it is not Arabian as indeed the large number of non-Arabic argot words shows, derived from Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, etc.

Some of the frauds described by the two poets will certainly be found in the manuals of *hiṣbāh* and such works as the *Minhāj al-dukkān* of Abū 'l-Munāḥ b. al-'Aṭṭār al-Hārūnī writing about the mid-seventh/thirteenth century in Cairo.

Pp. 192, 217, verse 22. If the Banū Sāsān are mainly located in Iraq the implication of this verse must surely be that they wintered in southern Iraq, which is *par excellence* Balad al-Tamr, and spent the summer in the Elburz mountains.

P. 194–5 The *fakkākāh* who wriggles free of

chains is not unknown today. An 'Attās Sayyid in Ḥaḍramawt was noted for this and other tricks in the nineteen-fifties.

P. 206 Abū Dulaf makes the surprising statement that the surviving members of the Anṣār and noble lords of Fihṛ (Quraysh) belong to the number of the Banū Sāsān, as does al-Muṭṭi' the Caliph who begs his bread of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. Professor Bosworth takes these assertions as referring to their deriving allotments from the state, but is there just a remote possibility that there was some link with the Banū Sāsān as between some Indian rajas and the Thugs?

P. 207 The reference to persons who shiver because of having beaten a dog or cat and are buffeted by the Jinn reminds the reviewer of *mayādhib* of a saint in the Ṣubbayḥah tribal area who used to shiver in unison if they had offended their saint by, for example, lack of hospitality.

P. 222 It is a little strange that so ordinary a dish as *harīṣah* should be a luxury by Abū Dulaf's time—the expensive ingredients added in the poet's time must be the reason.

P. 234 The author suggests that 'the structure of true Bedouin society virtually precludes begging'. This is contradicted by the South Arabia proverb that one should not show the Badawī the way to one's house. Ḥadramī Badū, if generous hosts with the little they have, do not hesitate to sponge on others and openly and importunately beg on occasion.

P. 235 For *fifṣḥiliyyah* and other dishes A. J. Arberry's *Baghdad cookery book* provides useful descriptions.

P. 237 In al-Ḥajarī's *Masājīd Ṣan'ā'* (p. 73) the Jinn are represented as breaking wind at hearing a strong *tasbeḥ* by a *mu'adhdhin* (in a verse of the poet al-Khafanjī), as Satan in Ṣafīyū 'l-Dīn's *qaṣīdah* flees from the mosque breaking wind as he goes. Yemeni comment was that this was astounding since the Jinn have no material body—no doubt the same is true of Satan!

P. 267 *Dam al-Akawayn* is still exported from Socotra and can be purchased in Ṣan'ā'.

P. 270 For *makhānis al-'ashr* one should most likely read *al-'ushr/ushar*, the well-known plant, though I have not heard that it is used for brushes.

P. 288 The Ṭaffay Karbalā' may perhaps be explained by the name al-Ṭaffah of the 'Awdhālī Kawr range in the former West Aden Protectorate. The Ṭaffah is applied to the crest of the Kawr. The objection is that Karbalā' is flat, but possibly *ṭaffah* meaning 'rest' could have been used figuratively.

P. 289 For *sakara* to block up a channel see *al-Bukhālā'*, p. 117 (Ṭāḥā al-Ḥājirī (ed.), Cairo, 1948).

P. 295 In verse 14 to 'trough wine (*wa-l-samyi mūlī'an*)' seems unlikely. In South Arabia a *mūlā'i* is an addict, or should one more accurately say 'lover of, habitual user of', for instance, *qāt*? The verse would then read 'addicted to consuming hashish and wine'.

P. 302 *Shakhama* in present-day Arabic is used in the sense of 'greasing' a car and this would make good sense in verse 2 of Ṣafīyū

- 'l-Dīn's *qasīdah*. It would then read 'those ... who have come to conciliate me and butter me up'. An Aden expression for bribery is *haqq al-salūt*, oil money.
- P. 318 The argot words for the numerals can be paralleled from those used by the *dallāls* of Shibām so that their Badū clients and others will not understand. *Dast* used for ten may be from a sense in which it is used in medieval Arabic, to mean 'a set', and a more abstruse origin for it need not perhaps be sought.
- P. 318 *Tār.* tambourine, was commonly used in the former Aden Protectorates. Cf. Landberg, *Gloss. dat.*, 2228.
- P. 325 Read al-habbat al-sawdā'.
- P. 331 I am assured that in some parts at least of Arabia women have a special vocabulary and expressions of their own, not used by their menfolk.

Finis coronat opus.

B. B. SREJEANT

ISMAIL K. POONAWALA: *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*. (Studies in Near Eastern Culture and Society, [Vol. 1].) xix, 533 pp. Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, [1977]. \$40.

Students of Ismā'īlī literature—and those too whose work touches on it only incidentally—have suffered greatly in the past on two counts: firstly in trying to assess exactly what literature exists and, secondly, in their attempts to gain access to what little had come to light, preserved as it was in the main by a community extremely protective towards its literary products. Building on the fine efforts of stalwarts like Ivanow, Ryze, and H. Hamdan, Professor Poonawala has, as far as it is possible, solved the first problem. The second is touched upon in some detail in the foreword of the book under review written by Professor Muhsin Mahdi (pp. xvii–xviii). Mahdi's statement (p. xvii) that '... the attitude of secretiveness about these works has become a quaint but ineffective remnant of an older tradition that has lost its force' is with respect a little over-optimistic in the reviewer's experience and one wonders exactly what he had in mind when he added, 'All it does is make life a bit more difficult for the serious scholar while encouraging incompetent scholars to use it as an excuse for not mentioning their sources, fabricating hypotheses without sufficient evidence, and disregarding acceptable standards in the edition of Ismā'īlī texts ...'. Serious charges indeed! In fact much is anyway bound to remain relatively inaccessible, as long as it remains in private libraries.

Poonawala's aim is to provide a comprehensive bibliography of Ismā'īlī writings in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Gujarati. To this end he separates the book into two parts: 'authors and their works' and 'anonymous works'. The former he divides up chronologically, pre-Fātimid and Fātimid, Musta'li-Ṭayyibī and Nizārī. Within the divisions the entry begins with the author's name—not incidentally in a sufficiently prominent type—

and a biographical sketch follows. Under the heading 'sources'—this time, together with 'works', too prominently displayed—Poonawala documents this biography with extensive references from primary and other later sources. He then moves on to the author's works, listing them, in the case of a writer who engaged in more than one aspect of Ismā'īlī literature, under such headings as history, jurisprudence, *ta'wīf*, and *haqqā'iq*. In part 2 the anonymous works are listed alphabetically under each historical period. The bibliographical sections of the book are preceded by a brief, though useful, introduction entitled 'historical background'. Having completed his bibliography proper, the compiler introduces the following five appendices: non-Ismā'īlī works used by Ismā'īlīs; a complete family tree of the Ismā'īlī/Fātimid imams; a genealogical table indicating the succession of the Musta'li-Ṭayyibī *dā'īs* and a chronological list of all the *dā'īs*; tables and lists of the Nizārī imams; and a final appendix concerns the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' whose 'Ismā'īlī character seems indisputable', according to Poonawala. Next follows an indispensable glossary of Ismā'īlī technical terms (pp. 375–80). An immense bibliography of the author's sources occupies pp. 385–463 and, with great foresight, he provides a chronological list of authors (pp. 467–75), as well as indexes of titles, non-Ismā'īlī works used by Ismā'īlīs, of *gīnāns* (works of the Nizārī khojās), and of authors in alphabetical order. The book ends with a few additions, works which came to Poonawala's notice after the book had gone to press.

The following are a few comments on certain points made in the work:

(pp. 138, 365) Hūth is in fact nowhere near Ta'izz in the Yemen. It lies some 70 miles north, slightly west of Ṣan'ā'.

(p. 162) The statement associating Banū Ḥātim (the B. Ḥātim (II) of my *Ayyūbiids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London, 1974–8, in particular II, 68–75, for there were two B. Ḥātims) specifically with Dharmarar appears a little misleading, for the family controlled at times a great deal of territory in northern Yemen and they had of course ruled from Ṣan'ā' since 481/1038. They were of Yām—and proud of it—and staunch Ismā'īlīs (cf. *ibid.*, 69, genealogical table). If 'Alī b. Ḥanzalah, the 6th *dā'ī*, were indeed 'held in high respect ... by the Ayyūbid rulers in Ṣan'ā'', one wonders why he does not figure at all in *al-Simt al-ghālib li-ḥaman*, etc. (the text forming Volume I of my *Ayyūbiids*) by Ibn Ḥātim, himself a member of B. Ḥātim (II). This work is the most detailed account of the Ayyūbiids in the Yemen to come to light and its author was an Ismā'īlī.

(p. 172) My guess is that *Sirat al-Ghuzz* is in fact the history quoted above, the full title of which is ... *fi akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ghuzz bi-l-Yaman*. This conjecture can the more confidently be advanced in the knowledge that the author, Ibn Ḥātim, was an Ismā'īlī and the work would have been well known to Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn.

(pp. 184, 246, 363, 368, 369, etc.) Poonawala's *Taybah* should read al-Ṭayyibah. This

attractive village with its stone houses sits on top of the mountains overlooking the incredibly green and beautiful Wādī Zahr, a few miles north-west of Šan'ā'. Although the local inhabitants are now Zaydīs, numerous Ismā'īlī tombs can still be found there, most dating from the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. One, possibly older, is the object of an annual pilgrimage, though who its occupant is the locals do not know, nor indeed do they care.

(p. 416) Since Robertson-Smith's unworthy review of Kay's *Yaman* is quoted, Kay's excellent reply (*JRAS*, 1893, 218-36) should also be included.

But this is a truly amazing book, of tremendous breadth and detail. It is difficult to believe that its research occupied only two years of the compiler's time. The user very quickly accustoms himself to the layout. Much of the material in the appendices is new and entirely supersedes the work of earlier scholars in the field. Mistakes of printing are so few and insignificant as to be to all intents and purposes non-existent. In this age of high printing costs, the book has wisely been reproduced from typescript, both in the roman and arabic scripts. This gives an entirely satisfactory, not to say even pleasing result. Professor Poonawala and all concerned in the production of the book are to be heartily congratulated on this splendid achievement. In order to make more and more Ismā'īlī literature available to all interested scholars, he, Professor Abbas Hamdani, and other academically active members of the community in its broadest sense must keep up the good work.

G. REX SMITH

MUHAMMAD KHALID MASUD: *Islamic legal philosophy: a study of Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī's life and thought*. (Publications of the Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad (Pakistan), No. 36.) [iv], xi, 357 pp. Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1977. Rs. 50.

This book has its origins in a doctoral thesis submitted to McGill University, Montreal, in 1973. In my view the author would have been well advised to retain the main title of his thesis, viz. *Shāṭibī's Philosophy of Islamic Law* as the main title of this 'amended and some what (*sic*) reorganized version' (p. v), since the core of the book is in fact an examination of the legal thought of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Shāṭibī ('of Játava', Spain), the prominent Mālikī jurist of Naṣrid Granada (d. 790/1388).

An introduction on Islamic legal theory and social changes (pp. 1-30) is followed by the first of the three parts into which the body of the book is divided. Here in three chapters (pp. 35-143) the author examines (a) the historical background against which Shāṭibī's legal thinking developed, (b) Shāṭibī's life and works, and (c) forty *fatwās* attributed or attributable to the jurist.

To arrive at an understanding of Shāṭibī's philosophy of Islamic law Dr. Masud has chosen to focus on his concept of *maṣlaḥa* ('public interest', or 'human good' (Masud)). Accordingly, in Part Two (pp. 149-85) he aims at an analysis of the concept of *maṣlaḥa* (a) as it appears in major works on *uṣūl al-fiqh* prior to Shāṭibī, and (b) as it has been viewed in modern times both by Muslim modernists and by Western scholars. In Part Three (pp. 181-326) Shāṭibī's philosophy of Islamic law is analysed in nine chapters. Of these the first is devoted to a discussion of the main work on which his study relies, viz. *al-Muwāfaqāt* (first published 1884); for it is within the structure of this work that Shāṭibī developed his legal philosophy. In the eight remaining chapters the author analyses in detail the jurist's concept of *Shari'a*, *maqāsid al-Shari'a*, *maṣlaḥa*, *ma'nā*, *taklīf*, *maḥagga*, *ta'abbud*, *niyya*, *'āda*, *bid'a*, and *ijtihād*.

The appearance of the book under review is timely: a close study of Shāṭibī's legal writings in general and of his *Muwāfaqāt* in particular is much needed, and this for two reasons. First, from the time of Muhammad 'Abduh, for whose students and adherents the *Muwāfaqāt* was prescribed reading, the work has made an increasingly significant contribution to the moulding of Muslim modernists' concept of Islamic law. Indeed, over the last twenty years or so enthusiasm for its author's thinking has gathered momentum, largely, we may suppose, as a result of its impact, during the nineteen-fifties and sixties, on the mind of one of the most notable jurists of the modern Muslim world. I refer to Mahmassani (Ṣubḥī al-Mahmasānī,) whose close reading of Shāṭibī persuaded him of the latter's pre-eminence as an exponent of Islamic jurisprudence and legal philosophy. The second reason for the need of a study such as we now have before us is that from the nineteenth century to the present different thinkers and scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have offered different assessments of our Andalusian jurist's thought.

The reasons for such disagreement are various, and we cannot consider them here in any great detail. Suffice it to make only two points. First, Shāṭibī's writings have too often been viewed in part and not as a whole. Thus, in the East Rashid Riḍā offered the Muslim world an interpretation of Shāṭibī that was tendentiously spun out of the latter's *K. al-I'tisām*, a defence against charges of innovation and heresy. Riḍā's publication in *al-Manār* (1913) of selected portions of this *apologia* did much to project an image of Shāṭibī as a crusader against *bid'a*. In the West, on the other hand, Goldziher, preoccupied with Ghazālī and his possible influence on Shāṭibī, misguidedly insisted on identifying Riḍā's extracts from the *I'tisām* as parts of the *Muwāfaqāt*, despite clear indications to the contrary (the error being subsequently incorporated in Brockelmann, *GAL S II*, 375). In short, both Riḍā and Goldziher based their view of Shāṭibī not on his *Muwāfaqāt*, his major work on the philosophy of law and jurisprudence, but on a lesser and more circumscribed work devoted to the concept of

innovation (*bid'a*) and specifically conceived as a defence against his opponents' charges of such.

The second point to be made is that, even when attention has been concentrated on the *Muwāfaqāt*, the true nature of its author's thought has not been grasped either in the East or in the West. For this Masud advances several reasons, of which I find one far more cogent than the rest, viz. 'differences of understanding and interpretation of Shāṭibi's basic terms such as *bid'a*, *ta'abbud*, *dīn*, etc.' (p. 199). Herein, it seems to me, lies the true crux of the problem: Shāṭibi's terminology is related to the concept of *maṣlaḥa*, which is the basis of his legal philosophy and, as Masud cogently argues, cannot properly be understood in isolation from that concept.

What, in Masud's submission, was Shāṭibi's achievement? By the fourteenth century all but a relatively small part of the Iberian Peninsula was in Christian hands; Islamic sovereignty was confined to the city of Granada and its province with its variable but never extensive boundaries. For reasons that need not be gone into here this small Nasrid realm became the scene of unprecedented political, social and economic changes that bore heavily on the existing legal system. To cope with the dilemmas confronting them, the generality of Māliki jurists adopted certain devices, notably that termed *muwā'at al-khilāf*. This device admitted the validity of diverse juristic opinions and so entailed acceptance of the diversity of laws. Such acceptance ran counter to Shāṭibi's concept of Islamic law since, in his view, it negated the very basis of that law. The predicament in which Shāṭibi found himself generated questions: What are the objectives of the Law (*maqāṣid al-Sharī'a*)? What is the nature of legal obligation? What is the method of legal reasoning? To all such questions there seemed only one answer: 'Shāṭibi found the principle of *maṣlaḥa* to be the essential point at which all inquiries about the nature and purpose of legal obligation, social and legal change, and the method of legal reasoning converge. At the same time this principle also provides the basis of unity that underlies the diversity of rules in Islamic law' (p. 318).

Of course, the principle of *maṣlaḥa* existed long before Shāṭibi. So what, it may be asked, was new? Briefly stated, Masud argues that Shāṭibi's penetrating analysis of *maṣlaḥa* refined and clarified the concept by freeing it from limitations imposed upon it by certain theological and philosophical doctrines. The result was a considerable improvement upon the traditional understanding of *maṣlaḥa* as a principle of expediency to be used where textual authority is lacking and analogical reasoning (*qiyās*) fails. Far from viewing *maṣlaḥa* as an expedient, Shāṭibi interpreted the concept in such a way that it comes into prominence as 'a dynamic principle of Islamic legal theory' (p. v). For Shāṭibi, claims Masud, *maṣlaḥa* is the purpose of Islamic law—an integral principle unifying the Sharī'a, providing stability and giving direction to legal changes (p. 322). To put his legal philosophy in a nutshell '*ijtihād* provides a

method and process for legal change; *maṣlaḥa* gives a basis and direction to change; and the concepts of *bid'a* and *ta'abbud* provide limits to social and legal changes' (ibid.). And so concludes Masud, 'in the history of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Shāṭibi's philosophy of law marks a tendency towards "legal positivism"' (p. 325).

Dr. Masud has clearly put much thought and effort into the making of *Islamic Legal Philosophy*, and the result is a work of which serious students of both Islamic modernism and of the history and theory of Islamic law will have to take account. This does not mean to say that it will attract no criticism. In the first place, there is far too much of the doctoral dissertation about it: it contains material enough for two works of different scope. Judicious pruning would have cut out some discursiveness, repetition and recapitulation. Secondly, the book is a study with an underlying purpose (I deliberately avoid the use of the epithet 'tendentious' since for many it has now a pejorative connotation, and it would be manifestly unjust to suggest that the author has no regard for scholarly objectivity). This purpose the author himself does not conceal: 'The study constitutes an endeavour to understanding the relationship of legal theory with (sic) social change in Islamic legal thought. It is argued . . . that Shāṭibi had developed the concept of *maṣlaḥa* as the fundamental characteristic legal theory which makes it adaptable to social needs' (p. v). Again, a reconstruction of Shāṭibi's arguments 'might hold a key to a fruitful adaptation of Islamic law to modern circumstances' (p. 326). It almost goes without saying that there are dangers to scholarship in research linked to a search for material wherewith to lay the foundations of a twentieth-century renaissance in Islamic thought. Thirdly, our author's treatment of the history of Granada in the fourteenth century will not commend itself to historians. Among other things no account whatever has been taken of A. M. Al-'Aḥbādī's *El Reino de Granada en la época de Alhamad V* (Madrid, 1973) or of Rachel Aré's *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides* (Paris, 1973), to mention only two important titles. (Admittedly, these two studies appeared too late for the author's doctoral dissertation, but not for the revised version of it which we now have in book form.) Fourthly, the author is not always clear, in his discussion of Shāṭibi's *fatwās*, about what is 'social' and what is 'economic'. Moreover, he seems to me to attach too much importance to these *responsa*, though of course he is right to point out departures from traditional practice. Fifthly, a number of curious statements (e.g. 'Studies of *Uṣūl al-fiqh* in English are still at a level where exact translations of Arabic terms are not possible' (p. vi) and inconsistencies (e.g. *K. al-I'tisām* is said on p. 112 to have been published 'probably in 1915', but the date given on p. 194 is '1913/14') can be spotted here and there. Lastly, misprints are common (though many may be the fault of the printer rather than of the author); some European language titles are distorted (e.g. 'Le rôle des hommes de

religion dans l'histoire de l'Espagne musulmane jusque' à la fin du Califat' (p. 86, n. 50)) as well as personal names (e.g. 'Bastieva' (pp. 93, 337) for 'Batsieva'; 'Ambrosio' for 'Ambrosio' (p. 89)); occasional bizarre English (e.g. 'devaluated' (p. 70); 'thusly' (p. 201)) or unaccustomed usage (e.g. 'Granadian' *passim*). And so on.

Despite the reservations I have about this book it is a work that *must* be taken into consideration in any future research into the question of *maglaha*, for on this point the author shows himself capable of keen observation and insight, even if he is not always right.

J. DEREK LATHAM

OLEG GRABAR: *The Alhambra*. (The Architect and Society.) 230 pp. London: Allen Lane, 1978. £10.

BASILIO PAVÓN MALDONADO: *Tudela, ciudad medieval: arte islámico y mudéjar*. (Cuadernos del 'Seminario de Arte y Arqueología', 3.) 87 pp., 52 plates. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1978.

Although Tudela and Granada were major urban settlements of Moorish Spain and were seats of important dynasties these two publications share little else in common. They will appeal to readers of very differing tastes.

Basilio Pavón Maldonado is an authority on Mudéjar art. His study, *Arte Toledano* (Madrid, 1973), is a major work. This detailed examination of the Moorish art of Tudela can be regarded as a kind of pendant to it. It is thorough and well argued even if the quality of the publication is not of the first order. Oleg Grabar is Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard University. His main field of study is the Muslim East, and he has published articles and books on Islamic art and archaeology in Syria. This latest book is lavishly illustrated and well produced. It combines art, literature, Moorish history, and Islamic iconography. To quote the preface, it appears to be a book aimed at 'the general public'; whether it succeeds in this aim is open to question. Whether it is a connoisseur's guide to the Alhambra, a coffee-table book of Moorish architecture, or a discursive comment on the 'meeting of the twain' in Granada is far from obvious.

Tudela received scant mention in the writings of the early Arab geographers. Yet this Moorish town of respectable antiquity was of notable importance in Spanish history. In part this was due to its strategic position on the Ebro, in part due to it being the capital of the ninth-century dynasty of the Banū Qasī. It was an important Mozarabic centre where 'arte árabe' and 'arte Mozárabe' met and exerted their respective influences to a degree of complexity that has baffled experts. Widely differing views have been expressed as to the relative artistic influence of Córdoba on the one hand and the Mozarabic churches located to the north on the other.

Stylistic influence can most easily be traced in the remains of the Great Mosque and in the detailed carving of other Muslim and Christian buildings.

Maldonado's monograph attempts to solve these problems by a close examination of carvings and masonry, more especially the *modillones* (mouldings and corbels), capitals, and battlements which are illustrated in the drawings and the plates. The author tentatively concludes (p. 23) that 'In the Mozarabic churches there is to be found an evocation of Córdoba, in Tudela the art of Córdoba is present both in spirit and in technique, and, in like manner, Córdoba art of the tenth century evolves in the territory of Navarre. Perhaps this is the reason why we see in Tudela *modillones* of a rough-hewn appearance which frequently parallel the eaves of the Mozarabic churches. Both arts are combined in some common fount of inspiration which is lost way back in the ninth century and in the first part of the tenth'.

Other pages unfold the story of the city of Tudela. The author describes its different communal quarters and its Mudéjar art of a later age.

Grabar's book is immensely greater in its scope. It is less concerned with mouldings or with the brush-work of archaeology. Its limits are the furthest boundaries in the Muslim world. The author relates the Alhambra to palaces and princely buildings of the classical world, the Middle East, India, and North Africa. He interprets the evolution of this remarkable edifice in the light of literature and in the inspiration of ideas which stem directly from Islamic belief and romance. The reader may be surprised to learn how little is still known for sure about the historical evolution of the plan of the 'red citadel'. The mystery lies hidden in the additive nature of its construction. Despite the general appeal of this book some of the author's writing is frankly technical, and a short glossary would have been of help to the uninitiated and 'general' public.

In an attempt to unravel the mystery of the fabric of the Alhambra the author offers bold suggestions and hypotheses which are the substance of his book. The article by James Dickie, which appeared in *BSOAS*, xxxi, 2, 1968, pp. 237-48, 'The Hispano-Arab garden: its philosophy and function' is introduced to interpret the *raison d'être* of the Alhambra gardens (pp. 122-7). The poet Ibn Luyūn is extensively quoted. The author also quotes the poet Ibn Zamrak in connexion with the possible dating and function of the Fountain of Lions. Particularly stimulating is his theory of the myth of a prototype Solomonic palace in the Islamic world. He elaborates on the symbolism which accompanied this royal myth (see especially pp. 148-52).

In regard to the relation of the Alhambra to Christendom, I am sorry that Grabar does not widen his discussion to 'Frankish' cavalier paintings of hunting, courting, and combating in the Hall of Justice. Two of the scenes are shown in plates 46-8, but one of these is almost meaningless without some explanation. Note 28 refers the reader to *arte toledano* and

to a wholly new interpretation by Jerrilynn Dodds. In fact, these paintings have already been satisfactorily explained by Richard Bernheimer in his *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, Harvard University Press, 1952, 209, n. 1; 213, n. 76 and in his detailed analysis of the Wodwose throughout his exhaustive study. *Arts Toledano* does indeed offer a comprehensive description and depiction of these paintings, but they are better illustrated, and in colour, in Bradley Smith's *Spain—a history in art* (Harrap, 1966), pp. 98–103.

Amid the discussion as it roams far afield to Kharibat al-Mafjar, Merv, Spelato, Khorsabad, and other stately homes, the reader is likely at times to be at a loss to know where he is. He will be glad of the clearly drawn plan of the Alhambra on the endpaper. The illustrations are arguably too many to justify the price of the book. Yet, all in all, there is much to provoke thoughts about the author's approach and theories. He emphasizes that the Alhambra is both unique yet rooted in a set of traditions. The aim is to explore and interpret these traditions wherever the architecture and archaeology of the Alhambra in its fully evolved form permit the author to do so.

Córdoba, Tudela and Nasrid Granada are chronological opposites within the lengthy epic of Spanish Islam. Although different in objectives, and concentrated in presentation, these two studies are undoubtedly helpful towards a better and wider understanding of Islamic art in al-Andalus.

H. T. NORRIS

F. TH. DIJKEMA (ed. and tr.): *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*. xii, 236 pp., 38 plates. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977. Guilders 96.

Ottoman history is commonly regarded as being less dependent on epigraphic sources than any comparable field of Islamic historical studies, and the pioneering work in Ottoman epigraphy which was published before the war by Halil Edhem, Wittek, and others has been largely trampled underfoot in the desperate post-war rush to exploit the newly accessible riches of the Turkish archives. Conversely, the one period in the history of the Ottoman state for which epigraphy might be expected usefully to supplement exiguous archival remains and the untrustworthy chronologies of court historians is the near-century which is bounded by the conquests of Adrianople and Constantinople.

How much, then, might one expect in theory from the inscriptions of Edirne to illuminate the early period of Ottoman rule in Rumeli; but how little, in fact remains after the town's long abandonment as an imperial seat, the cycle of recurrent fire, earthquake, and neglect and, more latterly, Russian, Bulgarian, and Greek occupation, and the no less destructive attentions of town planners, is made plain by Dr. Dijkema. In this admirable and meticulous study, the first substantial work in a Western language on the epigraphy of an

Ottoman town to appear for many years, he has given us what he rightly calls 'the first critical edition, with translations and commentaries, of the monumental inscriptions written in Arabic script and possessing historical value that survive in [Edirne]'. Excluded from his study are 'verses without historical importance, single dates, and signatures of calligraphers, as being uninformative, and tombstones, as 'too numerous'. Within these limits, Dijkema has collected and published 176 inscriptions. Of these, only 19—of which six are either copies or are certainly corrupt—can be dated with certainty before 1453, while 70 or so are of the nineteenth century or later.

The Ottoman inscriptions of Edirne have been collected and in part published previously by local antiquarians in editions which are either defective or incomplete or even, in one remarkable instance involving the editor himself, manifestly piratical (cf. p. 4, n. 23). Adopting a cautious attitude towards this locally published work, Dijkema has built on the more secure foundations offered by the respectable but unpublished studies of Edirne written late in the Hamidian era by Mustafa Şevket Bey and Ahmed Zâdi Efendi, and by a series of manuscript notes collected some 50 years ago by the late Professor Wittek and generously placed at the editor's disposal. On these studies, and on the research undertaken in the course of his own visits to Edirne in 1969 and 1972, this work is based.

Dijkema's method in presenting his material is a model of clarity and order. Inscriptions are entered chronologically, which, while separating inscriptions of different dates from a single site, has the merit of allowing the reader to study the evolution of epigraphic language, form, and style over no less than five centuries of Edirne's history. Within each entry are provided provenance (many of the inscriptions being in the town museum); technical description; metre; text; translation; references to previous publication; and commentary. The photographic plates are complete, and are excellently reproduced. A further virtue of the work resides in the appendices, which provide (a) a summary chronological and typological list of the inscriptions, classified by cartouche-type, script, language, metre, and form of chronogram; and (b) an index of monuments by type—bridge; caravanserai; *şeyme*, etc.—and by location.

The value of the work is in this way greatly enhanced, and the evolution of Ottoman epigraphic attitudes—for one major urban centre, at least—is made clear. It is perhaps not without interest that the inscriptions down to the early years of the reign of Süleyman I (nos. 1–27) utilize Arabic exclusively as an epigraphic medium. Turkish first appears in 940/1533–4 and after 985/1577–8 is employed almost exclusively—only nine out of 115 dated inscriptions thereafter use Arabic in full or part. Only two inscriptions employing Persian have survived. Both are on *şeymes* and both come from the period of linguistic transition in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Down to the end of that

century the *riḥ'a* script is used for the most part; thereafter *ta'lik* holds almost undisputed sway.

On the individual inscriptions Dijkema has laboured long, and it would be an even more time-consuming task to extend further his commentaries. The oldest inscriptions are the most rewarding historically and the most troublesome. The three fragments in the town museum which make up no. 1 are a case in point. Dijkema, on the basis of a seventeenth-century account of Edirne and on internal evidence, essays a bold reconstruction of part of the missing text and attributes it to the long-disappeared and possibly putative 'imāret of the Yıldırım Cāmi': an attribution which seems hardly to be watertight on the basis of the available evidence and which has been implicitly denied in a study of Edirne which appeared too recently to be made use of by Dijkema in the present work.¹

No. 8, an inscription of 840/1436-7 which records the completion of the mosque founded by Shihābeddīn Paşa, is of interest in that it provides an example of the uncommon epigraphic use of the patronymic 'ibn 'Abd Allāh'; here used in a pious foundation by an early illustrious convert and holder of high office in the Ottoman state. A further example, of slightly later date (868/1463-4) is provided by no. 19 (cf. Professor Ménage's remarks in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford, 1965, 112).

The attribution of no. 28, the inscription on the *turbe* of 'Tütünsiz Baba', the poet and dervish leader Ahmed Rıdvanî (d. 925/1519), to the 'general, defterdār and poet Ahmed Rıdvanî Beg, surnamed Tütünsiz' is probably incorrect, although it obviously reflects a popular and long-standing confusion. The latter held the office of *defterdār* early in the reign of Bāyezid II, and his *vakfiye* is dated 888/1483 (Ménage, op. cit., p. 114, following Gokbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livanı*, Istanbul, 1952, appendix pp. [280] and [282]).

The inscriptions posterior to the mid sixteenth century are usually of more local interest, and often reflect the benefactions of a local boy made good—e.g. the Edirne-born *defterdār* Etmeközüade Ahmed Paşa (fl. 1007/1598 to 1025/1615), who built in his native town a handsome caravanserai (no. 46) and the original bridge which linked Edirne with the suburb of Timurtaş (no. 65: restored in 1113/1701-2).

A further interesting group of inscriptions is connected with the Gülshenīya order of dervishes, whose sheykh, Hasan Sezā'i (d. 1151/1738), is commemorated in nos. 75 and 76. Nos. 82 and 176 are an unusual pair of tughras of the mid eighteenth century, of a form common enough in mystical calligraphy but rare in monumental epigraphy, which commemorate İbrahim al-Gulshenī, the founder of the order (cf. no. 36).

Here, then, is a major work of scholarship, to which we may apply the words of the

anonymous author of a later inscription: *bu hayrāta lā nazıru bi-misāl*. The author is to be congratulated not only for reviving a spirit of serious work on Ottoman epigraphy but also for adding greatly to our knowledge of the development and architectural history of what was for long the most important urban centre of Ottoman Rumeli.

C. J. HEYWOOD

WALTER G. ANDREWS, Jr.: *An introduction to Ottoman poetry*. (Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures, No. 7.) x, 195 pp. Minneapolis and Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976.

This work is designed to provide the student embarking on the study of *divān* poetry in Turkish with a 'literary critical methodology' which combines basic information on the poetic techniques employed and the methods of Western literary criticism. The author hopes that the student so equipped will apply a scientific approach to literature and will examine and assess the poems themselves 'through systematic observation of their intrinsic principles' (p. 3), not, as he believes previous scholars to have done, concern themselves solely with matters, such as literary history, extrinsic to the poetry itself. His aim is also 'to create grounds for argument and creative dialogue among scholars and students of Ottoman poetry', to suggest approaches which he believes to be new, and to present hypotheses for consideration by others.

Accordingly, after arguing the case for this in an introductory essay, he devotes one chapter each to 'prosody' (by which he means 'metre' only), rhyme, rhetoric, and form, giving first 'a simple rendition of traditional theory', then suggesting ways of looking anew at verse written according to these rules. Concentrating upon the *gazel* and *kasıde* but mentioning all forms, including a poem in syllabic metre, he illustrates throughout with texts in transliteration accompanied where appropriate by an English prose paraphrase. The texts are given in their original script in an appendix. Two other appendices add to the information on metre and there is a useful bibliography and an index of technical terms.

Although much of the traditional theory is readily available elsewhere, the student with literary criticism as his goal will find it convenient to have it gathered together here in conjunction with the discussion on 'new' methods of approach. However, one is bound to question the usefulness of the detailed description of the Arabic system of versification and the use in the discussion of a mass of technical terms that even students of Arabic and Persian poetry do not learn or require, especially since the greater part of this matter is not applicable to verse written in Turkish. While it may serve as justification for the author's contention that 'there is no way in which to make the acquisition of essential knowledge about Ottoman poetry easy' (p. 11)—surely an unnecessarily gloomy view?—it can only discourage the reader for whom the

¹ Klaus Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Etiliyā Celebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, Freiburg, 1975, p. 49, n. 2.

book is intended, assumed to be a real beginner, unable to scan a line of verse even in his own language and unacquainted with the notion of 'figures of speech'.

This is not the only point on which the author seems not to take his own excellent advice. For instance, although he warns against the dangers of 'culturally biased' theories, he takes it as axiomatic that a poem is 'an organic unit of meaning' (p. 131) and even identifies the supposed 'focal point' of a *gazel* (p. 36), both concepts unknown to the Ottoman poet. Further, in referring to 'Ottoman criticism', as he frequently does, this being the touchstone against which the serious modern critic may 'test the conclusions of his [own] analysis' (5), he is again introducing an alien concept: literary criticism as the West understands it was unknown to the Ottomans; indeed, it is rather poorly developed in Turkey to this day, even after a century of exposure to Western ideas. The books of poetic theory which he takes as indicating 'what contemporary observers thought to be the case' (p. 61) are not in fact descriptive but prescriptive, manuals for use in the education of gentlemen, for whom the ability to compose and quote poetry was a necessary social accomplishment. Even so, very little of an art or a craft can be described in a book: the Ottoman gentleman learnt his poetry as one learns to play a musical instrument—from a teacher and by example. i.e. the skills and the standards were transmitted orally; the books of theory are a poor guide.

It is difficult to understand why the author insists that 'we have only a bare inkling of how the poetry was actually read' (p. 62) and that 'the question of how we are to read any given line is subject to considerable argument' (p. 34). This is simply not true. One must also take leave to doubt his claim that 'the student with a little knowledge of Turkish can read Ottoman verse aloud and get some idea of how it sounds', when such a high proportion of its vocabulary is not Turkish and is not met with in ordinary language courses; one can only question the value of any assessment made by such a sadly ill-equipped 'critic'.

It is a pity, even in a work intended only to 'stimulate inquiry' and not pretending to be definitive, that the author was not able to base his detailed discussion of the conflict between metre and the rhythms of natural speech upon an examination of the latter. He nowhere indicates stress, real (as distinct from theoretical) length, or intonation. Further, in equating rhythmic groups with syntactic groups (p. 35), and in assuming a break at each end of such a group, he falls into serious error. In consequence, his analysis, though interesting in concept, starts from a false premise and results in links being found in rhythm, and even in meaning, where none would occur to a native Turkish speaker. For instance, he says of the penultimate word in a line (p. 65) that there is 'a tendency to read *nezâre* as the subject to the next phrase' (which is in the next line). This is to ignore both the fact that the word is not *nezâre* but *nezâredir* and is therefore the predicate, and also the strong end-stop to the line, emphasized by the in-

tonation contour. In no way can there be such a 'tendency'. *Enjambement* is not discussed.

An inadequate theory of the word order of speech also leads to the assumption of a 'canonical syntax', i.e. word order (p. 35 *et passim*). This results in words being interpreted as 'displaced' when they are in fact placed correctly, given the special emphasis that is to be conveyed (as in 'Line 1 b', pp. 34-5).

Nevertheless, there is much here that should prove thought-provoking, especially to those students who are in sympathy with modern critical objectives.

One error should be noted: on p. 37 a syllable has been omitted from 'Line V a', p. 37.

MARGARET RAINBRIDGE

J. GONDA: *Hymns of the Rgveda not employed in the solemn ritual* (Verhandeligen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 95.) 138 pp. Amsterdam, Oxford, New York: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1978. Guilders 50.

Jan Gonda's recent surveys of past researches have shown that a satisfactory evaluation of the relationship between Vedic scripture and Vedic liturgy has not yet been achieved. Fortunately he has undertaken to remedy the defect. The existence of hymns (some 10 per cent of the Rgveda) to which no liturgical use is assigned in the ritual manuals is generally explained on the basis of relative date (though precisely how the later strata of the Veda should come to be literary and devoid of liturgical relevance has not been made very readily intelligible). Gonda's own prejudices, when examining the material here in detail, is a sensible one: 'non-functional "literature" produced as "art" ... [is] no doubt almost foreign to the Vedic period'; and he seeks to show that the hymns in question cannot but have been intended to fulfil a consecratory function, at least at *laukya*, if not at solemn *vidika* ceremonies. 'We would perhaps not be far wrong if we rejected the supposition that all "popular" uses of Rgvedic hymns are secondary.'

It is possible to adduce a whole trifunctionalism of contradictory definitions of the Rgveda, as essentially popular ('purely a lyrical collection': Weber), priestly ('a liturgic collection from the beginning': Bloomfield), or worse ('a collection ... of the aristocratic Aryan cult': Basham). Evidently a red herring has crossed the trail of the wild goose somewhere, and it is far from certain that Gonda has obliterated all trace of the false scent.

The main problem is to reach some measure of agreement on the value of the ancient tradition that seeks to relate the bulk of the hymns to *somayāga* specifically. To a solution of this problem Gonda's results make an important

indirect contribution, by his development of the theme 'that religion in ancient India was not identical with sacrificial ritual'. His present preoccupation, however, is not primarily with the evidence of the two relevant branches of Vedic literature, Mantra and Sūtra, but rather with the extraneous testimony of the relatively modern commentary. On Gonda's showing, its failure to specify a ritual application in many cases does not correlate any too well with the more internal evidence, even allowing for the vagueness inherent in both sets of testimony. It remains desirable that some basis should be established to enable us to discount one or the other, preferably that of the commentary.

It is not even particularly clear that the commentary is indeed propounding a doctrine of 'unemployed' hymns. It assigns to the hymns, apparently indiscriminately, a variety of labels: (*śautasya*) *viśvaviniyogo laingikah*; *gatah sūktaviniyogah*; *sūktaviniyogo laingikah*; and *sūktaviniyogo lingād avagantavyah*. Now, one might suppose, since no consistent distinctions emerge, that the labels are synonymous. In that case, *gatah* signifies *avagamyate* (*lingāt*), and the commentator's intention is the opposite of that generally supposed. While the minutiae of the Sūtra tradition, the more finicky (and possibly more important) correlations between individual RV stanzas and minor details of obscure rituals, are being blithely ignored, a major 'solemn' ritual function is automatically (and surely mistakenly) postulated for every RV hymn as a single unit. Sāyana is in hot pursuit to the wild goose—the foolish attempt to provide an ultimate liturgical basis for the entire RV corpus.

Gonda believes that Sāyana implies, like *Brhaddevatā*, a distinction between 'solemn' (*vaidika*) hymns and another 'sort of eulogy for general purposes' (*laukya*). To the discussion on p. 39, it may be objected that *laingika* (ad l.168) could, and more probably would imply that the hymn is available for 'solemn' Māruta liturgy. The appeal to internal evidence is also questionable: granting that *yajñā* means here 'worship, praise', does it necessarily follow that the context of the hymn is 'eulogy for general purposes' as opposed to a definite liturgical occasion? It would be wise, while agreeing that the notion of a definite 'solemn' function should often be rejected, to view with equal suspicion the *Brhaddevatā*'s alternative formulation of the hypothesis of an exclusively ritual basis for the Veda (*laukyānām vaidikānām vā karmanām*).

The line between hymns with and without ritual function will always remain vague: exactly what and how much text a manual intended to specify is often unclear. Gonda draws attention (p. 113) to the fact that at the very most 56 hymns can be claimed to make direct reference to specific *śrāuta* sacrifices. In several instances a mention of 'this sacrifice' or 'this soma' (phrases that have a demonstrable metaphysical implication) is all that can be adduced in evidence; and nearly twice that number are totally ignored by the whole corpus of *śrāuta* liturgical Sūtras. He has done Vedic study a most

important service by describing and evaluating the more recent commentatorial data. It should no longer be possible to suggest either that Sāyana's testimony supports the view that there is a mass of purely secular material in the R̥gveda or that it offers any real support for the idea that it is wholly liturgic in origin. All of the labels in question, 'popular', 'literary', and 'secular ritual' (*laukyāni karmāni*), involve to some extent the false assumption that the non-liturgical material is definitely secondary.

J. C. WRIGHT

PATRICK OLIVELLE (ed. and tr.):
Vāsudevāśrama Yatidharmaprakāśa:
a treatise on world renunciation.
Part 1. Text. Part 2. Translation.
(Publications of the De Nobili Research Library, Vols. III, IV) [ii],
139 pp.; 231 pp. Vienna: Gerold,
1976. (Commission Agents: E. J.
Brill, Leiden.)

Yatidharmaprakāśa (Ydhp.) is an interesting Hindu treatise on renunciation, critically edited in a field where textual criticism is normally honoured only in the breach. There are excellent concise introductions, romanized text, careful English translation, notes, and systematic indexes. Exemplary both as an edition of an ill-transmitted compilation and as a translation of a rather demanding piece of medieval Sanskrit sophistry, it merits the attention of every student of classical or medieval India.

Despite all the professed interest in Indian religion, and in *sādhna* in particular, only two uncritical and relatively inaccessible editions (*Yatidharmasamgraha*, *Jīvanmuktiviveka*) and one translation existed hitherto within this large category of Sanskrit treatises. A revised edition of the text and translation of *Jīvanmuktiviveka* by S. Subrahmanya Sastri and T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar [revised by A. G. Krishna Warriar] appeared as Adyar Library Bulletin, XL, 1977, and as a separate publication (The Adyar Library General Series, 6, Madras, 1978).

The *Yatidharmaprakāśa* (Ydhp.), which was compiled, directly or otherwise, from previous compendia like the fourteenth-century *Jīvanmuktiviveka*, offers a clear enough account of the life and mentality of the ascetic as envisaged in the eighteenth century, and indeed largely as envisaged today.

The vital importance of proceeding on the basis of careful edition and translation, before any attempt is made to discuss the implications of Hindu concepts, emerges here very clearly. For renunciation, the text offers at the outset a basic definition which is treated as implicit in the Veda, enjoined in the Vedānta, and expounded in the Dharmasāstra: *saṃnyāsa* is *nivṛtti*, by which is meant a formal renunciation of *karmāni*. Olivelle translates *nivṛtti* as 'non-action' and *karmāni* as 'rites', but the exercise affords an opportunity to consider

whether 'retirement' and 'formal renunciation of office' would not be nearer the mark. Even if the theoretical basis of *saṁnyāsa* is necessarily drawn from the sacerdotal Dharma-sūtras, the practical basis is evidently communal: 'the procedure ... gives one the impression that the householder is assumed to be the normal candidate for admission' (II, 32). The notion 'renunciation of office' has an ambiguity that is very appropriate to the circumstances of *karmāṇi*; and 'retirement' is better suited than 'non-action' to convey the idea of a *niṣṭhā* that does not at all rule out the subsequent exercise of ritual or other functions.

The connexion between retirement from office (*Ydhp.* 1-3) and initiation into a *yatiśrinda* fraternity (5.5) is slight. Indeed there is only the most casual of references to organized brotherhoods of ascetics. Their incorporation, on the evidence of vocabulary (the terms *ākhādā*, *madhi*, *mahanta*, etc. do not occur in the literature; *maṭha*, 50.4, is visited in a private capacity), must date from the medieval period and no doubt inspired this very genre; but for want of Sanskrit sources our author is unable to bear witness to their existence. Like the Purāṇas, his ultimate source for fact, he has nothing but etymologizing and inconsistent surmise to offer on the traditional categories of *saṁnyāsa* (*kūṭicaka*, *bahūdaka*, etc.). At 2.21, he almost (Olivelle exaggerates by omitting to translate *prāyāḥ*) has the courage to declare the terms obsolete.

One of *Ydhp.*'s main sources implies (2.45 f.) a hierarchy *saṁnyāsa—vairāgya—jñāna*: Olivelle notes a variant formula *yajña—tapa—saṁnyāsa—vairāgya—jñāna* which helps to confirm that these data are of scant significance. The principal line of thought in *Ydhp.*, developed from Manu, allows *saṁnyāsa* to span both *vairāgya* and *jñāna*, that is, to fill the gap between detachment and gnosis (2.27, 57; 4.4), a point of view which appears to be rather more commensurate with observed facts. This formulation (2.27 *yaśa tu pūrvam evokataṣvairāgyam tena saṁnyāsānāntaram eva vedāntaśṛavanam kāryam*) is also more obviously comprehensible than the garbled material subsequently cited from *Jīvanmuktivivēka* (where *tīra(ka)vairāgya* *yogin* and *sākṣādvi-jñānasādhana parama hamsa* are allocated to separate categories within *saṁnyāsa*).

At *Ydhp.* 2.54, the lesser and commoner brand of *saṁnyāsi*, one who settles for *mantrōpāsana* and *brahmaloka*, remains within the current single category *paramahansa*; a mere *tīrataravairāgya* mountebank has no place in the system. At 23.88-90, however, the argument is based on *Yatidharmasamuccaya* and the *kūṭicaka* terminology recurs, with the result that *mantrōpāsana* becomes after all insufficient qualification for receiving the designation *paramahansa*. It always pays to read the small print before making any renunciation.

Saṁnyāsa is a cathartic preparation for salvation (Mn. 5.108); but the duty to study remains paramount (*saṁnyasya śṛavanam kuryāt*, *Ydhp.*, *passim*, despite Mn. 6.94 *śrūtvā saṁnyaseti*), even if none of our authors can

offer anything but casuistry to support the doctrine. Is this not perhaps a case where the Law is an ass? In many ways, *Ydhp.*'s prose bhāṣya text offers better sense than the kārikā verse texts and Dharmaśāstra texts on which it is compelled to rely. The Manu rubric *śrūtvā saṁnyaseti* epitomizes the mythological assumptions of the Veda: there *śruti* refers to *mantrabrahmana* functions, *saṁnyāsa* to *āranyakopaniṣad*. *Ydhp.* and its forebears reflect a situation where *śṛavaṇa* incorporates Upaniṣad and Mīmāṃsā, and where it is, to say the least, unlikely that an orthodox priest will prematurely resign his privileges in favour of idleness or haṭhayoga. *Ydhp.* thus envisages the real world which spawned Veda, Vedānta, and Dharmaśāstra.

The bulk of the *Ydhp.* describes the *saṁnyāsi*'s garb; the initiation ceremony (compiled from Dharmaśāstra and comprising a fifth of the text: to what extent was this conglomeration of samekāra material actually used?); study of *omkāra* and Vedānta 'until the direct vision of the truth that dispels ignorance becomes firmly established'; his day-to-day observances (two-fifths of the whole, including some very ordinary hygiene and pūjā, mendicancy, and again study); and occasional observances (including funeral, which raises some points about the retention of family ties).

In Olivelle's edition and translation, this must be about the best basic manual of Hindu beliefs and practices available. As a manual of *saṁnyāsa*, as must be expected, the *Ydhp.* leaves much to be desired, but probably less than others of its genre. It is annoying that the tradition has so little to say of the way of life of hermits (*kūṭicaka*) and pilgrims (*bahūdaka*), and we must be grateful for the material that *Ydhp.* contrives to include. In spite of its author's view that these are not true *saṁnyāsi*. He must surely have in mind rather the organized *ākhādā*, and of course he has no intention of revealing observed details of such fraternities.

J. C. WRIGHT

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT: *Essays in classical and modern Hindu law*. (Anglo-Hindu legal problems, Vol. 3. Current problems and the legacy of the past, Vol. 4.) [xxvi], 414 pp.; [xxii], 454 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977; 1978.

These volumes, the third and fourth of the series, complete Derrett's own selection of his periodical articles published during the period 1950-78, now extended to 1977. The purpose, apart from the vast improvement in accessibility and the opportunity to introduce corrections and addenda in the light of subsequent events, is clearly to provide a corpus of scholarly materials bearing on the study of Hindu law, so that the subject can the more readily maintain a permanent place as a rigorous discipline in the academic context. Both from the point of view of

Indology and legal studies this is a matter of no little urgency, and the publishers are to be commended for responding to the need with these most attractively produced volumes.

Vol. 1, *Dharmasāstra and related ideas*, showed the contribution that Sanskrit material is capable of making to the comparative and historical study of law, while at the same time demonstrating the vast scope which the legal documents and treatises afford for the rediscovery of long-buried strata of the social history of India.

Vol. 2, *Consequences of the intellectual exchange with the foreign powers*, considered Anglo-Hindu law in connexion and in comparison with events under Dutch, Portuguese, and French administration and described the basic conflict 'between two entirely incompatible systems of thought' with which Anglo-Hindu law sought to come to terms in the early nineteenth century.

In Vol. 3, *Anglo-Hindu legal problems*, Derrett defines the solutions that were adopted, illustrating the results both in the heyday of Anglo-Indian law and to the extent that segments of it are still in force today and are likely to remain so for some time to come. 'By statute the courts were bound to apply the law of the *sāstra*. This was as if a statute had been passed requiring lemon-juice to be produced from oranges.' The strange delusion that the Sanskrit Dharmasāstra was designed to be a code of legal practice can still be attested today, just as the *Vaimānikasāstra* has been quite recently described in print in terms that imply that it is a sort of shop-floor manual for workers in the aeronautics industry.

In the articles reprinted here, Derrett is largely reviewing and criticizing actual decisions of the courts. In many instances, the additional annotations supplied for this re-issue are able to throw further light on the unstated considerations that inevitably influenced the original decision. A preface suggests there is good reason to believe that the anomalies of the past are gradually but definitely yielding to reform from within. At least one article, 'The contribution of Mr. Justice Subba Rao to Hindu law' (1987), gives an insight into the scope which is available to the Bench for applying rational and sympathetic criteria based on actual social conditions, possibly even in defiance of the intentions of the legislature. Another reviews interestingly the application of the maxim 'Factum valet' (1958) in Indian law and elsewhere: 'what ought not to have been done is [often] valid when done'.

In this volume, the legacy of the past in relation to family law is the underlying theme: adoption, illegitimacy, commorientes, the Marumakkattayam law of Kerala, and the joint family.

In Vol. 4, *Current problems and the legacy of the past*, some further areas of the law are reviewed: pre-emption of shared property; marriage dissolution and remarriage, with many variations on the theme 'Marry in haste: repent at leisure' (1975); liability for debts; inheritance, with a consideration of the position of Christians. The monograph

'Minority in the Indian sub-continent' (1975) ends with a plea for legislation in the interests of child welfare.

The third volume ends with a rueful look at the blow to the prospects for the continued existence of the joint family that appears to be embodied in certain recent legislative measures. The fourth is equally concerned in its preface to observe the threat to the traditional Hindu marriage that is implied at the statutory level by the Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act of 1976. 'In the years that come Hindu law is unlikely to be devoid of interest and, from time to time, of drama.'

The series is concluded with an appendix to Vol. 1, comprising articles published in 1976-7: 'Legal material in a religious manual: the *Sanatkumāra-saṅkṣitā*', 'Avalokaniyāni in Tamil guise: the *Ācārakāvya*', 'Hemācārya's *Arhanniti*: an original Jaina juridical work of the Middle Ages'. There are also further addenda and corrigenda to vols. 1-3. Each volume is fully indexed.

J. C. WRIGHT

ROGER LIPSEY: *Coomaraswamy*. (Bollingen Series, LXXXIX.) 3 vols.: xxxviii, 580; xxvi, 470; xvii, 312 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, [c. 1977]. \$30, \$30, \$17.50, £22.40, £22.40, £13.30.

At the centenary of the birth of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, Roger Lipsey has edited together 30 of Coomaraswamy's essays under the title *Selected papers: traditional art and symbolism* (Vol. I) and 28 as *Selected papers: metaphysics* (Vol. II). Perhaps even more interestingly and importantly, he has penned a most professional and most readable biography (Vol. III: *His life and work*) of this cult figure of the twentieth-century Western world, as energetic a sponsor of the pseudo-Indianization of the West in his maturity as he had been a stern opponent of the pseudo-Westernization of India in his prime.

The reprinted essays, often retouched on the basis of Coomaraswamy's own annotations, are all chosen from the period 1932-47, at the height of his reputation as a curator at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Vol. I includes 'An Indian temple' (1947), the review 'Walter Andrae's *Die ionische Säule: Bauform oder Symbol*' (1935), 'The inverted tree' (1938), 'The symbolism of the dome' (1938), and '*Svayamśrīnā*: janua coeli' (1939), all of which remain essential to an understanding of much post-war art-historical writing in English. Vol. II contains the papers typical of his later years: their interest as a personal and in a sense influential statement on metaphysics is perhaps offset by Coomaraswamy's tendency to let his zeal outstrip his care and competence as an Indologist. By contrast, 'Some Pali words' (1939), included as a tailpiece, contains some very sound lexicography from the field for which Coomaraswamy was best qualified. Although 'Kha and other words denoting "zero"'

(BSOS, VII, 3, 1934) purports 'to exhibit the metaphysical and ontological implications of the terms which were later on actually used . . . to designate "zero", "one", and some higher numbers', it also makes some contribution, however incidentally, to more mundane purely lexical problems connected with the origin and use of these numerals in Sanskrit.

Six of the papers in Vol. II are hitherto unpublished. 'On the Indian and traditional psychology, or rather pneumatology' (c. 1943) is possibly the best of all his writings on Sanskrit philosophy. While 'Bhakta aspects of the ātman doctrine' (post 1936) seems superficial, the paper 'Mahā puruṣa: "supreme identity"' (c. 1936) effects an important comparison and reconciliation of *puruṣa* and *ātman* material. Again squarely in Coomaraswamy's best field, 'Flood in Hindu tradition' (c. 1945) makes a practical contribution to *manvantara* cosmology. After a late venture upon the philosophy of language ('Does "Socrates is old" imply that "Socrates is"?'') and a short piece 'The meaning of death', the volume closes with a rare personal statement made by Coomaraswamy very shortly before his own death.

Lipsey's study of *His life and work* pulls few punches, even at such times as when his subject, doubly expatriate, is glimpsed abetting Indian nationalism from the vantage-point of a 'grand manor house' in an English country village; or as when, now triply expatriate and negotiating the sale of his invaluable collection of art, artefacts, and manuscripts, he wisely settles for a curatorship in Boston in default of a professorship in Benares. Lipsey may be too inclined to accept Coomaraswamy's then ill-informed estimate of British responsibility for 'cultural deterioration' in Ceylon and India: certainly he has been falsely persuaded by the family that the suffix *swamy* derives from 'a misunderstanding on the part of the British at the time they were registering names'. (It is not conceivable that any of the seventh-century or other early Kumārasvāmins were properly named 'Kumāra'; it is not even the fault of the British that telephone books in India and elsewhere are replete with both Kumars and Swamys.)

The articles are well edited and indexed, almost without misprint, except for the very copious quotations from Sanskrit which uniformly confuse *n* and *ṇ*, have not been proof-read (e.g. I, 485 'Śaṅkṛīṣa Brāhmaṇa'), and maintain the occasional howler (II, 176 'brahmōdaya'). The beautiful presentation and the biographer deserved better support in the matter of transcriptions. The constant kaleidoscope of transcription is very much in keeping with the practice of the Coomaraswamy school of art historians, but that does not make it any the less irritating.

J. C. WRIGHT

Cambridge: University Press, 1978.
£12.50.

This perceptive and informative book gives an account of the rituals connected with the Temple of the Tooth, the *Daḷadā Māligāra*, in Kandy, as they exist today and to some extent as they existed during the times of the Sinhalese kings before 1815. The account supplements and corrects in many respects that given by Hocart in 1931 (*Mem. Arch. Socy. Ceylon*, IV). After excellent and detailed descriptions of the temple buildings and of the various functionaries, the coverage includes not only the four daily and one weekly rituals which still survive in the temple, but also the four seasonal festivals, three of which are more or less moribund. The fourth seasonal ritual, the annual *Aśāḍa perahāra*, is very much alive—'conspicuously viable'—though its nature and purpose are changing. Arising from a festival of the four principal Kandyan *dēvāles*, it was transformed in the eighteenth century into a festival primarily connected with the Tooth and closely involved with the monarchy. Professor Seneviratne shows how, after the British conquest, provisions for commutation of ritual service by the tenants of the temple (first made available in 1870 but more widely so in 1956) have been progressively made use of more and more, as the capitalist ethos increasingly invaded the status-oriented society of 1815, so that now it is difficult to get some traditional ceremonial services performed publicly by the tenants concerned; while simultaneously the new political climate has made this festival a suitable occasion for demonstrations of a nationalist fervour. The facility has been made use of by the representatives of the former Kandyan aristocracy, who have succeeded to the position formerly occupied by the King *vis-à-vis* the ceremony. In modern Ceylon society the ambitious seem to want 'precisely to achieve those statuses and to control precisely those institutions that are described by the potential achievers as decadent and fit only for abolition, and therefore the annual *perahāra* has offered a striving-point for several diverse groups. For the former aristocracy it is their principal chance to appear in positions of inherited power, superior indeed to those of the representatives of government; for the new nationalists it is a propaganda symbol; for the westernized it is primarily a holiday; for the peasantry it still has religious significance; and for entrepreneurs it is good for business.

Several religious functions have been adapted to modern conditions during the last 30 years in Sri Lanka; the author traces in particular the adoption by the temple authorities of suitable varieties of the common practice of *dāna*, or almsgiving of food—in this case, the facility is now given for private contribution to the official food-offering to the Buddha, the *mūlān*—and of *pīṭi*, or formal recitation of scriptures for apotropaic purposes: he also shows how the temple has come to occupy a semi-official political position, so that not only members of the government of Sri Lanka but also visiting foreign dignitaries

H. L. SENEVIRATNE: *Rituals of the Kandyan state*. (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 22.) xiv, 190 pp.

are taken there officially, and even how temple functionaries may receive tips. The position of the Daladā Māligāva is now such as to provoke exhibitions of political or social rivalry in such matters as electing a *ḍya vadana nilame* (the principal lay functionary of the temple, hitherto always a Kandyan aristocrat), the use of temple property for civil functions, and even in the sphere of unacknowledged rivalry between sects within the *saṅgha*—though this last case involved political rivalry as well. The question of temple property and the effects of the Paddy Lands Act of 1956, which has not yet been applied to temple property, is also one which will have to be dealt with before long.

The book is excellently produced and well written; misprints are not numerous. It would be of interest to have had some further explanation of some of the technical words quoted, e.g. *khantamānaya* (p. 60), which appears to represent *kanthamānaya*, *rāmasarā-bharanaya* (p. 84), *riṭṭāge* (p. 92). The time-scale is occasionally obscure, for instance the reference to the 'contemporary' kingdom of Jaffna (p. 114); 'non-hatefulness' (p. 97) is an ambiguous term; the epithet 'hated Tamils' (p. 96) is doubtfully applicable to the period in question; I do not understand the word 'thrushes' (p. 162). Though the customary objection to the word 'feudal' is made on p. 179, the word is in fact used in the text, e.g. p. 159. On one small but perhaps significant point, of the representation of 'folk religion' in the *perahāra* in 1816, Seneviratne writes 'quite appropriately this section was placed at the end of the one representing the provinces, being from the point of view of the center a peripheral matter'. If this remark does refer to the 'images covered with cloth', it would be equally possible to say that the representation of the 'folk religion' stood first of all in the religious section of the procession, preceding even the representatives of the Temple of the Tooth. At all events, it seems an unexpected position for the 'bamboos' in question.

C. H. B. REYNOLDS

PRAMOD CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA: *A descriptive analysis of the Boro language*. 23, 380 pp., 2 maps. Gauhati: Dept. of Publication, Gauhati University, 1977. Rs. 30.

In his 'Selected bibliography' (pp. 369-71) Dr. Bhattacharya refers to some 30 earlier publications dealing with the Boro, Boḍo, Bārā, or Kachari language, from Hodgson's *Essay the first; on the Koch, Bodo and Dhimal tribes* (Calcutta, 1847) to the present time; but he is the first to subject such a large corpus of Boro material to the techniques of analysis of modern descriptive linguistics (though I was surprised not to see D. N. S. Bhat's *Boro vocabulary (with a grammatical sketch)*, Poona, 1968, pp. 176, in this bibliography). Since the Boro language is spoken by as many as 170,000 people, and since P. K.

Benedict has recognized 'Bodo-Garo (Barish)', the group to which Boro belongs, as one of the seven 'primary divisions or nuclei' of Tibeto-Burman, comparable in significance to 'Tibetan-Kanuri' and 'Burmese-Lolo (Burmish)', the author can fairly claim to have put Sino-Tibetan comparatists in his debt, especially in the introduction, ch. i, 'Phonology and phonetics', and ch. vii, 'Boro-English vocabulary'.

It is the American school of phonemics of the 30's, 40's, and early 50's that the author has mainly chosen to follow; and the influence of this period can be seen in his wide use of the zero concept, in ch. ii ('Morphophonemics') and ch. iv ('Morphology: word-grammar'), in which, for example, a zero morph, symbolized as 'ø', is attributed to all three personal-pronoun prefix morphemes: '{²a- ~ ²am- ~ ø-}' as first personal pronominal prefix-morpheme, '{²nōn- ~ ²nōm- ~ ²nō- ~ ø-}' as second personal pronominal prefix morpheme and '{²bi- ~ ²bi-ma- ~ ²phi- ~ ø-}' as third personal pronominal prefix morpheme' (p. 79), together with zero morphs for case and number suffix(al) morphemes and a number of other morphemes. It is not always clear, however, whether these zeros are grammatical elements, of equal status with the overt morphs of the morphemes to which they are attributed, or merely nothing; on p. 108, for example, 'particles' are described as 'incapable of taking any affix', but, on the following page, a particle is described as 'Word with Base plus Zero affix (morpheme)'. In ch. v, 'Syntax: sentence grammar', however, and in sentence examples generally, these zero morphs seem to be ignored, and are not symbolized even when it would be useful to do this, as, for example, in the following passage: '-ø (zero) as general accusative case indicating suffix is assumed to be present in all nominal bases (except pronouns) that constitute a direct object to the verbal formation.

*an ²na ²mōnbay \ \ "I have got a fish" (p. 148). Symbolizing the accusative form as ²naø in this example would serve to distinguish it from the nominal form ²an; for, though there is also 'ø (zero) as general nominative case indicating suffix' (p. 148), the examples of its use suggest that the author would not apply it to the nominal form ²an in a transitive sentence such as this.

Bhattacharya's account of the variation in tone commonly undergone by tone-0, tone-1, and tone-3 (but not tone-2) morphemes shows Boro to be typologically remarkable as a tone language, and well worth a more detailed study than the twelve pages that are all that he has space for ('Tones', pp. 50-4; 'Junctures', pp. 54-65, 67-70). Thus tone 1 alternates with tone 2 for the same lexical item in '/²nōn/ "you" (singular and non-honorific)' as against '/²nōn'than/ "you" (singular and honorific)'. Since certain vowel-quality differences are associated with the differences between tones one, two, and three, this presumably means that the vowel quality must alternate too; for /ø/ is realized in tone-1 words, for example, as an 'unrounded almost close back vowel' but in tone-2 words as a

'less close and nearer to central unrounded vowel' (p. 49).

There is a further reason for subjecting the tonal aspect of the language to a more detailed study: D. N. S. Bhat's *Boro vocabulary* distinguishes only two tones, though it may well be that this major difference between the two analyses is due to a difference in dialect, between the Kamrup dialect that he studied and the North Goalpara spoken by Bhattacharya's main informant.

Dr. Bhattacharya completes his study with 21 pp. of sample texts (ch. vi) in various styles, including traditional narrative, love songs, Bible passages, and hymns, and 92 pp. of Boro-English vocabulary (ch. vii).

R. K. SPRIGG

STEPHEN OWEN: *The poetry of the early T'ang*. xv, 455 pp. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977. £14.40.

Stephen Owen has written an ambitious book on the poetry of the early T'ang. He sets out the poetry of about a dozen relatively little-known poets from the seventh to the eighth centuries, reproducing in full the text of some of their poems, with translation. He also shows the importance of court poetry, which he sees as more than just the erotic 'palace style' usually associated with the courts of the Southern Dynasties, embracing huge numbers of poems written to order at social gatherings, occasional poems, and those taking up the same rhyme or title of an emperor or patron; a dominant poetic activity of the era.

The early T'ang period in poetry is hard to characterize, coming as it does after the innovations of the earlier period which in prosody brought tonal values into prominence that were to culminate in the *lu-shih* of the high T'ang, and discovering in the language a new sensuality with a delight in periphrasis that surfeits our more austere taste. By the sixth century all this had been explored, and the poetry of the unified early T'ang seems to us to be lacking in the excitement and freshness that had infused much of what had gone before without aspiring to the expressiveness that was to come later. These poets were slightly uncomfortable pacers between one burst of activity and another, like the English Georgian poets at the beginning of this century, in the shadow of the great Victorians, teetering on the edge of modernism.

Poetry had by then become a commonplace activity amongst men of the upper class, and skill at composition to order was a prerequisite of the successful man. Worldly success and poetry-making were allied in a special way; perhaps it is no accident that the poets whose works have been preserved were all notable men at court. Poetry that performed such a function had quite a clear system of rules in both subject-matter and language: it had to be short, it had to be impersonal, and it was public; naturally much was formulaic.

These poets seemed to spend an inordinate amount of time travelling about the country, being demoted from the capital, or being recalled, sometimes in several stages. At least at such times they were given a holiday from the prescribed texts and did write with more feeling that still speaks to us through the ages. Yet why they were demoted, and the ins and outs of the imperial order that caused such traumas, are naturally never so much as hinted at in their poetry, as it would have been too dangerous. In other ways too, their poetry was a peculiar form of self-expression, almost tailored to reveal to the public as little of the self as possible; intensity of feeling was allowed to surface, like patches of lightness and shade on a monochrome, but no details of the subject. So from their poetry, unlike that of later poets like Tu Fu, we can derive very little about the lives and the convictions of these men. Without resorting to other sources, we see them shift about like figures on a Chinese lantern, distinguished by a hat here, or a horse there, or some such feature. We would wish that Stephen Owen had explored the other sources more thoroughly for us, enabling us to feel the tenor of the time more clearly.

TAO TAO SANDERS

CHRISTIAN F. MURCK (ed.): *Artists and traditions: uses of the past in Chinese culture*. xxii, 230 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Art Museum, Princeton University, [c1976]. (Distributed by Princeton University Press.) £16.10

Artists and Traditions is the record of a colloquium held at Princeton on 17 May 1969, at the opening of the exhibition of Chinese paintings from the collection of Irene and Earl Morse. This exhibition, entitled *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, and indeed the Morse collection itself, was formed to explore the painting career of Wang Hui (1632-1717), the most successful and prolific of the orthodox painters of the early Ch'ing dynasty. With Wang Hui's paintings close at hand to provide actual examples of one artist's study and re-creation of the past, the participants examined the problems of the importance of past models for the Chinese, in the arts generally as well as in painting.

It is a measure of the complexity of the subject that the rewriting and publication of these papers, edited and with an introduction by Christian Murck, has taken seven years. The frequent citation of points made by fellow contributors, the index and excellent glossary giving the Chinese characters for all names and critical terms are clues to the reasons for this long gestation. Only occasionally is it possible to add a new item of information: for instance, Ch'ien Hsuan's handscroll painting of *Dwelling on Floating Jade Mountain*, whose whereabouts was then uncertain, is now known to be in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, and was on exhibition there in 1976.

The volume is divided into four parts: I The Past in Chinese Cultural History; II Modes of Archaism in Painting; III Orthodoxy and Individualism; and IV A Modern Perspective. Questions of philosophy and literature, as well as of painting, provide the starting-points for some of the papers, but the majority are concerned with painting, and they are at their most valuable when a scholar like Wai-kam Ho, equally conversant with the literary and philosophical background, is able to set the stage for the emergence of an all-important figure like Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in the sixteenth century.

A quintet of papers forms the core of the volume: Alexander Soper on 'The relationship of early Chinese painting to its own past' at the end of Part I, Richard Barnhart, Chu-ting Li and Wen Fong in Part II, and Wai-kam Ho's paper 'Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's new orthodoxy and the southern school theory', already mentioned at the beginning of Part III. Later, Harrie Vanderstappen, James Cahill, Richard Edwards and Michael Sullivan explore various aspects of orthodoxy in painting from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. The contributions based on other arts than painting, Wei-ming Tu's "Inner Experience": The basis of creativity in neo-Confucian thinking', James J. Y. Liu's 'Tradition and creativity in early Ch'ing poetics', Yu-kung Kao and Tsu-lin Mei's 'Ending lines in Wang Shih-chen's "Ch'i-ch'ieh": convention and creativity in the Ch'ing', and Jonathan Spence's 'The Wan-li period vs. the K'ang-hsi period: fragmentation vs. reintegration?', make briefer points. They offer valuable parallels, but the student of painting will have to make the connexions himself: only Spence's paper brings new political and historical light to bear on Wang Hui and his circle and particularly on Wang Hui's acceptance in the 'circles of prestige and wealth' during his time in Peking at the court of K'ang-hsi. Both Christian Murok's introduction, however, and Fritz Mote's 'The arts and the "theorizing mode" of the civilization', are available to draw together these different approaches.

Professor Soper's paper is considerably enlarged from its original presentation at the colloquium. With his usual thorough scholarship and lucid exposition, Soper compares the relative chronologies of calligraphy and painting, showing how calligraphy, far earlier than painting, developed its own standards of antique excellence, with styles like *ts'ao* and *hsing* being regarded as flowers or mere ornaments in contrast to the substantial fruits of the ancient styles of writing. Even under Hui-tsung, when more ancient paintings than ever before were gathered together and published in the imperial collections, and *ku* was more frequently used as a commendatory term, the past still held greater sway over calligraphy than over painting.

Nevertheless, by Hui-tsung's time in the early twelfth century there were already good precedents for the use of the past as a model of excellence. Barnhart's paper explores the wide-ranging list of names cited as being followed by the great eleventh-century painter

Li Kung-hn. The sources of Li Kung-hn's art are shown by Barnhart to be more complex than those of any earlier artist save in the field of calligraphy. Li used different sources for the various genres of which he himself was master: paintings of horses; religious and martial figure painting; secular figure painting and landscape. In the first two of these categories, Li Kung-hn followed painters who were already accepted as the finest exponents of those subjects: Han Kan and Wu Tao-tzu. But in the third and fourth categories, Li led the revival of the secular figure style of Ku K'ai-chih, and of T'ang landscape as exemplified by Wang Wei. Particularly in these subjects, Li's treatment, eschewing the 'vulgar habits' (literal descriptiveness among them) of his own age, employed a restrained brush, ideal of conveying humanistic qualities and as a vehicle for ideas. Barnhart's demonstration of these different strands in Li Kung-hn's origins and of the stylistic features common to his work in all four genres, is elegantly and concisely done through an examination of four surviving compositions originated by him.

Professor Chu-ting Li's study, 'The uses of the past in Yuan landscape painting' takes up the question of the use of selected models from the past and proposes a four-stage development of Chao Meng-fu's landscapes in the early Yuan, in which Chao systematically progressed from Six Dynasties to T'ang and finally to the Northern Sung. Professor Li also suggests a corresponding development in Yuan landscape as a whole, from the point to which Chao had brought it, through scenes in the Li-Kuo tradition dominated by trees, to river and lake scenes and finally to paintings filled with mountains following the tenth-century masters Tung Yuan and Ch'ü-jan. This sequence is a useful one for the student attempting to comprehend the development of Yuan painting in the light of its all-important role in the work of the followers of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. James Cahill, writing in Part III, returns to this point in seeking an answer to the reasons for Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's selection of Yuan: for Cahill, it was Yuan exploitation of the composite character of earlier painting (in contrast to the unified character of the Southern Sung academic landscape, often enveloped in mist and indivisible), in combination with a new dynamism, shifts in viewpoint, and abstract and formal means of expression, that inspired Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Here Wai-kam Ho's paper completes the story for us through his account of the intellectual climate of the sixteenth century and the circles influential on Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, and additionally by defining the concept of *pien*, 'transformation' or 'change', which is all-important in the Chinese artist's creative use of the past. A further dimension is contributed by Professor Fong's paper, 'Archaism as a primitive style', which parallels Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's classical mode of revival with the 'primitive' mode seen in the archaism of Ch'en Hung-shou, with an illuminating explanation of the role of schematic representation (for example, in the flat bands of colour seen in the blue-green style). This both came to denote a primitive archaic style and also survived as a decorative

idiom, particularly in woodblock illustration, where it was exploited and transformed by Ch'en Hung-shou.

These ideas and many more which it has not been possible to take up in this review will ensure that this volume, eagerly awaited and often referred to even before its publication, will be of lasting use to the student of Chinese culture. The book is illustrated with excellent gravure plates placed in the text. However an opportunity has been lost to provide a few full-page details on a larger scale (some from Li Kung-lin's *Hsiao-ching t'u* would have been an excellent choice). Even a single full-page plate as frontispiece would have complemented the excellent letterpress much more handsomely than the lattice designs forming the frontispiece and the opening to each part.

RODERICK WHITFIELD

Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang (Dunhuang baihua): manuscrits reproduits en fac-similé, d'après les originaux inédits conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. Avec une introduction en chinois par Jao Tsong-yi, adaptée en français par Pierre Ryckmans. (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Mémoires Archéologiques, XIII.) 3 fasc. : 63 pp.; [i], 72 pp.; [i] p., 65 plates. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1978.

This is the second commentary that Jao Tsong-yi has written on the Tun-huang manuscript scrolls; the first, *Airs de Touen-houang, Textes à chanter des viii^e-x^e siècles* (1971), documents the emergence of the Chinese poetry form *tz'u*, many fragments of which survive among the MSS. The present work is a technical study into 'monochrome painting' at Tun-huang, a category which comprehends the large number of sketches and preliminary models for larger murals recovered from the site by Paul Pelliot and deposited at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Besides the material in Paris, Jao refers to the corresponding Stein MSS in the British Library, and utilizes his first-hand knowledge of the several thousand murals at Princeton taken from the Mo-kao and Yu-lin caves just east of Tun-huang.

In the first part of his discourse Jao relates the pictorial style of Tun-huang to the general development of T'ang monochrome painting. The scrolls are discussed in their capacity as models for the frescoes, and as copies from stereotyped models. In support of the use of prototypes he cites the interesting example of Vajrapāni guardians at Lung-men dated to A.D. 700, and figures engraved on stone at the entrance to the Big Goose Pagoda at Ch'ang-an, apparently duplicated from an identical mould.

Methods of production were various; chalk sketches imprinted on to silk and finished in

ink, papercuts, and pounced drawings for which chalk instead of carbon was dusted on. And unlike the bulk of Chinese art-works which remain anonymous, the murals and MSS of Tun-huang occasionally mention names, giving us a valuable insight into the hierarchy of T'ang academic painting. For instance, Jao discusses and explains the role of five individuals mentioned during the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods: Chu Pao, Superintendent of the Painting Academy, Tung Pao-té, Supervisor-in-chief to the Painters' Guild, Wu Pao-in, Supervisor of Artisan Painters, Pai Pan-shi, Supervisor-in-chief of Artisan Painters, and Tung Wen-hai, a member of the Technical Institute. Jao concludes the section by pointing to the influence of a painterly style transmitted from the Yi-chou region of Szech'wan at that period, a thesis he supports by virtue of the high iconic incidence of the eleven-headed Kuan-yin and Dharmatrāta figures. This is a significant point, for so often only the Central Asian painting style or the Chinese metropolitan tradition are considered in relation to Tun-huang.

The second chapter deals with the monochrome scrolls in detail, interpreting the iconography and treating stylistic points of interest. But it is in the third section that Pierre Ryckmans' skill as interpreter and translator is really called into play. Jao Tsong-yi takes a peculiarly Chinese delight in the discussion of painting technique, leaning heavily on the views of Chinese art collectors and connoisseurs of the past. We are drawn into a consideration of the use of graphic ellipses (*chien pi*) to define *elhouettes*, of convulsive strokes (*chan pi*) to suggest drapery, and of 'boneless' painting. The use of dots and scumbles is contrasted with that of lines and hatching to indicate contour, volume ('full or empty'), dimension, and composition. Surface texturing is achieved by means of a delicate network of 'wrinkles' and 'veins' and optical illusions of space and depth are produced by colour sfumato, a technique literally translated from Chinese as 'concave and convex method' (*ao t'u fa*), the modulated light and dark ink washes suggesting relief effects. The concurrence of this literary discussion on painting with an actual body of T'ang paintings is an important one, for so often we rely on historical assessment in place of artefactual evidence, this being the only way of approaching an art whose works have long since perished.

Jao closes with several conclusions, none revolutionary but all satisfactorily confirming those reached in studies on other facets of Tun-huang art style. Perhaps his most interesting contribution is in relating this style to that of other known sites, principal among them Ma Wang Tui in Hunan and the great T'ang tombs of Yi-té and Yung-t'ai outside Sian. Thus the book may be seen not so much as a source work on Tun-huang painting but rather as a useful addition to the small but growing nucleus of work on T'ang art.

The book is short, but well laid out in a series of easily consulted sections. The documentation is excellent and worth a mention

as it constitutes a useful quick-reference section. Paul Demiéville has supplied an appendix dealing with the indeterminate Dharmatrāta, who appears so often in the manuscripts. There is a catalogue of important Chinese painters and art-historians with their extant works, and information on modern editions of their treatises. The murals from Mo-kao, Yu-lin, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the British Library are listed using a combination of the five main cave notation systems, which are explained in their relation to one another. But in the final analysis it is the paintings themselves that speak, with their skill, spontaneity and calligraphic brilliance.

ROSE KERR

HISAAKI YAMANOUCHI: *The search for authenticity in modern Japanese literature*. x, 214 pp. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1978. £8.50.

J. THOMAS RIMER: *Modern Japanese fiction and its traditions: an introduction*. [xi], 313 pp. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. £10.10.

These two books complement each other neatly, in a way that not merely enhances the profit to be derived from each of them, but also signifies a new stage in the ongoing process of the encounter between the West and Japan. The first is by a Japanese academic who combines the specialist study of English literature with a lively interest in that of his own country (his book is based on a series of lectures given to British students while the author was concurrently serving as a lecturer in Japanese in Cambridge and completing his Ph.D. on early nineteenth-century English poetry). Broadly speaking, *The search for authenticity in modern Japanese literature* is representative of the 'orthodox' view of their own fiction among the Japanese—a view which tends to see the cultural pressures from the West as having been the dominant factor in the lives and work of Japanese writers since 1868; though one hastens to add that Dr. Yamanouchi is too widely read and too thoughtful a literary historian merely to pass on received opinions, and his book is full of personal insights that lend distinction to his account, as well as making it more readable than many similar works in Japanese. By contrast, Professor Rimer is a Japanologist who can range with a sure and confident touch over the whole field of Japanese literature, both modern and classical, while remaining fully conscious of (but not intimidated by) the great corpus of Western literature, creative and critical. His book is in effect an enthusiastic apologia for the central values of Japanese literature, providing at once a definition of those values, a demonstration of how they have survived all but intact into the modern period, and (the most challenging

part of his argument) an assertion of the peculiar modernity, the contemporary resonance, of certain elements of the traditional Japanese artistic sensibility.

The search for authenticity in modern Japanese literature can indeed serve as a short history. Twelve representative authors are discussed in chronological order, ten of them in contrasting pairs (Tsubouchi Shōyō and Futabatei Shimei, Kitamura Tōkoku and Shimazaki Tōson, Shiga Naoya and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Kawabata Yasunari), with individual chapters on Natsume Sōseki and Mishima Yukio. Not all the works treated are available in translation: the bibliography includes a limited amount of material in Japanese. Yamanouchi clearly has in mind as his audience, therefore, students and teachers of Japanese. Yet his book will also serve as a reliable and informative guide to the general reader interested in going 'behind the scenes' of the many translations now available.

His title defines with precision the *leitmotiv* he has given his survey: the sense of strain and struggle, in face of the impact of 'modernization', under which most Japanese writers have laboured through all or part of their creative lives. In many cases the effect was devastating: 'No wonder so many of these writers, so often apolitical, knew more of alienation, insecurity, mental breakdowns, and even suicide than they did of any other kind of human experience' (p. 175). This theme is demonstrated in every chapter. Among many examples, the treatment of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke is particularly cogent. Yamanouchi gives us both extended explanations of Akutagawa's difficulties, with close reference to his stories and semi-autobiographical writings, and the occasional pungent summary: 'Akutagawa had a unique sensibility with which he investigated the facts of life, its intricacies and complexities. His unwillingness to reconcile himself with these facts indicates at once his moral scrupulousness and his lack of tolerance towards the weakness in others and in himself. ... His adoption and later rejection of Voltaire's reason illustrate the impasse in which modern Japanese writers have often found themselves. By resorting to European values in the abstract, they lose touch with Japanese reality and the real substance of life. Furthermore they find that the abstract principles which they have built up according to European models are of no use in coping with the realities of their lives' (pp. 103, 104). (What Western interpreter of modern Japanese literature would have the boldness to be so forthright?)

The treatment is, as I have said, orthodox in general, from the Japanese point of view. To take a small example, Yamanouchi sees Akutagawa's famous story *The handkerchief*, in common with most Japanese critics, as a notable manifestation of Akutagawa's 'cynicism', here lashing out 'at the sanctified popular myths of the good, heroic and virtuous' (p. 97). A Western reader, less involved than his Japanese counterpart with those Japanese 'myths', may be affected quite as much as by the cynicism, by the silent

power of the image with which the story ends—the Gifu lantern, symbol of the deeper level of Japanese culture which the Professor possesses, as he possesses the lantern in his study, but has somehow been unable to 'activate'; much as Sengai speaks of the moon, which all men may see but whose significance few perceive.

miru minu wa
hito ni koso are
aki no tsuki

To see, or not to see,
That is man's question—
But the autumn moon!
(tr. R. H. Blyth)

The customary Japanese viewpoint is also reflected in the chapter on Natsume Sōseki, much the longest in the book, with its emphasis on Sōseki's moral concerns and on the 'maturity of his psychological realism'. (*The three-cornered world*, which Rimer lauds at length as 'a virtual handbook of traditional aesthetic attitudes and methods', is treated only briefly as 'a quasi-romantic work'.) Yamanouchi delineates clearly enough the grounds of Sōseki's importance as the Japanese see it—the reasons why he is still so widely read and admired. Yet he is able to show equally clearly, no doubt from the standpoint of his own close acquaintance with Western literature and life, how Sōseki suffered to the point of neurosis from the strain of his own attempt to face and digest Western culture. The trauma was twofold—professional and literary on the one hand, in that Sōseki realized more acutely than any of his contemporaries the alien nature of the English culture he had set himself to study, and personal on the other, in that throughout his stay in England in 1900–2 he seems to have had no communication in depth with any Englishman—not even with O. F. Andrews, the young Dean of Pembroke College to whom he had an introduction, and who was in later years to show such a sympathetic understanding of the Indian spirit. If only, one feels, Sōseki could have engaged in dialogue with some such perceptive Western spirit, to their mutual advantage. . . . The problem remains, as Yamanouchi reminds us: many Japanese and Westerners meet, but genuine encounters of the mind are few and far between. If we in the West are to gain some idea of the psychology of modern Japanese intellectuals, to feel from the inside what it means for a Japanese to visit the West, whether physically or in the realm of ideas, Sōseki, as interpreted by Yamanouchi, is a good guide. And we may then question ourselves as to whether the quality of our contemporary interest in Japan measures up to the seriousness with which Sōseki undertook his spiritual journey nearly 80 years ago.

Sometimes Yamanouchi delivers a judgement which sits less comfortably with prevailing Japanese attitudes. This is notably so in the case of Kawabata. After presenting a sustained analysis of the subtlety of Kawabata's methods, he has no hesitation in

characterizing him as 'less successful than Tanizaki', and suggesting that his work reveals a 'failure of fusion, which might indicate some kind of insecurity in his relationship with outer reality'. This is a welcome change from the hagiography that has tended to accumulate around Kawabata since he won the Nobel Prize.

The rest of Yamanouchi's book shows the same combination of representative scholarship with comment from a wider, more detached viewpoint. Among the major figures he has had to omit, one could wish that space had allowed him to deal not only with Mori Ogai and Dazai Osamu (towards the latter of whom, in a brief reference, he is oddly dismissive) but with some other important figures still little known in the West who do not fit his theme so neatly—Ōzaki Kōyō, Kōda Rohan, and Masamune Hakuchō, for example. One would have liked to see some mention of one characteristic feature of modern literature that is not often remarked on: the relatively large number of 'minor' writers (minor, at least, in quantity of output) who have nevertheless produced work of considerable distinction, and some of whom are now accessible in English translation (e.g. Naka Kansuke, Hori Tatsuo, Nakagawa Yoichi). Poetry (apart from that of Kitamura Tōkoku) and criticism are not touched upon.

One must be grateful that Yamanouchi has chosen to write in English. His style is felicitous. Here and there are a few, a very few, rough places, for which we should in fairness chide not the author but his Cambridge publishers. One at least, an example of the dangerous nuances of which English, like Japanese, is capable, may bring a touch of light relief to the weighty matters upon which the reader has to concentrate: the protagonist of Tōkoku's *Mt. Hōrai* is described as 'a fine example of the solitary wanderer whose innumerable specimens are scattered throughout European romantic poetry'. Another prompts one to remind the Cambridge University Press that Latin, like English, must be kept up: 'Sōseki begins the story in *medias res* . . .'. But in general, both in content and style, the book is well able to stand comparison with that other excellent English-language study of modern Japanese fiction by a Japanese scholar, Masao Miyoshi's *Accomplices of silence*.

Rimer's *Modern Japanese fiction and its traditions* is surely one of the best books on its subject. I would claim further that it is one of the most enriching books on any aspect of Japanese culture; and in the breadth of its range and the thoroughness of its approach, it is also better than most Japanese books on the relation of the classical tradition to modern literature. He modestly subtitled it *An introduction*, and it certainly offers numerous suggestions for further inquiry, but many readers will find it an important source-book in itself. Its appearance at the present time is significant, for two reasons. First, it is convincing evidence of the maturity of which Western studies of Japanese literature are now capable, at least potentially, though few scholars can yet match Rimer's range of

interest, knowledge, and critical capacity. Secondly, the enthusiastic yet reasoned exposition of the values of the Japanese literary tradition and of their survival into the contemporary era is particularly appropriate and necessary now that the 'modernizing' period is all but over, and modern Japanese culture must be seen for what it is—certainly 'modern', but primarily 'Japanese' still, with 'Western' influences of considerable but not dominant importance, in literature as in other areas.

The enthusiasm I have spoken of is all-pervading and infectious. Rimer sets out to show, not merely the folly of judging Japanese literature by Western aesthetic criteria, but the positive rewards awaiting those in the West who make the effort to acquire in some measure the perspective of the Japanese reader. He has little patience with some of the blinkered attitudes that have prevailed in the past: 'Many Japanese writers have been found disappointing by Western critics who find the narratives shapeless, without climax. The Japanese response might well be (although I must confess I have never seen it so succinctly formulated) that reality is indeed shapeless and that Japanese literary conventions are those closer to ultimate truth than our own' (p. 7). He does not, however, bludgeon the reader by insisting from the start that the Japanese conventions are 'closer to ultimate truth' than our own, preferring to lead him gently through the book towards his tentative conclusion that the former come surprisingly close to recent Western aesthetic and philosophical insights. Thus the book as a whole justifies the sentence that follows the above quotation: 'In any case, the Japanese literary mechanisms for apprehending reality permit the creation of works that, read carefully, possess the ability to shake us loose from our usual preconceptions'.

Professor Rimer is not writing only for academic Japanologists. It is not the least of the merits of his book that while offering much for the specialist, its argument is equally accessible to any serious student of literature as such, and to the general reader. To ensure its usefulness to this second audience, he has thoughtfully restricted his analyses of particular works to those available in translation. Teachers of comparative literature and of general courses in Far Eastern culture will be among those who will find the book invaluable.

Its method is a combination of Western and Japanese procedures. The writing is clear and ordered throughout, with no recourse to inspirational vagueness. Characteristically Japanese is the building up of an overall case not by 'straight-line' argument, but by the cumulative effect of a succession of approaches from different angles. Four chapters on the varied ways in which modern and Edo period writers (Tanizaki, Sōseki, Ueda Akinari, Nagai Kafu, and Mori Ōgai) have successfully assimilated their literary heritage are interspersed with chapters on the major 'source books' and earlier literary forms (*Tales of Ise*, *The tale of Genji*, *The tale of the Heike*; the tale, the diary, the *monogatari*, the essay). The four final chapters develop the subject in relation

to a further selection of contemporary writers, with an expansion of the modern significance of the greatest classic of the canon (Kawabata, Dazai, Ibuse, Endō, Kaikō, Abe; *The tale of Genji* as a modern novel). The very structure of the book thus reinforces, in true Japanese symbolic fashion, Rimer's theme: the living interaction of modern fiction with the earlier tradition, without some understanding of which the former can neither be properly understood nor fully enjoyed. A brief conclusion (entitled, with Japanese modesty, 'A few final remarks') is followed by Donald Keene's complete translation of *The bamboo-cutter*, one of the earliest and most interesting of the source-books.

The headings under which he discusses the influences from (and the modernity of) the classics are comprehensive, going beyond the familiar *aware* and *yūgen* to cover principles of organization, types of structure, themes, 'tonality', 'the false I' (in *waka* poetry and diaries) that lies behind the modern I-novel, the 'interiority' and portrait-like quality of the Nō drama. In each case Rimer has something individual, pointed, and revealing (if sometimes controversial) to say. An example is his arrangement of the forms of narrative in order of their development, as follows:

tale → *monogatari* → diary → essay

with the suggestion (among others) that

the tale seems closest to Western models of fiction. As one moves away from the more romantic forms to the more psychologically realistic ones—the diary and the essay—the materials are less and less tightly organized. The closer one comes to the real workings of the mind and of the emotions, the less narrative organization is found to be of value. The psychology behind such literary structures views nature, and the self, as in flux. In such a view, total coherence and unity become not the norm but an artificial construct. Such a conception of the world is more familiar to us, with our contemporary ideas of existential psychology, than it would have been even fifty years ago ... (p. 81).

This is a measured and helpful explication of what lies behind the apparent formlessness of much Japanese fiction. More than that, it suggests links, as a good book on literature should do, with other fields of imaginative and intellectual activity: in this case, with (for example) the ideas of the relation between contemporary physics and Eastern mysticism, as they are currently being expounded by Fridtjof Capra and others.

Keen though his eye is for techniques and structures, Rimer does not limit himself to them. There is a persuasive claim in his account of the *Genji*, along with a wealth of other insights, for the unobtrusive but real aura of religious symbolism surrounding its protagonist (a feature which he might also have claimed, as do some Japanese critics, for one of the modern fictional characters he discusses—Komako in Kawabata's *The snow country*). Here in short is a reader and critic of truly generous perceptions, the depth of whose insight is no less than the range of his sympathies and the precision of his analyses.

Once or twice, perhaps, his enthusiasm does overreach itself. We are left with the feeling that the Western instinct for 'order' as a principle of art may be rather childish (though in fairness the references to Western aesthetics are too brief to justify making too much of them). Thackeray may indeed be at the opposite pole from much of Japanese fiction; but in view of recent writing on poetic elements in Dickens, the following seems a little too dismissive: 'Such a poetically structured narrative that can successfully propel a story like "The River Sumida" shows no affinity with the structures of Dickens or Thackeray' (p. 274). With these rare exceptions, Rimer's tact and tone are admirable throughout.

Both books are well produced, though, for Princeton as for Cambridge, a technically fault-free text remains an unattained ideal. One can be forgiven for wondering, after encountering the word 'transcience' seven times, whether this is a Joycean coinage, designed to carry some esoteric baggage whose contents Rimer does not condescend to divulge! Alas, on its eighth and ninth appearances, it reverts to mere 'transience'... The layout of Rimer's bibliography will make it easier for the non-specialist to handle than the corresponding pages of rather crowded small print in *The search for authenticity*.

I have said that these two studies complement each other. They are specially welcome for another, larger reason. Books like these, by men who are familiar with both Japanese and at least one Western literature, who are both scholars and imaginative interpreters, will contribute much to making possible what has been lacking for so long, a genuine and mutually fruitifying meeting between the two cultures—no longer a dialogue of the deaf, and still less a monologue by the one side imposed willy-nilly upon the other. Thanks to them—and, one hopes, to their successors—we can now truthfully claim to have come a long way in the seventy-odd years since Soseki, shut up in his London lodging, nursed his literary frustrations to the point of neurosis.

KENNETH STRONG

RYŌICHI FUJIOKA: *Shino and Oribe ceramics*. Translated and adapted by Samuel Crowell Morse. (Japanese Arts Library, 1.) 178 pp.

HISASHI MŌRI: *Japanese portrait sculpture*. Translated and adapted by W. Chié Ishibashi. (Japanese Arts Library, 2.) 150 pp. Tokyo, etc.: Kodansha International Ltd. and Shibundo, 1977. Each \$12.95. (Distributed in G.B. by Phaidon. £8.50.)

The excellent series of illustrated monthly magazines *Nihon no bijutsu* published by Shibundo has been appearing since 1966. Each of these is devoted to one subject in Japanese art: this may be a wide coverage, or a narrow, detailed monograph. Each is written by a

specialist in the field and is intended as a good, serious introduction to the subject, but at a level of writing that gives them considerable popular appeal.

Several of these have now been translated into English, but as they have appeared under two different imprints, there may be some confusion over their origins. Furthermore, a series of 30 books also originally published under the title *Nihon no bijutsu* has appeared in English as the Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art.

The Shibundo monthly has appeared in two formats, both under the general editorship of John Rosenfield. The first to appear were eight volumes entitled the Arts of Japan, and published jointly by Weatherhill and Shibundo. Now four more titles have been published by Kodansha International and Shibundo. The two books reviewed here are nos 1 and 2 in this new series, of which two more have already appeared (*Kano Eitoku and Pure Land Buddhist painting*) and many more are in preparation. The new series is slightly taller than the earlier Arts of Japan.

Ryōichi Fujioka's book is an excellent introduction to Shino and Oribe wares, which he treats separately. In each part of the book he introduces the wares and puts them into some historical framework but without attempting any fuller historical chronology or evaluating the archaeological evidence with any precision. The substance of each part of the book is a taxonomic discussion of the ware concerned. A wealth of examples are described or illustrated. He has carefully confined himself to the great period of Shino and Oribe, the late Momoyama and early Edo periods, thus providing, in a sense, a catalogue of fine pieces. This is extremely useful. It is, however, only part of the story.

It would be useful to have a summary of the evidence for the origins of Shino and Oribe wares. The kiln-by-kiln description given here begs more questions than it answers, for it does not attempt to do more than list a few characteristics. There is no attempt at chronology or even at dating, and little discussion of the context of the wares other than in tea-ceremony terms.

While there is little discussion of the origins of the wares, there is no treatment at all of these wares after the early part of the seventeenth century. No one can believe that the wares stopped production abruptly; there must have been a more or less continued production down to the present day. This is criticizing a book for not doing what it has not set out to do: but this is what we need. To a certain extent, the English summaries of the books by Hayashiya (Shino) and Takeuchi (Oribe) in the Nippon no Toji series published by Chuo Koron do this. It is a pity that Professor Fujioka has not added such information to his otherwise useful and attractive book.

If early pieces of Shino and Oribe are rare in the west, how much more so are Japanese sculptures of any age and quality? Professor Mōri's *Japanese portrait sculpture* may come as a revelation to many. Not only will good Buddhist sculpture be unfamiliar, but here

are examples of a genre quite outside our normal expectations of Oriental art.

The book is not concerned solely with one style, technique, period, or religion; it covers exactly the area it defines, Japanese portrait sculpture. The author concentrates on Buddhist portraits, of course, but lay portraits are also given due attention.

It is an interesting point of difference between a Western and an Eastern viewpoint that Mōri's division of the book is into portraits of imaginary persons and portraits of historical figures even when some of these portraits are themselves imaginary likenesses of a long-dead personage. In all probability a European writer on this subject would have divided the book into imaginary portraits and 'true' portraits, or likenesses.

Buddhism teaches the lack of importance of the body and hence of the physiognomy and so a Buddhist portrait tries to suggest the mind of the subject, and it is interesting that realistic likenesses of famous monks and teachers and purely imaginary portraits of figures from the past could be made at the same period with no particular distinction between them.

With portraits of historical personages, relics might be placed within the hollow statue: apart from texts these might include the ashes of the deceased (e.g. of Nichiren, d. 1282), or even some of his internal organs. It is a charming idea that when the figure was made of a long-dead person, silk representations of his viscera might be used. So much were such portraits venerated that worshippers of a particular figure, e.g. of Shotoku Taishi, might have their own ashes placed within such a figure after their death.

Some of the figures are unclothed. This was a Shinto practice in the Heian period, but by the Kamakura period it was not uncommon in Buddhist portraits also. Of course, those worshippers who made the clothes and clothed the figures thereby acquired merit. During the Muromachi period some portrait sculptures even had real hair applied to the head, eyebrows, upper lip, and chin: this would have been either the hair of the deceased, as in the portrait of Ikkyū (c. 1481) in the Shūon-an, Kyoto, or of followers, who donated theirs.

Mōri discusses in some detail the imaginary portraits of mystical or semi-mystical Buddhist figures such as the Ten Great Disciples. More of interest to us, perhaps, are the portraits of real persons. Mōri lists these likenesses not by when the sculpture was made, but by the date of person portrayed: thus the portrait of Gyōki (670-749) made in about 1249 is discussed before that of Ganjin which was almost certainly made just before his death in 783. This makes the chapter slightly difficult to understand, and it is necessary to read it in conjunction with the next chapter which is entitled 'Historical and stylistic development'.

What comes out of this book is primarily the sheer pleasure of seeing sculptured portraits of such quality. There are half a dozen or so, ranging over 700 years, where the personality of the sitter has been captured in a direct and simple way that places these few

among the topmost ranks of portraiture anywhere in the world.

OLIVER IMPEY

P. A. STOTT (ed.): *Nature and man in South East Asia*. (Collected Papers in Oriental and African Studies) xii, 183 pp., front., 8 plates. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978. £3.

G. B. MILNER (ed.): *Natural symbols in South East Asia*. (Collected Papers in Oriental and African Studies.) viii, 182 pp., front., 12 plates. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978. £3.

These two volumes are based upon a series of open lectures given at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1975-6, which was motivated by the idea that 'habitat and economy, those uninvited guests, had in the past not always been given adequate consideration'.

The volume edited by Stott falls into two parts. The first has articles by Stott ('Nous avons mangé la forêt: environmental perception and conservation in mainland South East Asia'), Adrian G. Marshall ('Man and nature in Malaysia: attitudes to wildlife and conservation'), R. Ng ('Man and land in north-east Thailand'), H. Demaine ('Magic and management: methods of ensuring water supplies for agriculture in South East Asia'), and Christine Mougne ('An ethnography of reproduction: changing patterns of fertility in a northern Thai village'). This part generally concerns 'environmental perception'. All of these are stimulating and interesting essays; this reviewer found Mougne's discussion particularly interesting, especially for its demonstration that 'family planning has been accepted as a result of rather than despite the traditional economic and social structures' (p. 93). On the other hand, the relevance and force of Marshall's discussion of the philosophies of 'East' and 'West' towards nature seem insufficiently demonstrated.

Part II of the Stott volume is far more technical and unlikely to be of such general interest as the first, although the articles are of a high scholarly standard. J. M. Jacob ('The ecology of Angkor: evidence from the Khmer inscriptions') and E. H. S. Simmonds ('Observations on folk taxonomy in Thailand') are rather in the nature of lists of terms, which lead to a few general conclusions. Roy F. Ellen ('Restricted faunas and ethnozoological inventories in Wallacea') and a second article by Stott ('The red forest of Thailand: a study in vernacular forest nomenclature') are likely to be of interest only to specialists. Among other problems, non-specialists will find it difficult to master their occasional technical obscurities. (Ellen, p. 160: 'Because the Nida-Conklin hypothesis applies only in a complicated and partial way,

in a logical, developmental (and perhaps even an evolutionary) sense it represents a secondary accretion, although with substantial feedback implications'. Stott, p. 167: 'However, certain workers have regarded dry deciduous dipterocarp forest as essentially an edaphic climax or sub-climax vegetation, which is developed on poor, acid soils of the Red-Yellow Podzolic Group. ...')

The volume edited by Milner has more unity than the Stott volume. It includes articles by Mark Hobart ('The path of the soul: the legitimacy of nature in Balinese conceptions of space' and 'Padi, puns and the attribution of responsibility'), J. H. C. S. Davidson ('Images of ecstasy: a Vietnamese response to nature'), Hla Pe ('Burmese attitudes to plants and animals'), Georges Condominas ('A few remarks about Thai political systems'), Andrew Turton ('Architectural and political space in Thailand'), Anthony Christie ('Natural symbols in Java'), and H. L. Shorto ('The planets, the days of the week and the points of the compass: orientation symbolism in "Burma"'). Only the Condominas article seems not to fit the general theme of this volume, which is 'the place of nature, organic and inorganic, in symbolic cognition' (p. viii). Christie's article is particularly important, for it attacks the widely-accepted idea of a 'cosmological dualism' in Javanese and other South-East Asian cultures; instead Christie prefers to speak 'of complementary or of chiasmus' (p. 133). Such an argument is both timely and, in this reviewer's opinion, correct. All of these articles are of high quality and will be of interest to all students of South-East Asian studies; none of them is subject to the over-specialized approach notable in some articles in the Stott volume.

Both volumes are well produced; they have indexes, plates, figures, and maps. They represent a significant contribution to a better understanding of the relationship between man and his natural environment in South East Asia.

M. C. RICKLEFS

M. C. RICKLEFS: *Modern Javanese historical tradition: a study of an original Kartasura chronicle and related materials*. xi, 281 pp., 3 maps. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978. £10.

Students of Javanese letters have usually been philologists, whose interests in history have often only been secondary to their principal concerns.

Accordingly, this study by Dr. Ricklefs, a practising historian, of the *Babad ing Sangkala* is much to be welcomed. In his treatment of the text that he has made available, he has shown a confident mastery of the philological tools his material requires, and that he has a thorough knowledge of the secondary sources.

Ricklefs has called his book *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition*. Approaching his work as a historian, he is concerned with the Javanese way of presenting information about their past and of the accuracy with which they did so, matters which, since Professor Berg's writings on the subject, have exercised rather more fascination than what actually happened.

The *Babad ing Sangkala* appears at first sight to be a Javanese work of a pronounced historical character because of the number of dates that it presents in chronograms. The concern with fact and date is after all the hall-mark of historiography as we know it and recognize it in the Arab and Chinese traditions. Does this text, therefore, have a special significance as a document of Javanese historiography?

Ricklefs' view is that it does, and regarding it as such, he attempts to derive from it an interpretation of the processes of Javanese court history, and specifically to conclude that the eighteenth century saw a decline both in the Javanese historical sense and the Javanese literary tradition.

The issues that he raises are important and challenging. They are the proper subject matter of the historian—the documentation and analysis of change in society—and they have the added interest that his conclusions run counter to a received orthodoxy in Javanese studies.

At the heart of the book is the text of the *Babad ing Sangkala* with a translation. This is an eighteenth-century work which purports to give an account of events in Java from earliest times up to the date of its composition.

It is in verse, and studded with chronograms. The writing of such chronograms, which meet the requirements of metre, and in addition express an appropriate comment on the event recorded, is a highly developed art; perhaps the most famous chronogram from Java's past is that used to commemorate the fall of Majapahit: *siraṁ hulang krtaning bhumi*, lost and gone is the glory of the land = 1400 A.J.

Not every chronogram is as straightforward as this. Indeed, often in the course of a narrative they may pass undetected, and be read and translated simply as part of the narrative.

Difficult as the art of 'chronogramming' is to an author, the demands it makes on the scholar of a different place and time attempting to unravel them are rightmarish. Thus Ricklefs' treatment of the text makes his work indispensable for scholars concerned with this art form, and by his detailed work on the Javanese calendrical system, he has put other investigators in his debt.

The book contains a lucid synopsis of Javanese history between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries to provide a background to his text. His transcription and translation, which is the core of the book, is followed by eight commentaries—succinct, but packed with information—which discuss the date and provenance of the MS., its author, and the relation of the contents of the text to the past of the period discussed to the extent that knowledge of it is accessible to historians.

Ricklefs bases his discussion on the assumption that the Central Javanese Court Babad literature represents a historiographic tradition. This is a traditional approach to works of the Babad Tanah Jawi type. Ethnic honour appears to demand that the material be historiographic in character; the tension existing between the text and verifiable date and fact, where these can be established from other sources, is used as a technique to elaborate on the unique character of Javanese civilization. It is by the use of such procedures that Ricklefs attempts to distinguish the extent to which the text is either more, or less, historically reliable, and from this to draw conclusions about growth, decline, or change in Javanese culture.

Thus various questions may be asked of his book, some of which are matters for specialists, in particular, his recognition and interpretation of the chronograms.

There are, however, equally important general questions the book raises. Is it in fact a meaningful statement to say that there was at any time a tradition of 'quite accurate historical writing' (p. 203) at the Central Javanese courts? Does the term 'historical' have any sense at all in this context. In the Muslim tradition, history means the study of time, the giving of dates to events. It is moreover closely associated with the development of Islamic Law, an association which resulted in the development of techniques to check the reliability of sources, and a rationale for accepting one sequence of events rather than another, of regarding some sources as authoritative, others as of less value. Such concerns and techniques appear not to be part of the literary culture of the courts of Central Java.

This, let it be admitted, is a field which has generated theories of great complexity and created life-long enmities. Among the difficulties is that Professor Berg's interpretations of the Meinsma text of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, ingenious, intelligent, and exciting as they are, stand like an imposing fortress commanding every approach to the problem.

Is there not a case for another starting point: to leave aside the mass of theorizing—based on a narrow and often controversial philological base—and to set out from a different premise, namely that like many other peoples, the Javanese have traditions of story telling about the past. Some of these stories may overlap with historical events, others may not. The crucial point is that there is a tradition of telling stories either invented, passed on, or modified by succeeding generations. Some of these stories include chronograms, although not on the scale of the *Babad ing Sangkala*. Are these chronograms simply a form of punctuation or an integral part of the story, and if so, what is their meaning, bearing in mind that the meaning of the dates they signify may not be that meaning that we attribute to dates in a historical-type work in the western tradition? And is this meaning destroyed or prejudiced by variants from one telling of a story to another?

In other words, I suggest that the Central Javanese courts had a tradition of telling

stories about the past still closely related to the oral tradition; they did not have a tradition of historiography.

There is no evidence in this *babad* material of any attempt to sort out truth from error; to compare sources of information, and to adjudicate one more reliable than another for any reason, good, bad, or indifferent. Rather the authors of such works wrote down stories deriving either from personal knowledge or experience of what their predecessors had told or recorded; material of various kinds—which might have included diary-type records—but which were included not because of their historicity, but because they were stories of a particular kind.

Why should such stories have been told? Apart from the almost universal human instinct to tell stories, for numerous reasons: to establish a psychological reference point; to set out norms of behaviour; as a form of sympathetic magic; to justify the status quo by attributing it to prophesy, even simply to entertain (although the entertainment quotient in the *Babad* literature is rather less than that occurring in Malay texts). There is no single overall interpretation that can be applied with an iron determinism, and the coincidence of the stories told with historical fact may well prove irrelevant.

Are there then any grounds for regarding the *Babad ing Sangkala* in any different light? Does the multiplication of *sangkalas* chronograms, to indicate dates, give the text a special historiographic character. This need not be so. The title word *Sangkalas* indeed suggests that it is a *babad* devoted to *Sangkalas*—that the work is an exemplary text intended to display the author's skill in making *sangkalas*. If this is the case, there is no need to take it seriously for a purpose other than that it gives itself. The writing of *sangkalas* in different metres as stories of different kinds are told is simply a demonstration of a literary art. To analyse it as historiography is to impose on it burdens of a kind that it cannot bear, and to draw from it conclusions that it is not sufficiently representative to support.

One of Ricklefs' conclusions is that there was a decline in the Javanese literary life in the eighteenth century, not a renaissance as 'orthodoxy' has it. He argues that the numerous re-presentations of the master-works of Old Javanese such as the *Ramayana* and the *Bharata Yuddha* in New Javanese during this period are evidence not of a revival, but of an almost despairing attempt to preserve this heritage against loss as the knowledge of Old Javanese declined (p. 217). On the same basis, one might perhaps argue that the *Babad ing Sangkala* itself was written to prevent the loss of the art of writing *sangkalas*!

It is, however, somewhat pre-emptory to suggest that the version of the *Ramayana* by Yasadipura is simply a rendering of the classical work to avoid its loss as part of the Javanese cultural heritage because of a decline in knowledge of Old Javanese: the linguistic complexity, the architectonic structure, the descriptive skill and the emotional climaxes of the work mark it as a masterpiece in its own right created out of the Rama material, not

simply a re-working of the justly famous *kekawin*.

Admittedly, the argument turns in part on the meaning one gives to the word 'Renaissance'. Surely the appearance of 'individual originality and creativity' (p. 215) in areas where these characteristics had not been apparent before may, without too much exaggeration, be described as a renaissance with a small 'r'. The obvious remark is that, despite Poerbatjaraka's disapprobation, the literary works of this period deserve much closer study.

Ricklefs' book is very specialized, and written within rather specific parameters. It represents great learning, and an extraordinary dedication to material of not great intrinsic interest.

He has however set his discussion in a broad framework, and in fact uses the text to raise issues which require much further study in the sadly neglected field of New Javanese if they are to be resolved. To which one might add, as a note of caution, that the court cultures of Central Java did not have a monopoly of literary activity in Javanese, even during the eighteenth century.

A. H. JOHNS

SARASIN VIRAPHOL: *Tribute and profit: Sino-Siamese trade, 1652-1853*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 76.) xx, 419 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. \$15, £10.50.)

This is a useful study of an important topic in the modern history of both China and South-East Asia. It is well known, in a general way, that trade with China in the centuries before about 1850 was carried on within the framework of a tributary system whose origins go back to the Han Dynasty. What the present author has attempted is a detailed analysis of an actual trading relationship within that framework, between China and a single South-East Asian kingdom during the first two centuries of the Ch'ing period. He has looked particularly at the organizational aspect of the trade, in terms of both formal and informal arrangements on both the Chinese and the Siamese sides; and in so doing he has thrown interesting light on some of the economic realities of bureaucratic life in both countries. The author has also paid some attention to changes in trading patterns, and gives useful information on the eighteenth century—which is still one of the least understood periods in the history of mainland South-East Asia. Moreover his interest in trade has led him to approach such subjects as court patronage and politics, especially in Siam, from quite a different angle from that of the traditional Thai historical materials in chronicle form.

The book tends to avoid the ground already covered by other historians of Thailand in this

period, particularly its relations with the West. It does, however, permit us to see more clearly the Asian context of Dutch and French activity in the seventeenth century and of British activity in the nineteenth. The events of the 1680's, for example, which marked the high point of European interest in Siam before the mid nineteenth century, can be seen in terms of an overall expansion of trade in the South China Sea in which the French and English (as well as the Dutch) were trying to participate. But the Chinese had the advantage over them, and it was the junk trade which came to predominate. Nor was there necessarily any significant decline in the overall volume of trade after 1638, merely because the European role diminished. The eighteenth century was in fact one of remarkable growth in Sino-Siamese trade, especially Chinese importation of Siamese rice, and it continued to flourish in the first half of the nineteenth century. The dominant role of Chinese merchants continued, despite the tendency for trade to break out of the traditional tributary mould. The background to the so-called 'opening' of Siam by Sir John Bowring in 1855 was probably the desire of British firms to break the Chinese monopoly and to establish a treaty trade, largely free of customs duties, in which they themselves could participate.

In one respect, however, the study of Sino-Siamese trade presents great difficulties for the historian. Whilst the author is able to cite numerous quantities of goods traded, with the values or prices recorded in his documents, he has not been able to find any adequate means of systematic quantification. His failure in this area points up the need for more study of the monetary and commodity history of East Asia, which will ultimately require a much wider framework than that of any one country's trade with China. In the absence of such measurements, it is impossible for the present author to tell us a great deal about changes in the volume of trade between one period and another, or about specific crises of a purely economic nature. Nor does he say anything about the effects of the development of trade on the economy of Siam as a whole in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—an important subject in itself. It would be unkind to blame him too harshly for these failings, in a study which originated as a Ph.D. thesis and which has succeeded in drawing together a useful range of information. The book is not entirely without more culpable faults, however. It is much more thoroughly researched on the Chinese than on the Thai side, and reliance on secondary sources has sometimes led the author into errors of carelessness—for example, his gross misdating of the reign of Boromotrakulanath. More seriously, the information presented has not always been thoroughly digested, and a number of opportunities to relate details to one another have been missed. On the face of things it seems likely, for example, that there is a good deal more to say about the crisis of 1807—when the Liang-K'vang governor threatened to destroy the whole basis of royal Siamese trade by enforcing Chinese

rules rigorously; or about the sudden growth of Singapore trade in the early 1850's, just on the eve of the Bowring mission. The book raises quite a number of questions which it fails to answer.

R. B. SMITH

CLAUDINE SALMON and DENYS LOMBARD: *Les Chinois de Jakarta: temples et vie collective*. (Cahier d'Archipel 6 S.E.C.M.I.) [iv], lxxii, 368 pp. [Paris: Association Archipel], 1977. F130.

Ever since their first settlement in Batavia in significant numbers in the seventeenth century the Chinese have played an important role in the economic life of the city, and throughout the period they have had to put up with varying degrees of control or suppression. Since 1966-6, as a consequence of the events which displaced President Sukarno, they have been subject to a government policy which greatly inhibits outward manifestation of their Chinese culture, not only are the public processions banned but even the display of Chinese characters in public is prohibited.

Up to 1966 no systematic general study of Chinese cultural life in Jakarta had been made and it is paradoxical that the present study was undertaken by two French scholars, Dr. Claudine Salmon and Dr. Denys Lombard, who arrived in Jakarta in 1966, just as the new restrictive measures were being introduced. This book is a study of Chinese temples, giving considerable space to material aspects such as layout and temple furnishings but, as the authors themselves observe, 'The temples are not merely the setting for a religious life, they are outward expression of the society behind them'. It is this aspect, the temple as the focus of the *vie collective*, which is to me the most important dimension of this study. Thus from a meticulous reconstruction of the story of each temple, often from fragmentary sources, we get not a history of 'the Chinese', but a series of sketches of the birth and development of these foci of Chinese communities (which might consist of adherents of a deity, or members of a guild, or of a clan, or residents of a neighbourhood), in some cases lasting for centuries, in some cases only for a few years.

The main body of the work consists of a series of 72 studies, of varying length, each devoted to a temple which exists or has existed in Jakarta or in the neighbourhood. In almost every case the authors have visited the temple to carry out their investigation. For each temple the information is set out systematically: the Chinese name, the Indonesian name (if any), the situation, its history and description.

The data in these monographs have been summarized, with conclusions, in a substantial introductory section which traces the development of the religious foundations from about A.D. 1650 to the present day (the latest date mentioned is in August 1976). Chapters are devoted to 'Historical survey', 'The temple

as a religious and cultural setting', 'Iconography', 'Worship and communal festivals', and 'The organization of society'. This valuable part of the work is accompanied by a full English translation.

The important Chinese sources used are reproduced in full, copied by hand, and occupying some 40 pp. A further 40 pp. have been devoted to translations of citations from sources in European languages (Dutch, French, English, German) including regulations from the Dutch *Plakaatboek*, the latter beginning as early as A.D. 1641.

The temples, collectively and individually, are dedicated to a number of deities; there are of course Buddhist and Taoist foundations, and several have most interesting instances of syncretic developments permitting worship by local Indonesian Muslims and Chinese within the same precincts.

This reviewer found one minor inconvenience in using the book, arising from the authors' familiarity with the standard romanization of northern Chinese (Pun-yin) and rather sparse use of the romanization, or common spellings, of terms in southern Chinese dialects (mainly Cantonese, Hakka, and Hokkien), which have been used by the majority of Chinese in Indonesia up to the present time. Thus our Toa-Peh-Kong, a favourite deity of overseas Hokkiens, appears as Da-bo-gong; the Chheng-beng festival becomes the Qing-ming festival; the well-known Ming admiral Cheng Ho becomes Zheng He, and so on, giving an unfamiliar northern flavour to what has become familiar in the past in a setting influenced by southern Chinese. In cases of transliteration of local names, in so many cases arrived at via the Hokkien pronunciation, the Pin-yin romanization can quite disguise the connexion; e.g. the name Kawi (a mountain in Java) is given in Pin-yin as Jia-wei, but the Hokkien rendering of Ka-ni would make the connexion more obvious. Similarly the rendering of the Chinese name for Singapore (a predominantly Hokkien city) by Pin-yin Xin-jia-po obscures the aptness of the Chinese name in Hokkien (which is Sin-ka-pho). However, this does not become a real problem of identification, as the authors have freely given the Chinese characters of romanized terms throughout the book.

There is no general index. However, there is an appendix giving an index to the names of deities (including the Chinese characters in each case), and a very useful glossary of Sino-Indonesian terms; another appendix gives (in Chinese) lists of Chinese festivals through the year, and yet another gives a chronological list of the religious foundations, noting the locality of each. These aids will much facilitate the use of the book by any interested person (with a modicum of French) who desires a guide to the world behind the façades of Chinese communal life in present-day Jakarta.

The book is illustrated with nine maps and plans, and carries 33 photographs. It is a valuable and scholarly addition to the *Cahiers d'Archipel* series on Indonesia.

It is a comment on our times that this work appears in offset printed form in paperback (and even so I understand that the

authors themselves personally bore some of the production costs). The fact that it is not in expensive and glossy format should not obscure the fact that what we have is a masterly and scholarly work based on meticulous investigation of sources, of a kind that has not been written about the Chinese in Indonesia perhaps since the days of the Dutch Sinologist, J. J. M. de Groot. It will be the standard reference book on the religious and communal life of the Chinese in Jakarta for years to come, and will be an indispensable addition to libraries with an interest in the Indonesian area.

RUSSELL JONES

AHMED AL-SHAHI and F. C. T. MOORE (tr. and intr.): *Wisdom from the Nile: a collection of folk-stories from Northern and Central Sudan*. (Oxford Library of African Literature.) xii, 256 pp., map. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. £10.

The river peoples of the Northern Sudan are the source for this representative collection of Islamic folk stories. The Muslim Sudanese still possess a rich store of authentic tales. The villagers offer a social milieu through which the content of the sententious, bizarre, and witty plots can be explained and interpreted. Ideas have been imported from the heart of the Arab East and have been utilized by a people essentially Hamitic in their culture.

This book brings Muslim Africa back into the series. Both authors have successfully combined their respective disciplines in anthropology and Sudanese culture and literature. The help which they have received from a number of students at the University of Khartoum has ensured that the stories have been carefully collated and systematically edited. All the stories are idiomatically and pleasingly translated. Their Sudanese character has been preserved and the stories remain fresh and spontaneous. They are free of heavy editing and lengthy notes of explanation.

The tales are prefaced by a wide-ranging introduction which explains the geography, kinship systems, and economy of the riparian communities. Particular attention is devoted to marital tension in these communities and how it provides a key to the semantic analysis of the stories which are the core of the book. These stories are predominantly centred on human relationships or marital relationships with supernatural beings, ogres, or animals. Escape from incest is central to the point of many of the tales. A few are animal fables of a droll kind. They are similar in many ways to Berber stories in North Africa. The ubiquitous Goha (Juhā) makes his appearance on p. 194. There is hardly a trace of the exotic Mamlūk 'Orientalism' or the urban sophistication so characteristic of Cairene stories in the *One thousand and one nights*, in many a Persian tale, or the oral tales recounted by the bedouin of the Empty Quarter of Arabia or amongst the Maghribi bedouin.

The stories are interpreted from a functionalist or a structuralist point of view. There is little wish to see in them wilful or wayward entertainment for its own sake. There is almost no discussion about how the tales came to be transmitted, or an assessment of the qualities which are held to be essential for a master story-teller (though these topics are touched upon in general on pp. 30, 31, and 40-8). Nothing is said about how these folktales relate to the repertoire of the bard (*shā'ir* in Egypt)—if he still exists—who like the griot in West Africa, preserves heroic ballads and the genealogies of the Sudanese tribes listed on pp. 33 and 34.

The authors are to be congratulated for their consistent transcription, the useful glossary of Sudanese Arabic terms and words on pp. 237-42 and for the representative Arabic appendix; the texts of stories 14, 23, and 38. These are good examples of Sudanese dialect, or dialect influenced by the contemporary literary Arabic idiom. It is a pity, however, that the verses on pp. 199-200 could not have been printed as stanzas in the Arabic text on p. 251. Arabic language and style is explained to the reader on pp. 5-8.

This study successfully places the plots within the matrix of the social and environmental *Sturm und Drang* of Nilotic life. Not all these tales are of equal interest. Some are rather similar, several are macabre, and not a few share the cryptic quirks and abrupt change of action which characterize this type of story the world over. In sum this book will be of undoubted interest to Africanists, to Egyptologists, and to specialists in Islamic folklore and popular story at its least literary and therefore least artificial level.

H. T. NOBLEIS

STEFAN STRELECYN: *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the year 1877*. xvi, 183 pp., 16 plates. London: British Museum Publications Ltd for the British Library, [1978]. £35.

Stefan StrelecyN has placed Ethiopian scholars once more in his debt by the preparation of this excellent catalogue—appropriately dedicated to Charles Beckingham and Edward Ullendorff—of the 108 Ethiopian manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the year 1877. The volume consists of a short preface, descriptions of the manuscripts (arranged in 10 groups according to content), a comprehensive series of indexes, and a number of plates. It may be said immediately that this work has been written to the same high standards of scholarship that have marked the catalogues which Dr. StrelecyN has prepared of other collections of Ethiopian manuscripts (in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Wellcome Institute, the John Rylands University Library, and the Conti Rossini Collection), and that it forms a very distinguished continuation of the catalogue by A. Dillmann (1847) and W. Wright (1877) of

the Ethiopic manuscripts acquired by the British Museum up to the year 1847, and between 1847 and 1877, respectively.

The manuscripts which are described in the present volume came to the British Library from a variety of sources, but it seems clear that a fair number were originally brought to this country by members of the British expedition against King Theodore in 1867-8. It was, of course, as a consequence of this expedition that the British Museum received the vast majority of the 408 manuscripts listed by Wright. Another important source of the manuscripts in the present catalogue was a bequest by Darea, Baroness Zouche, in 1917; the 12 manuscripts in this group probably all belonged originally to the collector, Robert Curzon. Reference should also be made to the gift of 21 manuscripts by the Wellcome Institute.

It is hardly a matter of surprise that there should be little that is completely new in this collection, but there are, nonetheless, a number of manuscripts and groups of manuscripts that are of considerable interest. Amongst these a group of 29 magical scrolls (Nos. 69-97) is perhaps the most important inasmuch as this type of Ethiopic writing was previously unrepresented in the holdings of the British Museum; this group now forms the largest collection of magical scrolls in this country. Included amongst them is a fine scroll (No. 80, Or. 12869), attributed to the eighteenth century, which Dr. Streloyn describes as one of the most beautiful known to him. Mention should also be made here of two magical manuscripts. The former (No. 98, Or. 12034) is of interest for divination; it contains a very important collection of *hasab* which is described in some detail by Dr. Streloyn. The latter (No. 100, Or. 11390), which dates from about 1750, consists of an equally important collection of medical writings.

Psalters, service books, hymn-books and prayer-books form a large element in most collections of Ethiopic manuscripts, and the 34 manuscripts of this type described in the present catalogue (Nos. 17-49 and 108, almost a third of the total) are no exception. For the most part there is nothing unusual about these, but there are a number of manuscripts in this group which contain hymns and prayers of various kinds that are unattested elsewhere.

Vocabularies and grammars form a third group of manuscripts that are of particular interest in this collection. These include a Tigrinya-Arabic vocabulary, possibly from the end of the seventeenth century (No. 61, Or. 2263), and a *šiwawaw* from the eighteenth century (No. 63, Or. 9798). But the four other items in this group are perhaps of greater interest, namely from the point of view of the history of Ethiopian studies: these are an anonymous Amharic grammar of the eighteenth century (No. 62, Or. 12996), and three Amharic vocabularies compiled by Captain T. C. S. Speedy, the official interpreter during the expedition of 1867-8 (Nos. 64-6, Or. 7945-7). The grammar was composed in Latin, probably by an Italian, and appended to it is an Arabic grammar, Dr. Streloyn

comments: 'The author probably did not know Ludolf's work and his grammar is of course incomparably more modest; it remains nevertheless interesting.'

A number of manuscripts in this collection are of importance from the point of view of theology. Here reference should be made first of all to No. 56 (Or. 8192), a collection of homilies, in part unattested elsewhere, which perhaps dates from the fourteenth century, and No. 57 (Or. 8819), discourses on the Passion; this latter manuscript dates from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. But of particular importance for Ethiopian theology is a much more recent composition, No. 53A (Or. 11718A); this consists of the answers, in Amharic, to 60 questions concerning the Ethiopian Church which were written in 1923-4 under the direct supervision of Ras Tafari, later the Emperor Haile Selassie.

There are a number of other items of interest in this collection, as well as much that is commonplace, but perhaps enough has been said to indicate its range, variety, and importance.

The author observes that few of the manuscripts in this volume are dated and comments on the difficulty of assigning dates to undated Ethiopian manuscripts on the basis of paleographical criteria. Dr. Streloyn is better qualified than most to use this method, and his remarks carry all the more weight because of this. His note of caution provides a much-needed correction to the rather uncritical use of paleographical criteria in other catalogues.

This volume has been beautifully printed, and the reproduction of the plates is excellent. The only defect observed was a number of confusing misprints in the preface. It is, however, a matter of regret that although this catalogue was completed in February 1971, it has taken until 1978 for it to be published. This extraordinary delay, which is the responsibility of the authorities of the British Museum and the British Library, seems regrettable.

MICHAEL A. KNIBB

ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT: *Illuminierte Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz und Handschriften vom Tanasee*. (Codices Aethiopici, Bd. I.) 60 pp., 155 colour plates. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977. S2800.

This sumptuous and magnificently produced volume will add immeasurably to our knowledge and enjoyment of Ethiopian manuscript art and painting. Professor E. Hammerschmidt, who initiated and accomplished the *Tanasee* project, has placed every *Éthiopisant* in his debt by preparing this splendid work for publication. The last 25 years have seen most welcome accessions to the available literature concerned with the artistic heritage of Ethiopia. The latest (and very much more modest) manifestation of this nature is the *Christian Orient* catalogue of the British

Library (1978) accompanying a fine exhibition of Christian oriental manuscripts and art.

Professor Hammerschmidt tells us that this series of *Codices Aethiopici*, of which the present volume is 'merely' the first instalment, is intended to make the finest samples of Ethiopian manuscript art and painting available to the scholarly world. And the editor is no doubt right in averring (p. 7) that these are the most important branches of Ethiopian art in general. Future volumes in this series will contain either representative selections from various libraries or will offer us complete facsimile editions of particularly significant Ethiopic MSS (p. 19).

The book has the following arrangement: after the rehearsal of technical and ancillary matters, Professor Hammerschmidt provides a succinct and knowledgeable outline (pp. 17-19) of *Aethiopische Handschriftenmalerei*. Here it would be helpful at some stage to have a bibliography, preferably fairly full, of this genre. My own subject-index, which is very far from complete, has upwards of 100 cards. Colour plates 1-119 originate from the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, while plates 120-55 were photographed in the churches and monasteries in and around Lake Tana.

Pp. 21-3 offer a brief but very adequate description of the MSS from which the miniatures are derived; and pp. 29-52 deal with every single plate separately, i.e. a brief description of the type of MS concerned as well as a translation of the Ge'ez or Amharic legend, if any (the identity of the language is not expressly stated). This is followed by the 155 colour plates themselves, the *pièce de résistance* of the present volume. An index of names and subjects concludes the book.

Of a number of marginalia I have entered I would here mention two trivia only: on p. 44, plate 108 'am linken Rand' should obviously read 'am rechten Rand'. On plate 128 (p. 47) St. Matthew is seen writing the first three words of his gospel. The artist endeavoured to create the impression of a mirror image simply by inverting the letters and by letting them run from right to left, but, significantly, while this may pass for *māshafa lādānu*, it will plainly not do for the name of Jesus which appears in its proper sequence.

The choice of the miniatures will be generally welcomed; many of them are quite exquisite, while those of somewhat crude design possess a stark beauty not easily defined. The technical execution is beyond praise. We look forward to the next volume in the series with genuine anticipation, even though most of us will have to consult our library copies, as the price (in excess of £100 in this country, I understand) inevitably removes these splendours from acquisition by impecunious individual scholars. Professor Hammerschmidt, in his tireless work of editing and producing the best in Ethiopian literary and artistic culture (either by himself or by maleutic endeavours through research students) has performed an important service for our discipline.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

B. G. MARTIN: *Muslim brotherhoods in nineteenth-century Africa*. (African Studies Series, 18.) xiii, 267 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1976. £10.

Professor Martin has here gathered seven excellent studies of Islamic *ṣūfī* leaders in nineteenth-century Africa: Sāshu Usman dan Fodio in Nigeria, 'Abū al-Qādir in Algeria, al-Hājj 'Umar Ḍal on the upper Senegal and Niger, Muḥammad 'Alī the founder of the Sanūsiya, Mā' al-'Aynayn al-Qalqāmī of Mauritania, Ḥaykh Muḥammad Ma'rūf the Shādhilī and Ḥaykh 'Uways the Qādiri together with others in East Africa, and finally Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullāh Ḥasan of Somalia. All these studies have something new to say about their subjects, and in particular emphasis is laid upon the mystical, literary, and scholastic sides of these men's careers, aspects generally too much neglected. The balance varies somewhat from chapter to chapter: in some the historical time-depth is greater, in some the wider political context is more prominent, in some individual character study predominates. Although this was not, I think, the author's intention, the book does seem most aptly described, and is most likely to be fruitfully employed, as a collection of biographical studies.

Preface and introduction are brief. Here a number of common themes are stressed: the common historical background of various orders, subject, however, to the fundamental distinction between 'neo-sūfī' orders (founded in modern times through direct inspiration from the Prophet) and those relying on one or another of the traditional claims of authority; the common interest in what Martin calls political mysticism; the millennial and Mahdīst theme; Pan-Islam; the concept of *hijrah* or withdrawal; the concept of *riḥāḥ* or juridical freedom. These and other common themes then re-emerge here and there in the various studies. There is much fascinating material here, but it is not always easy to trace a clear sequence: the best description, for example, of the emergence of reformed Sūfism in the Middle East, centred upon Ahmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsi, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries comes in the Sanūsiya chapter midway in the book. Again, while the Wahhābīs clearly played an important role in the religious and political context of *ṣūfī* revival, and references to them are scattered throughout the book, they are hardly mentioned in the Introduction.

European encroachment is another theme recurring often and prominently. European colonialism is of course rather roughly treated; here and there I wondered if historical accuracy were faltering a bit—was it, for example, only the rich and well-to-do who accepted the colonial situation (p. 172)? The question of attitudes is also interesting; certainly many European Christians misunderstood the Muslim Africans with whom they had to deal, but it is my impression that the misconceptions vice versa were even graver. Might an examination of nineteenth-century African

Muslim attitudes towards Europeans and Christians be a worthwhile Ph.D. topic for some enterprising, *arabian* student? The present volume, containing a great deal of valuable though somewhat dispersed material, would be an admirable starting-point.

Climatic determinism, or at least conditioning, a popular study nowadays, bids fair to occupy a significant place, with a lengthy though rather loose introduction in the study of Usman dan Fodio; but thereafter it almost disappears. Another currently fashionable theme, the role of women, is by implication almost consigned to oblivion, since page 1 estimates that up to 80% of African Muslims belonged to *sūfī* orders, while page 2 adds that most orders did not admit women. 'Women' are not indexed, but it is stated (p. 72) that the Tijāniya did admit them, and slaves. (The index is better for names than topics: neither pilgrimage nor slaves, for instances, are listed.)

The studies are divided into three types: militant resisters and ideologues are al-Ḥājj 'Umar and Muhammad 'Abdullāh; moderates, who taught mysticism, waged *jihād*, and instituted social reforms, include all the others except Mā' al-'Aynayn, who stands alone as a conservative leader very little affected by modern developments. The author pleads for the unity of the book: 'In spite of their minor divergences, the eight brotherhood leaders discussed here with their organizations have far more features in common than features that set them apart from each other' (p. 11).

Amid such a diversity of subjects, such an imposing array of sources, the reviewer stands somewhat in awe, and must hesitate to fasten upon particular points. The approach to the West Africans, Shehu Usman and al-Ḥājj 'Umar, diverges from the more or less standard picture of Usman, devout, sensitive, suffering a good deal from second thoughts, and 'Umar the severe, committed warrior. While recognizing Usman's sensitivity, the author seems to attribute to him also a rather calculating cynicism: Usman at had, for example, 'become too proficient at politics not to see the benefits that could be gained by orchestrating the mahdi theme' (p. 25). I wonder if this is quite the right measure of the man. Military and political action must involve compromises and contradictions embarrassing the tender conscience: for instance, Usman stressed the basic principle that free-born Muslims could not be enslaved (p. 30), yet in recommending the necessity of *hijrah* he argued that the Muslim who refuses is indistinguishable from a non-Muslim (p. 33). Moreover, despite condemnations of venal mallams, quietest Muslims and mixers, the fact remains that the *jihād* was often waged against professing Muslims (though few went so far as the Somali leader who personally cut down a dissenting *qāḍī*—p. 189). That Usman should later have suffered remorse seems entirely plausible. Clapperton, visiting Sokoto in 1826, only a few years after Usman's death, says that he had become religiously mad. 'His madness took a very unhappy turn. In the midst of a paroxysm, he would

constantly call out that he should go to hell, for having put so many good Mussulmen to death. The Arabs used to take advantage of this, and tell him he was sure to be damned, unless he made amends by giving them presents to assuage the manes of their friends' (*Second expedition*, p. 208). The choice of words, religiously mad, is itself very unhappy, and perhaps explains why most biographers of Usman omit the reference (as does the present work); but the idea of passionate remorse seems entirely in keeping with the character of the man. For Martin, it is pre-eminently al-Ḥājj 'Umar who reacts in this way: indeed, he sees 'apparent schizoid tendencies' in 'Umar, and links the use of such techniques as *khalwah* and *istikhārāh*, both means of seeking God's guidance, with such personal internal tensions (p. 85). This is certainly interesting, but my own guess is that the whole armoury of such mystical exercises was considerably more standard than Martin allows. Only with Mā' al-'Aynayn does the author emphasize 'magic', perhaps an unnecessarily disparaging term; my impression is that most of the leaders in the book shared an interest in the invocation (and manipulation, maybe) of supernatural resources (for East Africa, see for example p. 188), and further that while responsible leaders might keep their own interpretations of such activities within relatively reasonable limits, objecting against excesses (as Usman did—see p. 28), public opinion might attribute extravagant powers to them. In this respect, the book is just a shade too rationalist, despite its clear mystical interests and sympathies.

The neobarbarism of footnotes at the end of the volume continues; shall we one day have fold-out footnotes? or even pull-out footnotes, which the frustrated reader may snip up for himself and paste in where they belong?

I regret that the zeal for comparisons apparent in the Mauritanian chapter was not sustained: how delightfully refreshing, amid Africans, to meet Umayyad hunting-lodges from the Syrian desert, the Hapsburgs, and David Hume.

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

ROBIN LAW: *The Oyo empire c. 1600–c. 1836: A West African imperialism in the era of the Atlantic slave trade.* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) xiv, 340 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977. £11.50.

The basic theme of the book is the history of the Oyo empire, one of the most powerful states in the coastal area of West Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but disintegrating in civil war early in the nineteenth. This is not primarily a sub-heading of Yoruba history: Dr. Law stresses that consciousness of a common Yoruba identity seems to have emerged only in the nineteenth century. Nor is it primarily part of the history of Guinea, as many previous

authors have implied; indeed, imperial Oyo was more truly a savanna than a forest state. Two major issues of wider significance are interwoven with the imperial story. First, there is the problem of political change during imperial expansion: here Dr. Law contrasts increasing royal centralization, helped by a largely slave administration, and the opposition of non-royal chiefs. And second, the impact of the slave trade, from which Dr. Law argues that the empire benefited substantially, though the final fatal civil wars were exacerbated by that same trade—a nemesis, surely, but in what sense ‘agreeable’ (p. vii)? The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are not too remote, but they are obscured for the Oyo historian by the cataclysms of the nineteenth. Dr. Law judiciously assesses the sources, arguing that the critical distinction is not between written and oral, or contemporary and traditional, but between first-hand and hearsay. The oral material is hearsay, transmitted through time; but most of the contemporary material is hearsay also, reports transmitted across space. The nature of the evidence precludes a narrative approach, save for the pre-imperial background and the final half-century of the empire; between these, although one chapter does attempt a chronological framework, attention is focused rather upon political institutions, administrative arrangements, the military and economic bases of power.

The whole approach is prudent and scholarly, pointing out wherever necessary the deficiencies or obscurities of the evidence. The style of writing is clear and attractive, though the yoke of Yoruba terminology, inescapable in some parts of the book, will never be easy for the unfamiliar reader. It is a delight, all the more to be relished since in these Philistine days so rare, to take up a scholarly book with footnotes at the foot of the page; the cross references are also very helpful. The index is first-rate for proper names, rather weaker for topics (though many names are usefully and precisely subdivided by topic).

My review is principally descriptive: this area of African history, centred upon Yorubaland, is now so rich in divergent analyses, in possibilities for comparison, that only the expert dare intrude. Nevertheless, let me venture one general suggestion, implicit in much of Dr. Law’s work, which may perhaps help carry the examination of Yoruba history a little further. It is, very baldly, that population was in short supply, needing constant replenishment or supplementation through immigration. This is generally recognized in the case of slaves: Dr. Law comments on the domestic use of Hausa slaves in Oyo (p. 217), and such use is an argument against the theory that the slave trade had everywhere a destructive impact (p. 306). But slaves were not unique as valued immigrants. The city walls so prominent among the Yoruba—northerners apparently called the capital at old Oyo simply ‘Wall’ (p. 4)—perhaps positively encouraged immigration: might this have been even their major contribution, here and elsewhere? Perhaps the immigration myths, very interestingly discussed here in connexion with

kingship (p. 29), may also be seen as a reflection of population increase essential to state growth. Free Muslims were among those moving in; old Oyo had a Muslim ward (p. 210), though it is not clear here how far these people were immigrants. In this respect, slaves for domestic use were but one category, albeit very important, in a wider spectrum of ‘encouraged’ immigration. Dr. Law stresses especially the acquisition of followers as crucial for personal power (p. 62): perhaps the same was true of states. Population became additionally significant if an expanding state wished to control an area—as Oyo did Egbado (p. 199)—by colonization rather than conquest.

If this demographic groundswell is accepted, there must flow from it various problems in absorbing the immigrants. *Mutatis mutandis*, this predicament confronts many states, including Britain, today. Imperial Oyo, in the long run, failed to solve it. Despite the benignity of Yoruba slavery (p. 203), runaways and slave revolt became acute problems. To cite only one category of free immigrant, Muslim clerics or *mallams*—although reported as early as the sixteenth century, mediating between internal factions (p. 75)—might be maltreated, contributing to later Muslim unrest (pp. 248–9, 258–7). Perhaps the idea of ‘assisted’ immigration, and assimilation difficulties, provide yet another vantage point from which to view the wider historical perspective.

About religion, in part a footnote to this, Dr. Law says rather little. It would be interesting to hear more about the role of traditional religion in statecraft: clearly it had a role—one chief was deposed for revealing religious secrets to his wife (p. 102)! Was the Muslim contribution, at government level, comparable, or might parallels for immigrant Islam be sought also in other immigrant cults, such as Egungun and Ifa (compare pp. 43–4)? Were slaves free to practice their respective religions (compare p. 70)? What of the *mallam* as thaumaturge, and his possibly ‘bad charms’ (pp. 249, 256)? Dr. Law tends to lump all Muslims together, but it would be surprising if, in the turbulent early nineteenth century, there were in the declining Oyo empire no signs of conflict between reforming clerics and more acclimatized ‘mixers’.

An excellent book, a worthy addition to an excellent series.

HUMEHAWY J. FISHER

GORDON INNES (ed. and tr.): *Kelefa Saane: his career recounted by two Maninka bards*. [vii], 118 pp. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978. £6.50.

The book opens with a short introduction, which is best read together with the introductions to Dr. Innes’s volumes of 1974 and 1976, *Surjata* and *Kacru and Fuladu*, for a fuller discussion of the Mardinka bards and

their art. Lucy Duran has contributed a discussion of the music, and there are several pages of musical score.

The main body of the book comprises the two accounts of the career of Kelefa Saane, each printed with Mandinka and English texts on facing pages. The story is straightforward. Kelefa was a member of one of the princely lines of Kaabu. When the king of Niimi, on the north bank of the Gambia, appealed for help in a war against the neighbouring principality of Jokadu, Kelefa responded. On his way to Niimi he refused repeated offers of wealth if he would give up his intention to fight. His eventual arrival in Niimi was perhaps an embarrassment to the ruler there, who sent Kelefa across the river to collect taxes for him. But Kelefa was back in time for the main fighting between Niimi and Jokadu, in which he was killed. The war was indecisive, with losses on both sides.

The historical significance of these events was slight, and Innes persuasively argues that the wide popularity of Kelefa's story among Mandinka even today may derive from the fact that he embodied not only the characteristics of the princely ideal, but also the ideals of everyday life. As a prince, he was too proud to follow any calling but that of arms, but he cheerfully undertook fighting on behalf of a friend, even when his own death was foretold. He refused to be turned aside from this path of duty by repeated offers of great wealth; he honourably fulfilled various financial tasks entrusted to him; and at the last he died heroically, comforted by the assurances of his *griot* that he had not disgraced himself, nor said anything untoward.

Though it has been an honour and a pleasure for me to review for the *Bulletin* both the present book and Innes's earlier *Kaabu and Fuladu*, I am again very conscious of my own inadequacy. Lacking any linguistic or literary competence, I cannot evaluate either work in these most important respects. Let me instead comment briefly on two lesser themes in *Kelefa Saane*, which may be of interest also to historians and others.

One is slavery. When Kelefa as a young man had molested some princely women going to fetch water—it is said he shot away their headpads, without touching either the head below or the calabash above—he was sold into slavery at Géba, in Guinea Bissau. This seems confirmation for the view that enslavement was sometimes a proper and legitimate form of punishment; but the further fact that the proceeds from the sale of Kelefa were spent on spirits, which were promptly shared out round the town, should remind us that any form of punishment which brings an immediate cash benefit to those administering it should be interpreted cautiously. Kelefa, binding himself by his word of honour, was given a horse, a gun, and powder and shot by his purchaser; thus equipped, he collected a hundred cattle, and bought his own freedom, an interesting illustration of the opportunities for self-ransom. Received at home as a prince and a free man, he explained that he could not farm, but would only wage war; and if there were no war to be waged, he would ravage

one of the local towns, selling the inhabitants into slavery and living on the profits. Clearly social stratification and job suitability had also some part to play in moulding the economics of the slave trade. As Kelefa journeyed towards Niimi, the figure of 100 slaves occurs often in the offers made to him to abandon the task, and one of the arguments advanced against war was that it leads to the enslavement of free men. While Kelefa's refusal of these offers is part of the princely ideal, there seems also to be a clear implication that the hope of gaining slaves was a common motive for taking part in war.

As in *Kaabu and Fuladu*, so here too there are a good many references to the role of the Muslim *marabout* as diviner, my second theme. Innes does not enlarge upon these, tending to dismiss such activity as 'part of everyday life'. But behind the cleric, divining particularly in time of war, lie perhaps some clues to the penetration of Islam within black Africa. In *Kaabu and Fuladu* both sides consulted Muslim diviners; here, in the war between Niimi and Jokadu, both consulted the same diviner. The unfortunate man tried to get off the hook by refusing the second request; but having accepted payment for the first, and having shared that payment with one of his wives, he was compelled by another wife to take on the second commission for her benefit, a rather charming example of the way in which even magicians may be tied to apron strings.

There are two maps, but a little more might have been done to reduce the number of place names occurring in text or commentary but not on the maps. Footnotes, as in *Kaabu and Fuladu*, are still out of place, at the end of each account, and the texts still lack any indication of which lines have notes attached and which do not. Such economies may be appropriate for a popular publisher, but are they really inescapable in serious scholarship also?

It is altogether an excellent volume, still further enlarging Innes's most valuable contribution to our knowledge of African oral literature, and through that literature of African civilization.

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

DAVID WILLIAM COHEN: *Womunafu's Bunafu: a study of authority in a nineteenth-century African community*. x, 216 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, [1977]. £11.20.

This is a small, highly polished gem of great brilliance. Dr. Cohen has deliberately directed his steps away from what has so often been accepted as the main stream of nineteenth-century African history. He has turned his back on the great royal courts, the major military adventurers, the commercial highways, the areas of technological and ideological innovation. He hardly refers to African encounters with European and other agents of the world outside Africa. Instead he has explored with a masterly, refined technique

the impact on one tiny community of the arrival of a child who at birth was proclaimed to be possessed by the Lwo culture-hero, Mukama. This focus on a minute, remote area in Busoga, and on the career of a single individual, the child and then leader, Mukama Womunafu, who was born in the 1830's and who died in 1906, results in a study which illuminates the dynamics of marriage, migration, and authority. It notably extends the horizons of African history; it demonstrates how much historians of Cohen's ability can recover at this intimate, local level; and it will undoubtedly command the attention and respect not only of historians, but also of anthropologists and all those who wish to understand more fully the nature of pre-colonial African institutions and societies.

The community at Bunafu was too small and transient to have preserved much in the way of communal traditions. The basic local data available to the author were, therefore, the records of ancestral marriages and births carried in the minds of their living descendants whom he interviewed. Through the patient correlation and analysis of this data, combined with a hawk-like readiness to snatch up into his analysis any scrap of relevant evidence (the exegesis on pp. 109-15 of the *Kyonzira* reference could well become a classic example of the handling of an oral tradition), Cohen has been able to reconstruct in detail the process by which the religious authority of the child Mukama gradually was built upon and became integrated into the leadership and position of a dynastic prince. The author is fortunate in being able to weave these events into the rich and sharply coloured fabric of Ganda history with its well-established chronological landmarks, and one is continually impressed by his ability to place Bunafu within the wider Soga context with an ease and confidence born from his earlier massive research in this whole area. The presentation has been conceived and orchestrated with

consummate skill and clarity, and the balance between the sequence of local events and the wider pattern of interlacustrine life is admirably maintained.

Indeed Cohen is so much in command of this broader background that he omits at times to indicate to his readers the evidence for some of his statements. One would have appreciated, for instance, footnote references on p. 106 to the source for the first journey to Buddu, and on p. 135 to the evidence concerning the replacement of the Samia hce in the 1850's by hoes from Bunyoro. And while on the question of footnotes, it is deplorable that in so well-produced a volume, with its superb sequence of maps, the footnotes are huddled at the end and hence difficult to consult even though many of them develop important points in the argument. The only other regret of this reviewer was that whereas the economic and political aspects of the story are throughout impressively handled, the religious dimension is by comparison rather sketchily treated. We are often alerted to its overriding significance in the early fortunes of the Mukama's enclosure and in Nafa's protracted opposition to the rising power of Womunafu; but we are told relatively little about the ritual specialists who surrounded the Mukama, about the forms and purposes of the spirit who possessed him, or about the nature of the services which these religious figures performed in this nascent community. Perhaps the evidence for such a reconstruction has simply not survived; perhaps this is a realm which presents peculiar difficulties for a Western, or modern, investigator to penetrate. It is strange that Cohen does not discuss what obstacles impeded him in this sphere. In either case, however, it is a measure of the author's highly successful exploration of Bunafu that one can begin to ask for yet further information and analysis.

RICHARD GRAY

SHORT NOTICES

HERBERT H. PAPER (ed.): *Jewish languages: theme and variations. Proceedings of regional conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies held at the University of Michigan and New York University in March-April 1975*. viii, 171 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978. (Distributed by Ktav Publishing House, Inc., New York. \$10.)

The present volume contains eight papers delivered by six scholars, and each study is followed by some discussion. There is no index. The title of the original conferences, at which these papers were read, was 'Hebrew and Jewish languages: case studies of language-culture continuity'—a fine example of the contemporary flavour, injected (happily only skin-deep) even into so sturdily old-

fashioned (= free of jargon?) a discipline as Semitics.

Joshua Blau contributes both 'The historical periods of the Hebrew language' and 'Medieval Judeo-Arabic', while Jonas Greenfield writes on 'Aramaic and its dialects' and 'The languages of Palestine, 200 B.C.E. - 200 C.E.'; 'Yiddish' is by Marvin Herzog and 'Judeo-Romance languages' by George Jochnovitz; Denah Lida deals with 'Ladino language and literature' and Herbert Paper with 'Judeo-Persian'.

Blau's two studies bear the hallmark of genuine authority, while that on Hebrew, largely seen from the vantage point of contemporary Hebrew, makes excellent reading as well. The two respondents to this paper have some important things to say.

Jonas Greenfield's survey of Aramaic and its dialects lays emphasis on the gradual development of Aramaic as the chief rival of Hebrew for the title of 'Jewish language'.

In the Bible itself, in the Targumim and the Talmud, in legal documents (notably *ketuba* and *get*), and in some of the central parts of the liturgy (such as the *qaddish*) Aramaic is either an indispensable or even the chief ingredient. In his essay on the languages of Palestine Greenfield shows his mastery of a linguistic and historical situation of rare complexity. His two respondents, Herbert C. Youtie and Francis E. Peters, provide, respectively, very convincing accounts of the character of the Greek language of that era and of the distinction between languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin) *spoken* in Palestine and *in use* during the operative period.

Marvin Herzog furnishes a state-of-the-art assessment of Yiddish, i.e. its chronological and geographical dimensions and a review of past and current research. His respondent, Thomas L. Markey, is a Germanist and general linguist, and he lays particular stress on the claims of Yiddish as an autonomous subject worthy of study alongside German and its dialects. For the general linguist in particular this 'language-in-contact' *par excellence* opens up vistas of fascinating complexity. After all, Goethe himself, more than 200 years ago, had taken seriously the study of 'das barocke Judendeutsch'.

The paper on the Judeo-Romance languages is concerned with Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Provençal, and Judeo-French—the last-named being particularly renowned on account of Rashi's numerous glosses (collected in part by Darmesteter and Blondheim) and their significance to the study of Old French and Romance philology.

Denah Lida's essay on Ladino is much more than a general survey and provides a great deal of substantive information on Judeo-Spanish language and literature which will be gratefully received, particularly by those who are as innocent of this vernacular as the present reviewer. David M. Bunis's well-documented response is mainly concerned with questions of Sephardic nomenclature.

The last paper, on Judeo-Persian, by the editor of this volume exhibits all the profound knowledge and long immersion in the subject which even a layman in this field can readily discern. The importance of this subject is vouchsafed by the fact that 'a Judeo-Iranian linguistic and cultural symbiosis extends in a continuous and unbroken line from the sixth century B.C.E. . . until the present day'. The response to this paper consists largely of an outline of research in this field currently being carried out by a small band of practitioners in three continents.

Altogether a valuable book and an excellent introduction to some of the Jewish languages (Jewish varieties of modern Greek and Turkish or the Neo-Aramaic of Kurdish Jews could not be included in the present volume).

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

SHELOMO MORAG: *The Hebrew language tradition of the Baghdadi community.* (Publications of the Hebrew Univer-

sity Language Traditions Project, Vol. I.) xii, xx, 145 pp. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Language Traditions Project, 1977. [In Hebrew.]

KTZIA KATZ: *The Hebrew language tradition of the community of Djerba (Tunisia).* (Publications of the Hebrew University Language Traditions Project, Vol. II.) vii, xxxv, 410 pp. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Language Traditions Project, 1977. [In Hebrew.]

These are the first two volumes of a wide-ranging and important project, under the editorship of Professor S. Morag, describing and recording the language traditions of oriental Jewish communities. The series is published in Hebrew, but this should not prove a serious obstacle even to those not fluent in this medium of scholarly communication, for anyone able to benefit from a study of this nature will need to possess a minimum of technical training in this grammatical *genre*. The Hebrew University Language Traditions Project has amassed, over the years, a formidable collection of tape archives covering various aspects of the oriental Jewish language tradition, such as the reading of the Bible and post-biblical literature, Targumic as well as Talmudic Aramaic, and the 'translation languages' used by such communities for the interpretation of Biblical and post-biblical texts.

The first volume, on the Baghdadi community, is by the general editor of the entire series, Professor Morag, who has worked in this field more than anyone else and brings to it well-tryed expertise and profound knowledge. The present instalment is confined to phonology, but a second part dealing with morphology is currently in preparation. The introduction offers a brief historical outline of the Baghdad Jewish community and of their Hebrew language tradition; it also sets out the aims and methods of the present volume as well as a list of the actual recordings employed. The main part of the book is descriptive and workmanlike, a model of how a study of this character should be carried out.

Dr. Katz's volume follows the general scheme laid down for the series as a whole. It covers phonology as well as the morphology of the verb and represents a very substantial contribution to our historical and linguistic knowledge of the Jewish community on the island of Djerba, situated close to the eastern coast of Tunisia.

The present work was written as a doctoral thesis under the supervision of Professor Morag; it appears to be unaltered and does not embody the claim, so beloved of newly fledged doctors, that it represents a 'revised and improved version' of the original thesis. Dr. Katz and her supervisor deserve our sincere congratulations coupled with the hope that this important enterprise will flourish.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

KATHLEEN M. KENYON: *The Bible and recent archaeology*. 105 pp. London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1978. £5.50 (£3.25 limp).

This slim volume is professedly addressed to the general reader and *not* the specialist. Almost half is taken up with helpful maps, drawings and black and white photographs. Dame Kathleen in her last book here adapts some lectures given in Ohio to give her own survey of archaeological finds from Patriarchal to New Testament times. She concentrates on her own work at Jericho, Jerusalem and Samaria with her customary authority over this material. Otherwise excursions are largely confined to the work of Yadin at Hazor, Gezer and Megiddo and, later, Masada. Against a too brief sketch of the historical and literary background and problems she emphasizes the value of archaeological evidence. Thus only a partial picture is presented and that regrettably with serious omissions and some errors. In a book with this sweeping title the reader would at least expect some account of the evidence of epigraphy. Thus we have Qumran without the Dead Sea Scrolls in any detail of their scope and nature and no reference to the many texts which have influenced Old Testament studies during the last decades. The book is virtually confined to British work in Palestine and is of limited use in the interpretation of the Bible, archaeology or of the relevant British Museum material.

D. J. W.

REINHARD WEIPERT: *Studien zum Diwan des Rā'ī*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 44.) [ii], 178 pp. Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1977. DM 28.

This book is a meticulously researched piece of work, the aim of which is to restore the best text of al-Rā'ī's poetry. Although al-Rā'ī was an Umayyad poet of considerable standing who played a not very important role in the flytings, or poetic exchanges of abuse, of Jarir and al-Farazdaq, and indeed may have died from the poetic punishment inflicted on him and his tribe by Jarir; and although Dhū al-Rummah was his *ra'uf*, nevertheless his *diwān* is not great in volume. The author of this book had collected a large number of verses from the 'adab and linguistic literature before he took into account the *qaṣā'id* of the Yale manuscript Nr. 389 (earlier owned by de Sacy), and he was not able to take into account a source mentioned in the bibliography to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Hādī's *diwān* of al-Shammākh, namely an unpublished work by Muḥammad Nabīḥ Ḥijāb in the Maktabat al-raṣā'īl al-'ilmiyyah of Dār al-'Ulūm, which is said to contain about 800 verses.

The author's research has nevertheless been productive. After excluding 104 falsely attributed verses, he is left with 1,310 of which only 364 are extant in the Yale MS.

The analysis, *apparatus criticus*, and notes are all of a high standard. The quotations the author has so carefully culled from the literature are not, as one would expect, very long or necessarily the poet's best. However, it is now, thanks to the editor, possible to form some kind of opinion of the poetic abilities of al-Rā'ī, independent of the judgement of early Arab critics.

T. M. JOHNSTONE

ELIYAHU ASHTOR: *The medieval Near East: social and economic history. Collected studies*. [vi], ii, [343], 2, 8 pp. London: Variorum Eeprints, 1978.

This useful volume of reprints brings together 12 articles originally published between 1949 and 1977. The data on which they are based are, as the author says in his preface, the Geniza documents supplemented by the Arabic town chronicles and collections of biographies, as well as by the archives of the Italian trading cities. The articles themselves include contributions to monetary and economic history, and also studies of wider range and significance. Three of these are of particular interest, as they deal with a field of research of growing importance: the articles entitled 'L'administration urbaine en Syrie médiévale' (1956), 'L'urbanisme syrien à la basse-époque' (1958), and 'Républiques urbaines dans le Proche-Orient à l'époque des croisades?' (1975). The method of reproduction of these articles severely restricts the scope of correction and emendation, but the author has added two pages of addenda and corrigenda.

P. M. H.

G. R. SMITH and M. A. S. ABDUL HALEEM (ed. and tr.): *The book of the superiority of dogs over many of those who wear clothes, by Ibn al-Marzubān*. xxxvii, 38 pp. [English], iii, 77 pp. [Arabic], 4 plates. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1978. £6.50.

This pleasant little book, with its attractive title, is evidence in itself that Arabic scholarship need not be dull and an already readable *adab* collection of tales is made the livelier by the authors' touches of humour. Ibn al-Marzubān is a fourth/tenth century writer of Baghdad who has assembled a number of doggy stories; although some 15 stories or statements are also to be found in *al-Hayawān* of al-Jāhiz which surely must have been available to him, he makes no reference to it. Al-Tanūkhī uses 14 of Ibn al-Marzubān's stories, he is also quoted by al-Damīrī, while one story is even found in *Alf Laylāh*. The text, reproduced from a type-written copy, is well edited and generously vowelled, the usual *apparatus criticus* being provided. The express aim of the authors is 'to achieve the

happy medium between a translation which is too free and far removed from the original and one which sticks doggedly—if this word may be used in such a context!—to it and makes it unpalatable to the reader'.

The authors supply their own title, 'Man has gone to the dogs', for the first section—of which the theme is that noble spirits are no more to be found among mankind—and 'Man's best friends' for the second section which extols the virtues of the dog in prose and verse. The concluding tale in the series, the authors point out, is, in slightly different dress, identical with that of the hound Gelert that protected Llewellyn's infant son against a wolf, only to be slain mistakenly by his master. It seems as if the tale originated in India.

Dr. Smith as a dog lover and owner is concerned to correct erroneous impressions of the 'Attitudes of the Arabs to the dog' in an interesting discussion of this topic. A passage from a medieval Yemenite treatise on customary law may be relevant in this context. *Al-ḵilāb 'alā ḥalāḥih asnāf, ḵalḵ māshiyah alladhī yadhūḍ min-hā 'l-sibā', wa-ḵalḵ al-ṣayḍ yajḥub li-mawlā-hu maṣāliḥ, wa-ḵalḵ ḥiṣn, wa-'l-rābī 'lā qimah la-hu.* For killing the dog protecting cattle the fine is a dinar, for the hunting dog two dinars, for the fortress guard-dog four dinars, but the fourth category has no value at all! These fines are paid to a *malik qādir*, but if the owner is only a huntsman he receives merely half damages. This is parallel to the *shar'ī* penalties in a little treatise, *Raf' al-niqāb 'an aḥkām al-ḵilāb* by a certain Mahmūd Ḥasan Rabi' (?), Matba'at al-Anwār, Cairo, n.d., a pamphlet picked up from a Jeddah street-vendor by the reviewer, but this latter writer quotes *Ḥadīth* to say that the Angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog! To the note on al-Jabbānah (p. 18) might be added that it is commonly used in the Yemen for an open space outside a town or village.

In addition to the drawings with which the book is illustrated there are a drawing of two Salūqī pups from al-Ḥayawān and several miniatures from mainly rather later Persian MSS. Drs. Smith and Abdel Haleem have made a novel contribution, not without its significance to a theme little discussed by Arabic scholars.

R. B. SERJEANT

RAMÓN LOURIDO DÍAZ: *Marruecos en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. Vida interna: política, social y religiosa durante el sultanato de Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, 1757-1790.* 386 pp., 2 maps. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, [1978].

This is a lucidly written and easily readable account of the trials and vicissitudes which beset the *Makhzan* during the reign of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh, 1757-90. It is prefaced by a series of chapters which discuss the importance of the 'Alawite dynasty and

the decline which followed the death of Mawlay Ismā'īl.

A wide range of subjects topical to the reign of Sulṭān Sidi Muḥammad are presented. These include administrative reorganization, the structure and role of the army, the Ṣinhāja revolts in central Morocco, the methods adopted to control territory under the sway of the *Makhzan*, the opposition of the *marabouts*—especially by the Nāṣiriyyūn of Tamgrūt—and the conflict and intrigue within the royal family and household. In an epilogue the author summarizes his conclusions.

These have been reached after careful investigation of sources, some of the Arabic manuscripts in the Rabat archives (pp. 29-34). Two works in particular are cited, *al-Rawḍa al-Sulaymāniyya* by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Zayyānī, and the *Ta'rīkh al-Du'ayf* by Muḥammad al-Du'ayf al-Ribāṭī. The value of all the source material is assessed.

The subject will be of considerable interest to specialists in Moroccan history and society during the eighteenth century. The introductory chapters contain an outline of tribal distributive history in Morocco based on the pioneer works of E. F. Gautier, H. Terrasse, and G. Marcais. The principal criticism of the content is likely to come from anthropologists, sociologists, and economists, who will find the approach very traditional and lacking weight and argument in these fields. The author has followed a consistent system of transcription although there are occasional inaccurate spellings of proper names and some misprints. Viewed as a whole, however, the book is a praiseworthy contribution to Moroccan studies.

H. T. N.

VLADIMIR MINORSKY: *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages.* [viii], ii, [354], 6 pp., front. London: Variorum Reprints, 1978.

In 1964, two years before Professor Minorsky's death, the University of Tehran published a volume containing 20 of his articles under the title of *Iranica*. This was Minorsky's own selection, and some of the articles were substantially revised by the author for that publication, which therefore superseded the originals. The volume under review includes 16 further articles, unrevised of course, and printed according to the usual Variorum pattern, i.e. direct from the journals and festschrifts in which the articles originally appeared; and retaining, therefore, the original varied typefaces and pagination. In the absence of author's revisions, this seems to me a method which has a good deal to be said for it: in effect we have here a very convenient volume of offprints, together with an index to the whole by Mrs. Minorsky.

The articles retain almost all their importance, and are likely to continue to do so. They will be familiar to readers of this *Bulletin*, in which indeed 12 of the 16 made their first appearance. As the late Professor Boyle—a former pupil of Minorsky—remarks in his

preface, most of the articles 'are concerned with the impact of Turkish (and for a limited period) Mongol invaders upon the course of history in Iran and her neighbouring countries'.

The articles are: (1) 'Tamīm ibn Bahr's journey to the Uyghurs', (2) 'The Khazars and the Turks in the *Ākīm al-Marjān*', (3) 'A new book on the Khazars' (a long review of D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*), (4-7) The four *Caucasica* articles, (8) 'The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj', (9) 'Mongol place-names in Mukri Kurdistan', (10) 'A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Zāhid', (11) 'Thomas of Metsop' on the Timurid-Turkman wars', (12) 'La Perse au XVe siècle entre la Turquie et Venise', (13) 'The clan of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers', (14) 'The Qara-qoyunlu and the Qubā-shāhs', (15) 'A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1478', (16) 'A *soyurghāl* of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)'.

D. O. MORGAN

JOHN ANDREW BOYLE (tr.): *The Ilāhī-nāma or book of God of Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār* (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works; Persian Heritage Series.) xxii, 392 pp. Manchester: Manchester University Press, [1977]. £9.95.

The *Ilāhī-nāma*, a poem of over 7,000 verses, is one of the four religious Mathnavis which went into the making of Ritter's *magnum opus* on 'Attār, *Das Meer der Seele*. The structure of the poem is simple enough. It consists of a frame story, in which a Caliph allows his six sons to express their wishes to possess six worldly things. The father in the course of conversation argues, in ascetic vein, about the futility of the objects of their desires, and illustrates his argument with numerous stories.

The present translation is based upon Ritter's and Rūhānī's editions of the *Ilāhī-nāma*, the latter, although strictly speaking not a critical edition, being the better. Professor Boyle in his rendering chose the only sound method which exists for the translation of Classical Persian works, namely, to give, as far as possible, a literal translation with short philological and historical notes wherever necessary. In doing this he availed himself, in large measure, of the great work of Ritter, who also revised the first draft of this translation.

The presentation and precision of the translation are exemplary. Professor Schimmel in her foreword expresses the hope that this translation will 'awaken a deeper interest in 'Attār's work and encourage the translation of his other major epics also'. How sadly it is to be regretted that we shall not now have these from the expert hands of Professor Boyle himself.

T. GANDJEI

SHUEN-FU LIN: *The transformation of the Chinese lyrical tradition: Chiang*

K'uei and Southern Sung ts'u poetry. xii, 249 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, [1973]. £10.10.

Chiang K'uei (c. 1156-c. 1221) has in recent times attracted considerable attention from scholars, principally for his unique position in the history of Chinese music and musical notation, in which respect Dr. L. E. R. Picken's pioneering contributions have revealed new vistas. The present work acknowledges debt to Picken, but concentrates on the historical, poetical, and general aesthetic aspects of Chiang's life and verse. Western studies of the *ci* form of Chinese poetry have during the last decades appeared in fair quantity, and the standards of treatment have been high, with the result that the Western non-musicologist is probably better able to gain extensive acquaintance with the *ci* than with any other major kind of Chinese poetry. The introduction to this book affords a further and in some ways more specific access to the *ci*, providing a lucid general background, and a penetrating probing into the situations and atmospheres of poetic creation during the Southern Sung. In particular, there is a thoughtful examination of the nature, motives and economic possibilities of eremitism in its perhaps peculiarly Chinese, and sometimes peculiarly Southern Sung garb. Wisely, the author does not compartmentalize the poet, but links him with the new Sung fashion for the *yung-wu* song and with parallels in late Sung landscape painting. The introduction occupies nearly a third of the book, the remainder of the main text analysing Chang's verse in its semantic and prosodic aspects, with occasional reference to Western theory. Chiang is lyrical but often sparse, complexly allusive and subtly nuanced in his word-meanings, and his poetry, one feels, must have relied very much on the power of its verse patterns and music for its effect. The translations given in the text of this book are in careful English, and, read in conjunction with the exegeses, should awake appetite. An epilogue provides a brief but interesting excursion into the influence of the Mongol menace and conquests on *ci*-composition and the literati of the Southern Sung.

WILLIAM DOLBY

MICHAEL S. DUKE: *Lu You*. (Twayne's World Authors Series, 427.) 160 pp. Boston: Twayne Publishers, [1977]. \$9.50.

In recent years a popular method of treating classical Chinese poetry seems to have been established whereby a selection of poems, either of one poet or a group of them, is presented in full with translation and brief elucidation and linked into a narrative by some general historical account. All in all this format amounts to a kind of poetry anthology with expanded notes. Some poets make good anthology poets, those who have written individual poems that sum up a whole body

of experience within a short space. Others whose poetry is no less intense, whose craft is no less impeccable, only reveal a small fragment of themselves in any individual poem, like the enlarged detail of a small section of a great painting, and our appreciation of the whole is only possible when we have assembled a veritable collage of such details and stand well back from the picture.

Lu You was a most prolific writer, especially in his maturer years, when poems were pouring off his pen; they can be found to illustrate every detail of his life, every dream and aspiration he ever had, every incident of note in his day-to-day existence. He was a man of passionate nature and a man of action frustrated in the world at large and letting out his pent-up feelings through his poetry. Perhaps the very bulk of Lu You's poetry is off-putting to his admirers and overwhelming to his translators. Any selection of his poems is bound to be a matter of personal choice, and could be disagreed with. By the time he was active the *shih* form, especially the *lu-shih*, had been welded into a form of poetic expression that was at its most self-expressive and economical; it was lyricism at its most supreme, the controlled yet spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings, touched off by sometimes the smallest incident or the slightest movement of thought. The *shih* does not narrate, it only shows the poet's response; Lu You was a supreme lyricist. The relatively small anthology selection of his poems demonstrates his craft as a lyricist, but tells us very little about him as a poet. The anthology has great advantages, especially in presenting Chinese poetry to the general public, but it can offer us little more than a glimpse of the poet.

TAO TAO SANDERS

GEORGE A. HAYDEN (tr.): *Crime and punishment in medieval Chinese drama: three Judge Pao plays*. (Harvard East Asian monographs, 82.) xi, 238 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1978. (Distributed by Harvard University Press. \$18, £10.50.)

For this book George Hayden has chosen to translate three plays from among the whole corpus of early 'courtroom' plays which he has made his special field of interest. They are *Ch'en-chou t'iao-mi* (Selling rice at Ch'en chou), *P'en-erh kuei* (The ghost of the pot), and *Hou-t'ing hua* (The flower of the back courtyard). As the book's sub-title indicates, all three feature that most famous of Chinese judges, Pao Cheng, whose fictional life has still not run its course. They do not show him at his forensic best, but he is firm and ultimately effective in his role as instrument of retribution, despatching the guilty as peremptorily as they disposed of their victims. In fact he sends them to meet far more hideous deaths than they inflicted, but that is another matter. It is only in the first play, where he is up

against the rich and powerful, that Pao is called upon to display his passion for justice, which is the quality that has extended his lease of life into the present day—and would endorse perpetual renewal. In detection he has more than his fair share of luck, but the luck is no accident: if all nature abhors the foul crime, in the Chinese context nature (which reaches beyond the mundane) is exceptionally active on its own behalf. So spirits and ghosts rise up in anger and vengeance, and the judge has only to read their signs, or indeed listen to their tale. When this is the case, the interest of the play is not in the denouement but in the entanglement, and no better example of entanglement could be found than *P'en-erh kuei*. Those who do not know it should hasten to repair the omission.

In translating these plays Hayden has sensibly provided footnotes for the references without explanation of which the meaning of the text would not be clear, and endnotes for more recondite matters. The latter include points where he feels his translation needs to be justified or where he can throw light on particular expressions, the Chinese characters for which are supplied in a glossary. This work has been done very thoroughly. Considerable thought had also been given to the general discussion of this category of plays in the introduction. All in all this book is a most worthy and enjoyable addition to the growing volume of translated Chinese drama.

D. B. POLLARD

MORINOSUKE KAJIMA: *The diplomacy of Japan, 1894-1922. Vol. II. Anglo-Japanese alliance and Russo-Japanese War*. 523 pp. Tokyo: Kajima Institute of International Peace, 1978.

This second volume in the English-language version of Dr. Kajima's work concerns principally Japan's relations with Britain and Russia in the years 1901-11. In essentials, its pattern is the same as that of the previous volume, that is, a selection of Japanese diplomatic documents, presented in fairly full translation and with a minimum of comment. Most have previously been published in Japanese in the *Nihon Gaikō Bunsho* series. Some, like those dealing with the exchanges at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 and the ratification of the Portsmouth treaty, are largely formal, but a good many are of substantial interest for the light they shed on the development of Japanese policy. It is useful, for example, to have the detailed Japanese summaries of the exchanges between Komura and Witte at the Portsmouth negotiations. Some of the comment on Russian policy is hostile, as one might expect, but there is no evidence that the choice of documents itself is particularly tendentious; indeed, the material occasionally reveals aspects of Japanese policy which could in retrospect attract some criticism, so the effect is not entirely one-sided. The editorial standards of the work remain good, being in some respects

(for example, bibliography) better in this volume than in the previous one.

W. G. BEASLEY

ALVIN D. COOX and HILARY CONROY (ed.): *China and Japan: search for balance since World War I*. xxiii, 468 pp. Santa Barbara, Calif., [and] Oxford: ABC-CLIO, Inc., [1978]. £12.88.

This volume brings together two kinds of material on Sino-Japanese relations from 1914 to the 1970's: a small number of wide-ranging surveys by established scholars, treating substantial themes, but not for the most part expressing any novel lines of argument; and a larger number of specific accounts of narrower topics, based on the detailed examination of archives in Japan, Taiwan, and the United States. Some of the latter, which seem to have their origin in Ph.D. dissertations, provide valuable new information on relatively neglected aspects of the subject. Tsing Yuan's paper on Japanese activities in Shantung after 1914, and B. Winston Kahn's discussion of Doihara's attempts to create an autonomous government in North China during 1935-8, are good examples. Some of the contributions, such as those by Frances V. Moulder and John Hunter Boyle, do no more than summarize work that the authors have already published in book form. This suggests that the volume has been long in preparation, a conclusion supported by the paucity of references to very recent publications, as well as by the foreword, which dates the conception of the work from 1972. Accordingly, although the specialist will find a good deal in it that is useful, the general reader or student who seeks an up-to-date survey of the field will need to look elsewhere. In the illustrations on pp. 440-1, the captions identifying photographs of Ishiwara Kanji and Ohira Masayoshi have been reversed.

W. G. BEASLEY

CLAUDINE FRIEDBERG: *Comment fut tranchée la liane céleste et autres textes de littérature orale bunaq (Timor, Indonésie)*. (Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale, 25.) 294 pp. [Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France], 1978.

The greater part of this book (about 240 pp.) consists of 11 mythical texts from the oral literature of the Bunaq of central Timor, collected in 1966 by the late Louis Berthe. The texts are accompanied by Berthe's translations and by linguistic and other notes written by Claudine Friedberg, who has also provided a word-for-word translation of one of the myths. All except one of the texts are in prose and contain many dialogues, which will

be of interest to linguists as the first published examples of colloquial Bunaq. The value of these texts for both linguists and anthropologists is made clear in the 30-page preface, which, after touching on the controversy over whether Bunaq is an Austronesian language, gives a rapid ethnographical sketch of the Bunaq people, describes their oral literature and its important place in their lives and concludes with notes on the phonology and grammar of Bunaq.

N. G. PHILLIPS

J. D. FAGE: *A history of Africa*. (The History of Human Society.) x, 534 pp., 8 plates. London: Hutchinson, 1978. £10.

All those who have benefited from the stimulus and insights of Professor Fage, and among the present generations of historians of Africa there can be few if any who, directly or indirectly, have not so benefited, will turn to this volume with high expectations. Nor will they be disappointed. Much of his particular mastery and contribution to the subject is now made readily available. He is at his best in those sections where with fluent, broad strokes he introduces a major theme, as for example in chapter 1 where he reviews the evidence concerning early man in Africa, the concept of 'race' and the spread of agriculture and of language-groups, or in chapter 6 where he surveys the rise of Islam, or again in the later chapters where he discusses the growth of European interests and the factors determining first colonial policies and then decolonization. But he is also particularly skilful in reducing a well-researched area of detailed knowledge into a clear summary and in indicating its general relevance for African history. He is of course most at home in West Africa, but his coverage of the rest of the continent is remarkably authoritative, and, by emphasizing some of the most striking contrasts between the different areas (especially on p. 262 and in discussing the impact of the slave trade), he illuminates the whole. The scope of the book is thus admirably comprehensive and it ranges from early man to post-colonial independence, while above all it is notable for its consistent concern to relate developments in Africa with those in other continents and to maintain a judicious balance between external and internal factors. His discussion of the conflicts aroused by external intruders is marked, as one would expect, by a dispassionate maturity and his account should significantly help to halt any tendency towards provincialism that African history may have been in danger of acquiring.

If there is one major trend of interpretation which is likely to be questioned by increasing numbers of historians, it is the emphasis on migration and trade as the most important factors producing political change in pre-colonial Africa. The diffusionist emphasis of his and other earlier accounts of divine kingship in Africa is here (pp. 42-3) reviewed and

rejected. Yet in discussing the formation of large-scale states, whether in West Africa (e.g. p. 105) or in Kongo and Zimbabwe, he still places considerable emphasis on those traditions which claim a central role for invading conquerors, and where these are absent the response to long-distance trade is seen as the dominant factor. There is very little discussion of the various processes by which agricultural, pastoral and mineral wealth was gradually produced and accumulated in African societies, nor of the variety of modes of development of the large number of people who remained outside the rule of organized kingdoms. Consequently there is relatively little consideration of the factors other than conquest or trade which influenced state formation, nor of the movement of ideas or the development of institutions which remained unconnected with kingdoms. As a result of recent and continuing research, future studies should be able to develop a deeper understanding of these internal dynamics and of their wider significance. But in the meantime this book should certainly establish itself as a most welcome, attractive and reliable survey of the history of Africa.

RICHARD GRAY

J. S. BIRKS: *Across the savannas to Mecca: the overland pilgrimage route from West Africa*. xiii, 161 pp. London: C. Hurst and Co., 1978. £9.

This book presents predominantly new, unpublished material assembled from the author's findings as he travelled with West African pilgrims along the savanna routes, especially in Darfur. The text abridges a thesis submitted to the University of Liverpool in 1975. To the credit of author and publisher it has appeared in print with minimal delay.

Dr. Birks is a geographer. In his book he has presented his material in a manner which will be of interest to Africanists, anthropologists, and historians. Data is conveniently arranged or illustrated by figures and tables which, in general, add to the readability of the text. Particularly useful is the description of the pilgrim settlements in Chad and the Sudan, and the *zongo* villages (pp. 43-61) which are a characteristic feature of the *hajj* route between West Africa and Mecca.

The discussion opens with a brief introduction on pilgrimages as a human activity. There is a chapter on the West African pilgrimage from medieval times. Birks's source is principally Dr. A. O. al-Nagar's *The pilgrimage from West Africa*, 1968. The history is not continuous.

The major part of the study is not a reappraisal of the information given by medieval geographers and historians. The bulk of the argument is founded on source material from the turn of the century onwards. Each chapter offers a compendium of facts derived from first-hand sources. These include one or two pilgrimage case-histories (pp. 84-9). One would have liked to have seen more of these but perhaps Birks lacks the facilities which

would have let him undertake wider *sondages*.

The author remarks (p. 7) that 'few studies have been devoted towards an understanding of the form and nature, or international and local impact of the pilgrimage in the modern world'. This book is a useful introduction to the *hajj* as an African and a contemporary phenomenon. It could serve as a reference work for similar studies in other transit areas of the Muslim world.

H. T. N.

GLYNN LL. ISAAC: *Olororgesailie: Archaeological studies of a Middle Pleistocene lake basin in Kenya*. xvi, 272 pp., 73 figs., 23 plates. 61 plates. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. \$15, £10.50.

Isaac's research work on the early prehistory of East Africa is directed towards studying archaeological sites in terms of the patterned and structured behaviour of their inhabitants and the systems that moulded this. His ideas were developed and first tested in excavations at Olororgesailie between 1962 and 1965 and presented as a Ph.D. thesis in 1969. They were soon recognized as being of great significance to Lower Pleistocene studies. After too long an interval they are now made fully accessible in, as Isaac says, 'streamlined' form in this volume.

Discovered by Louis and Mary Leakey in 1941, Olororgesailie has always been overshadowed by Olduvai Gorge, 120 miles away, whose deposits extend much further back in time. The 19 sites exposed within the lake sediments of Olororgesailie all contained Acheulean artifacts and are best dated to between 400,000 and 500,000 years ago, within the Middle Pleistocene. This is a comparatively neglected period, lacking 'the drama that surrounds the pursuit of origins in the Lower Pleistocene' and 'the strong aesthetic appeal, ... art and fastidious craftsmanship' of the Upper Palaeolithic.

One of Isaac's primary aims is 'to raise the level of awareness of the kinds of interpretational problems' met in Palaeolithic research. He demonstrates clearly and conclusively the inadequacies of taxonomic studies of the Lower Palaeolithic. There are far too few adequate assemblages for 'the huge scale of the space-time continuum'. What samples there are show enormous variation. It is thus difficult to envisage and impossible to define developmental stages, activity variants or cultural phyla within the Acheulean. One cannot approach the Acheulean using the concepts of culture-history nor see such history as a useful or attainable goal.

Isaac seeks instead to interpret his material in terms of the 'total ecological, social and economic content of human behaviour'. Others have paid lip-service to similar ideals. Isaac's work is exceptional because he keeps his research objectives so clearly and consistently in the foreground. Throughout, he is seeking answers to precisely defined questions,

questions of real interest to every student of man, questions that can be answered at least in part and to whose answers the archaeological data is genuinely and demonstrably capable of contributing. Isaac is never content simply to describe and speculate. The creative interaction between theory, data, test and interpretation can be followed throughout this volume and generates real interest, even excitement, in the reader.

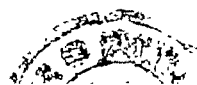
The first three chapters describe the geographic setting, the excavated sites and their stratigraphy. The fourth interprets the sites in terms of their human inhabitants. The remaining four chapters describe the assemblages of artefacts (illustrated in a novel way

with 61 stereoscopic pairs of photographs of some of the larger artefacts), looking at their variation and seeking socio-economic explanations for it. Isaac is careful throughout to relate Olorgesailie to relevant Palaeolithic research work elsewhere. Though this is an excavation report, and Isaac makes no concessions to the non-specialist, his rigorous scientific discipline and clarity of thought make the text precise, crisp, economic and easy to follow. Modest in format and presentation, this is a key volume for anyone wishing to understand the basic issues in current Palaeolithic research.

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THE BAWDY BIBLE*

By EDWARD ULLENDORFF

Introductory 425; substitution 426; Proverbs 26: 6 426; Queen of Sheba 427; Adam and Eve 428; chastity belts 429; wife/sister syndrome and merriment between the sexes 430; prohibited relations (general, adultery, incest, bestiality, homosexual conduct, nakedness, Onan's deed, crushed testicles, transvestitism, virginity, rape and seduction) 432; polygamy 436; prostitution 438; euphemism (*tiqqune soferim*, Massoretic attenuations, phallic symbols, female pudenda, bodily functions, miscellaneous euphemisms) 440; the reality and symbolism of whoredom 446; the Song of Songs 447; Words discussed 450; Biblical references 453; Talmudic references 455; Bibliographical references and Abbreviations 455-6.

Although the Hebrew Bible is a literary document of relatively limited size, containing only a certain segment of what must have been a considerable body of literature,¹ there is little doubt that even those remnants which have come down to us include some areas of the vocabulary of lewdness which have not always been recognized, either intentionally or unintentionally. While I do not hold the view that the Old Testament is either exclusively or even primarily a 'religious' text, it is unquestionably true that the criteria of admission into the canon were governed by considerations not entirely divorced from the element of likely divine approval. Yet even within those books of the Hebrew Bible whose orthodox propriety was never in any doubt there are embedded thoughts as well as expressions that fall within the field and broad range of the present paper. And this is, *a fortiori*, the case with regard to those compositions which had to struggle hard to gain admission into the canon of the Old Testament.²

The flavour of 'bawdy' does not travel well across language boundaries: there is nothing directly comparable in Hebrew, classical or modern, and פָּרִיץ or שְׂטוּף זָמָה belong to a different linguistic register altogether.³ The same is true of Arabic فاجر or داعر, and of French 'obscène'; in German 'derb-drollig' may possibly reflect the appropriate notion. In English, 'lascivious', 'lewd', 'lustful', 'prurient', 'lecherous', 'erotic', 'salacious', 'smutty', are not synonyms of 'bawdy' but belong to an adjacent semantic field. 'Ribald', 'coarse', 'loose' are, perhaps, closest. Thus in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (II, i, 10):

* Somewhat differing lectures, based on the substance of this paper, were delivered to the Postgraduate Hebrew Centre at Oxford (as the fifth Sacks Lecture), at the kind invitation of Dr. David Patterson, and to the Society for Old Testament Study meeting at St. Andrews University under the presidency of Professor William McKane (on 18 May and 18 July 1978, respectively).

¹ Cf. Ullendorff, 'Is Biblical Hebrew a language?', *BSOAS*, 1971 (= *Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 3-17). See also references to סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי (1 Kings 14: 29, etc.), to סֵפֶר הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל (Josh. 10: 13, 2 Sam. 1: 18), and to סֵפֶר מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה (Num. 21: 14); cf. Benzinger, *Bücher der Könige*, pp. xi-xiii. The large apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and Qumranic literatures show the extent of extra-biblical sources.

² Especially Song of Songs, Qoheleth, and Esther (incidentally never referred to in the New Testament), dealing with love, doubt, and patriotism, respectively.

³ There are, of course, various circumlocutions in modern Hebrew, such as גֵּס בְּלִי מְכַסִּים lit. 'rude without trousers', i.e. obscene, lewd (D. Ben-Amotz and N. Ben-Yehuda, *World Dictionary of Hebrew Slang*, Jerusalem, 1973, 50).

O would it so had chaunst,
That you, most noble Sir, had present beene
When that lewd ribauld, with vile lust advaunst,
Laid first his filthy hands on virgin cleene.

The Hebrew *zimmah* need be no more specific than 'plan, device, intent', as in Job 17:11

My days are past,	יָמַי עָבְרוּ
My purposes are broken off,	זַמְתִּי נִתְקַדָּה
the thoughts of my heart	מוֹדַעִי לִבִּי

But more generally it connotes lewdness, wickedness, evil devices, as in Ezekiel 23:44 אֵשֶׁת הַזִּמָּה 'lewd women' (incidentally rendered by the Septuagint as *τὸν πορνεῖν ἀνομίαν* = לעשת זמה 'to do lewdness'—no doubt on account of the unaccustomed plural אֵשֶׁת).

There are various ways in which biblical redactors, Massoretes, and commentators have responded to the requirements of good taste: by substitution of an offensive word—as in Job 1:5 where Job was worried that his sons might have sinned בִּלְבָבָם וַיְבָרְכוּ אֱלֹהִים i.e. cursed (rather than blessed) God in their heart. In fact, in Psalm 10:3 both the original, offensive, *wcr̄* and the substitute have survived in the text: וַיִּבְצַע בָּרֶךְ נֹאֶץ יְהוָה 'and the profiteer blesses/curses the Lord'.⁴ In other cases the Massoretes have had recourse to the ample possibilities offered by the consonantal skeleton of the Hebrew text which could be endued with differing interpretative garbs. I shall need to return to this important phenomenon of euphemisms later on. The Hebrew text could thus be tampered with in a variety of different ways by introducing vowel changes, by altering suffixes, by consonantal metathesis, as well as by other means to be discussed presently.

The instances of intentional or unintentional misinterpretation or failure to grasp the true meaning of the text are, perhaps, of a more complex character. One example may suffice at this juncture: Proverbs 26:6 seems to me a passage where the text is in some disarray and where the underlying bawdiness has remained unrecognized. The merit of proposing a suitable solution for this age-old *cruz interpretum* belongs to the late H. Torczyner/Tur-Sinai.⁵ This chapter deals with the antics of the fool: 'a whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back. Answer not a fool according to his folly . . . lest he be wise in his own eyes', etc. And then we read in v. 6: מִקְצָה רִגְלִים חָמָס שְׂתָה-שְׁלַח דְּבָרִים בִּיד כָּסִיל 'He that sends a message by the hand of a fool is like someone who cuts off his legs and imbibes violence'. Tur-Sinai proposed to make some changes in the vowelizing of the passage without touching the consonantal text and he thus read the first hemistich מִקְצָה רִגְלִים חָמָס שְׂתָה, i.e. like someone whose legs are cut off and thus uncovers, lays bare, his buttocks, his behind. In other words do not send a confidential message by someone who is so obviously unsuited to carry it,

⁴ This is, of course, a well-known phenomenon in English as well: Gosh for God, Gee for Jesus, Holy Cow for Holy Christ, etc. Or in French *bleu* for *dieu*, etc.

⁵ *ZDMG*, LXXXII, 1918, and *The Book of Job*, Jerusalem, 1957, 259-60. I am sorry to see that W. McKane, in his fine study of Proverbs (SCM Press, 1970, 597), is inclined to regard the emendation as 'improbable' and the interpretation as 'far-fetched'.

who cannot keep a secret. The following verse seems to confirm this interpretation: v. 7: 'Like the thighs of the lame lifted up, so is a parable in the mouth of fools'. It is, of course, impossible to tell whether those who pointed the Hebrew Bible tried to avoid the coarseness by re-pointing this hemistich or were altogether unaware of the probable original significance. The latter possibility derives support from the fact that the ancient versions, such as the Septuagint and Targum, were quite unable to do anything sensible with this verse.

Oddly enough, the New English Bible adopts the Tur-Sinai solution in a somewhat attenuated translation ('He who sends a fool on an errand cuts his own leg off and displays the stump'), but the Brockington source volume, though reading שחץ שחץ, fails to indicate its provenance.⁶

שֶׁט in the sense of buttocks occurs, of course, also elsewhere, notably in 2 Sam. 10:4 where David's well-intentioned mission to the Ammonites to condole with them on the death of their king encounters the somewhat unexpected and coarse reaction of having half their beards shaved off and their clothes cut in the middle to reveal שְׁתוֹתֵיהֶם 'their buttocks'—a humiliating and crude gesture.

While Tur-Sinai's ingenious and earthy proposal to read
'To send a secret by a fool is surely farce'

Equivalent to cut-off legs and laying bare one's arse'
may well reflect the direct and bawdy approach of the redactor of the book of Proverbs, it has occurred to me that the Massoretic שָׁחַץ שָׁחַץ may possibly represent an old Hebrew idiom closely parallel to the English 'to cut off one's nose to spite one's face'.

Rabbinic literature, in so far as it serves to explicate the text of the Hebrew Bible, pursues the somewhat conflicting aims of either rendering harmless explicit notions or of attaching a somewhat prurient sense to passages which do not naturally bear such an interpretation. Thus there occur two patently innocent expressions in the story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon (1 Kings 10:1-13) which have been exploited to produce the widespread tale of the union of king and queen in either marriage or concubinage⁷: the queen 'came to Solomon and communed with him of all that was in her heart' (v. 2). The Hebrew verb בוא 'to come, to enter' is also used as the technical term for coitus, though no such interpretation could possibly be attached to the passage in 1 Kings 10. Yet in Talmud *Baba Batra* 15 b Rabbi Jonathan asserts that Sheba was not a woman but a kingdom; he obtained this result by pointing מלכת שְׁבָא not as 'Queen of Sheba' but as 'Kingdom of Sheba'. Indeed, in the Targum's rendering of Job 1:15 we find that the seemingly innocuous 'Sheba' is rendered 'and suddenly Lilith, the Queen of Smaragd, fell upon ...'. Here then we possess two early indications of the Queen of

⁶ This is, of course, the usual procedure in this volume—so justly described by James Barr as 'surely the greatest anticlimax in the history of biblical scholarship' (*Heythrop Journal*, Oct. 1974). Baumgartner-Kutschera and others, 1, 316, advocate the reading *homoes seio*, but curiously (because of the late E. Y. Kutschera's close contact with Tur-Sinai) assign the credit to Gemser who wrote 45 years after Torczyner.

⁷ Cf. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 131-45; *idem* in *Solomon & Sheba* (ed. J. B. Pritchard, Phaidon Press, 1974), 104-14; L. H. Silberman in *op. cit.*, 65-84. The most detailed Jewish source is the *Targum shevi* to Esther and the most explicit the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* in which intimate relations between Solomon and Sheba are first discussed (*Ethiopia and the Bible*, 139, footnote 2). See also M. H. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira haššalem*, Jerusalem, 1963, 44.

Sheba's role as temptress, although detailed literary reflections of this legend appear only later.^{7a}

In verse 13 of 1 King 10 we are told that 'Solomon gave unto the Queen of Sheba *all her desire* . . .'. Rashi, in his commentary to this verse, emphasizes that this refers exclusively to *לימוד חכמה*, the teaching of wisdom; but the very fact that Rashi felt impelled to stress this aspect demonstrates quite clearly that he was aware of less innocent embellishments to this verse. In fact, there is a bracketed interpolation printed in Rashi's commentary which is attributed to the sixteenth century Kabbalist, R. Isaac Luria: 'כל חפצה: בא אליה ונולד ממנה נבוכדנצר והחריב הבית' *all her desire: he came unto her and there was born from her Nebuchadnezzar and he destroyed the temple* . . .'. We shall have further opportunities of observing the manner in which Rabbinic literature treats biblical themes and motifs of this character in its search for allusions and hints—and thus giving currency to low ideas by the very process of endeavouring officiously to discount them.

The original and ideal situation between the sexes is described in Genesis, ch. 2. 'It is not good for man to be alone' (v. 18) and God determined to make a helpmeet⁸ for him. When man found that woman was bone from his bone and flesh from his flesh (v. 23), the natural state was for him to leave his parents and to cleave (*dbq*) to his wife, so that they became one flesh (v. 24). However, while they were both naked, they had no feeling of shame towards each other (v. 25). It was only after the serpent had seduced⁹ the woman and both she and her husband had eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge that their eyes were opened and they realized that they were naked (*erumnuim*) and made themselves loincloths (3:7). And again, it was only after their expulsion from the garden of Eden that Adam 'knew'¹⁰ (4:1) his wife Eve, i.e. desired her and lay with her, and she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. This surely means that the Fall of man was necessary to bring about the consciousness of human nakedness which in its turn gave rise to man's desire and thus to the propagation of the human race. It is that desire, this time by woman for her man, that forms part of the divine condemnation (3:16) *וְהָאִשָּׁה אֵיֶשֶׁת תִּשְׁקֶתָךְ הִיא כְּאַרְצָה וְהוּא יִמְשַׁל בָּךְ*. The NEB is uncharacteristically coy in translating *tesuqah* 'you shall be eager for your husband' (with a footnote 'or feel an urge'), whereas *tesuqah*¹¹ plainly means 'lust' in the most earthy sense. And thus Rashi: *latašmīs*, i.e. desire for intercourse.

But the last part of the verse *וְהוּא יִמְשַׁל בָּךְ* has always been conceptually separated from the preceding section, i.e. 'and he shall rule over thee' (AV) or 'and he shall be your master' (NEB). No such expression of 'male chauvinism' is, however, called for in the present context which deals exclusively with woman's sexual predicament. The passage has thus been consistently misunderstood as an assertion of woman's general subservience to man, whereas in reality the two parts of the second hemistich hang closely

^{7a} Cf. Scholem, *Tarbiz*, 19, 1948, 165-72, an article which, culpably, saw only after completion of this paper.

⁸ Derived from a misunderstanding of Gen. 2:18: a help meet (i.e. suitable) for him, and later made into one word, probably by confusion with helpmate.

⁹ *הִשְׁיָאָה* (3:13) is 'seduced' in the sense of 'tricked', while 'seducing' in the meaning of arousing desire is *תָּהַה* related to Ethiopic *fālawā* 'to desire' and Ugamitic *pty* 'to copulate' (Gordon, *UT*, 2129; text 52:39); cf. Ullendorff, *SSL&C*, 192.

¹⁰ The Hebrew verb *yā'* in this and similar meanings will be discussed below.

¹¹ *šwq*, *šqq*, and indeed *hšq*; cf. Ullendorff, op. cit., 159-61; *idem*, *BSCAS*, 1974, 460.

together: since woman lusts after her husband, she is placed, by virtue of this desire, in a position of vulnerability. Mediaeval Jewish commentators had no doubt about the correct interpretation of this verse. For although she may hanker after intercourse, she must not have the effrontery to claim it expressly,¹² for the initiative is his alone (thus Rashi).¹³ And similarly Ibn Ezra: for you, woman, have to gratify his desire.¹⁴ As far as I know, all modern scholars and modern exegesis have neglected to place this verse in its proper context and have invested it with a general assertion of male dominance which is not only plainly out of keeping with the writer's intention but which fails to address itself to the narrowly sexual character of the divine curse—as part of the admonition addressed to serpent, woman, and man, respectively.

Biblical stories are not only reasonably informative on the sexual customs and mores of the world of the Old Testament but they also deal with aberrations, such as incest, prostitution, homosexuality, bestiality, phallic symbols, etc. Concubinage and polygamy were considered legal but, in view of the extremely wide time-range of the Old Testament extending over a millennium or so, it must be realized that customs changed and developed a good deal during this long period.

Although there was no formal harem (חרם = *ḥarm* sanctuary, forbidden place) in Israel, segregation of the sexes was a general facet of oriental life. This meant that women were expected to shun the company of men other than their husband, while men were enjoined to avoid temptation. In *Abot* 1:5 men are warned against excessive conversation with women, i.e. their own wives, let alone someone else's wife.¹⁵ And in *Berakhot* 61a it is suggested that a man should not walk behind a woman in the street¹⁶ (to avoid unchaste thoughts). Ezra is said to have decreed the wearing of a type of chastity belt by women (*Baba Qamma* 82a).¹⁷ The relevant term *sinmar* does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, but this does not, of course, mean that the concept was unknown. While we are remarkably well informed about the ornaments and finery worn by women in biblical times, the vocabulary of their ordinary apparel is much less well represented. I do not know how the tradition of women wearing this chastity garment was attributed to Ezra, but Talmudic sources are quite clear about its use. Thus in days of ritual uncleanness the *sinmar* interposed between husband and wife; e.g. in *Shabbath* 13b where Rashi¹⁸ comments that the wife is wearing this belt which reaches from the waist downwards.

I do not know of any express and unambiguous mention of such a garment in the Old Testament, but we know that priests wore מכנסי 'linen drawers' from the waist downwards for the specific purpose of covering their private

¹² This is also the interpretation of Gen. 3:16 in the Talmud (*Erub.* 100b): the expression *שהאשה תובעת בלב והאיש תובע בפה* 'while the wife solicits with her heart, the husband does so with his mouth'.

¹³ תשוקתך לתשיש ואעפ"כ אין לך מצח לחובעו בפה אלא הוא ימשל בך הכל ממנו ולא ממך

¹⁴ כי את ברשותו לעשות חפצו

¹⁵ ואל תרבה שיחה עם האשה באשתו אמרו ק"ו באשת חברו

¹⁶ לא יהלך אדם אחורי אשה בדרך

¹⁷ ושתהא אשה חוגרת בסיןר *Sinmar* is almost certainly ζώνριον (*zōnion*), 'belt, girdle', of Od. XI:245: *ἄλσε δὲ παρθενίην ζώνην* 'he unloosed her maiden girdle'.

¹⁸ סיןר, no doubt med. French *pour ceindre* 'for girding' or *pour ceinte* 'for her to be girded'—or whatever the appropriate form in old French may have been; simply 'ceinture', according to Arsène Darmesteter, in *Les gloses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de Raschi*, 1929.

parts¹⁹ (Ex. 28 : 42). Jeremiah explains (13 : 11) how close-fitting to the waist an אָזֶר 'a belt' of this kind should be; and Isaiah (3 : 13-26) provides a remarkable inventory of women's garments which includes the phrase 'and instead of a girdle (*hagorah*) a *nippah*'. Now the latter noun is a *hapax legomenon* which, purely from the context, has usually been guessed as 'rope'. But Jewish commentators, ancient and mediaeval, have rightly explained it as 'wound, bruise, sore spot'—and thus in Rabbinic writings; cf. also Rashi and Redaq *ad locum*.²⁰ Isaiah continues his condemnation of the unchaste women of Zion: 'and instead of a *pefigil* a girdle of sackcloth'. This strange word is again a *hapax legomenon* but this time of markedly non-Hebraic appearance. The usual guess 'party dress' is once more highly inappropriate. Redaq's explanation 'a wide silk girdle' fits the context much better, while Rashi connects it with the womb. It seems very likely, therefore, that some of the various types of belt referred to here and elsewhere (and particularly in the context of the fallen women of Jerusalem) are, in fact, some kind of protective garment for women—well known both in classical antiquity in adjacent parts of the Eastern Mediterranean world as well as in early Rabbinic literature. I do not think one can exclude that the mention of *hgr* (twice in Prov. 31, verses 17 and 24) in connexion with the accomplishments of 'ēšet *hayil*, the virtuous or capable woman, relates to such a chastity garment.²¹ If this were so, the usual interpretation of these verses would need to be modified. But I do not wish to press this point any further.

Among several instances, in the book of Genesis, of the wife/sister syndrome (i.e. the recurrent pattern of a wife being presented by her husband as his sister, particularly if she was good-looking and likely to attract other men, in order to save his own skin—a curiously ungallant attitude to a wife's virtue and a husband's duty²²) there is the instructive narrative of Isaac declaring his wife Rebecca to be his sister (26 : 7). But when Abimelech, King of Gerar (who appears to have had an unfortunate penchant for Hebrew women—see Gen. 20 : 2), locked out of a window he observed that Isaac and Rebecca were indulging in some horseplay (26 : 8) that was clearly inappropriate for a brother : sister relationship. The expression אֵת מִצְחָק אִתּוֹ occurs only here; the AV's 'sporting with' seems just right, but the NEB's 'laughing together' is as insipid as it is off beam. Skinner (ICC to Genesis, 364) translates it, correctly if somewhat demurely, as 'exchanging conjugal caresses'; but the real import of the unique collocation אֵת מִצְחָק אִתּוֹ (and indeed of מִצְחָק in the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, see below, in Gen. 39 : 14, 17) is a good deal bawdier than that.

¹⁹ Despite the transvestite prohibition (see below) in Deut. 22 : 5, clothing was remarkably unisex in the ancient Semitic world.

²⁰ See also *Shatbath* 62 b for a similar explanation. At the same place (*Shatbath* 62 b) *pefigil* (Is. 3 : 24, see presently) is bawdily explained by the Talmud as פְּתוּחִים הַמַּבְרִיחַ לִי וְלִיהָ 'openings that lead to (sensual) joy'.

²¹ According to Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 437, note 2, a girdle of this type is worn by Arab girls, by women during their period, and during the circumambulation of the Ka'ba by worshippers in general (comparable to the linen drawers worn by Israelite priests to hide their private parts).—James Barr very kindly draws my attention to διαφανή λακωνικά in the LXX of Is. 3 : 22/3, rendered by Marti (*Jesaja*, 45) as 'lakodamon-scene Gazegewander' and by Liddell-Scott (1968, 1025) as 'female garment' *simpliciter*.

²² Cf. Gen. 12 : 11-20; 20 : 2-18; 26 : 7-11. It is, incidentally, not without interest that in Gen. 20 : 12 Abraham reveals that Sarah was, in fact, his half-sister, daughter of his father but not of his mother and could thus become his wife, despite the later prohibition in Deut. 27 : 22 (see Daube, *Biblical law*, 79). Cf. now also Pitt-Rivers, *The fate of Shechem*, 159, as well as 151-2, 155, 157.

Though merriment between the sexes is not generally a feature of Old Testament stories, there is another *pi'el* verb with *et* in a similarly unequivocal context: In Deut. 24:5 a newly married man is pronounced exempt from military service, for his first duty is *שֶׁמֶחַ שֵׁת אִשְׁתּוֹ* 'to gratify his wife'; and none of the usual genteel renderings do justice to the Hebrew original.^{22a}

While the Hebrew Bible vacillates between the outspoken sensuousness of the Song of Songs (see below), the detailed recital of the full inventory of all the sins of fornication in Ezekiel's castigations, and the cruel, indeed well-nigh incomprehensible, injunction in Deut. 25:11-12 (whereby a woman's hand was to be cut off if she were to catch hold of a man's genitals,²³ in order to save her husband from an assailant), post-biblical literature reveals at times a remarkably tolerant attitude. Thus the Talmud is clearly exercised over the severity of the punishment and reaches the conclusion that cutting off her hand means only a monetary fine (*B.Q.* 28 a), but this is plainly contrary to the pentateuchal text which expressly adds: 'and show her no mercy'.²⁴ Commentators are, however, at pains to emphasize that she ought to have found some other means of rescuing her husband; that she must not lay bare what is to be hidden and concealed.

The Talmud—always basing itself, directly or indirectly, on Scripture—has some very modern-sounding things to say on carnal passion. If a man has an overwhelming desire for a certain woman, the doctors (i.e. the physicians, not the sages) suggest that his lust should be gratified. When the rabbis object to this, the doctors propose a less radical course: 'let her stand before him in the nude' (*San.* 75 a). R. Isaac argued that since the destruction of the Temple sexual pleasure has been taken from those who practise it lawfully and has been given to the transgressors (*ibid.*); and this is based on the scriptural authority of Prov. 9:17: *מִיַּם גְּבוּבִים יִמְחֲקוּ וְלֹחֶם סִתְרִים יִנָּעַם* 'stolen waters

are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant'. Even Shimon ben Gamliel, when seeing a beautiful gentile woman while he was standing on the Temple mount, exclaimed: 'how great are thy works, O Lord'; and R. Agiba said as he observed the wife of a Roman soldier 'that such beauty has to decay in the dust!' (*Abodah zarah* 20 a). This attitude contrasts sharply, I think, with that of the New Testament where *τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν* (Rom. 8:7) 'the carnal mind is inimical to God'.

Potiphar's wife and her role as temptress and seductress are described in some detail in Genesis 39:7-19, a classic piece of imaginative writing. This passage offers much illumination on the relationship between the sexes and the taboos that were implicit in such widely differing societies as the Hebrew and Egyptian attitudes represented. Echoes of these aspects of the *comédie humaine* may be found in ample measure in the book of Proverbs, especially in ch. 5 which includes some very outspoken advice on the snare of the seductress and the pleasures of conjugal love (v. 19).²⁵ The general theme of the Potiphar's

^{22a} Cf. also Scholem, *Zohar*, 34-7.

²³ The term *mehūšim* 'pudenda' occurs only here. Ibn Ezra (*ad locum*) is very specific in his explanation and points out that it is a very vulnerable spot: *במבשרו: ביציו ממרת בושח: והוא עוות מצח לגלות דבר הנסתר שהיא ערה גם הוא מקום מסוכן.*

²⁴ *לא תחוס עיניך*. Oddly enough, the Talmud evinces great severity towards those who touch their own genitalia; their hand is to be cut off (*Shabbath* 108 b).

²⁵ Why the NEB should have chosen to produce so different a text and so strange a rendering I cannot fathom. See, however, on this entire problem James Barr's masterly review in the *Heythrop Journal*, October 1974.

wife-type of seduction is, of course, fairly ubiquitous and occurs in Egyptian, Greek, and other literatures.²⁶

Another kind of seduction is involved in the bawdy cycle of magnificent legends attached to Samson and his exploits (Judges 13 to 16). He was plainly unlucky with both his Philistine wives and the Philistine prostitute. The descriptive details lavished on the final dénouement in ch. 13 and the deployment of Delilah's wiles (particularly the manner in which she lulls him to sleep in v. 19) constitute a masterpiece of narrative art.

The story of David's infatuation with Bath-sheba, whom he had observed bathing, has a much more serious tenor (2 Sam. 11). The Uriah letter and the stratagems employed to secure possession of Bath-sheba incur the divine wrath and the reader's displeasure.

Another instance of trickery, though of a totally different character, is described in Gen. 31 : 35. Before Jacob's flight from Laban, Rachel had stolen her father's *terāfim*, his domestic idols (v. 19). When Laban comes in pursuit, an elaborate search is instituted. Rachel had meanwhile hidden these household-gods in her camel's saddle and was sitting on it; and when Laban approaches her she makes effusive excuses for her failure to rise in her father's presence—entirely because the 'way of women' was upon her. ארץ כושים here or ארץ נשים (in Gen. 18 : 11 when Sarah had reached the menopause) or the physiological details vouchsafed in Lev. 15 : 19 ff. demonstrate the powerful taboos associated with this condition which is so frequently described in the Old Testament and, subsequently, has a vast corpus of customary law attached to it in Rabbinical literature. But here, in Genesis 31 : 33–5, the search for the *terāfim* and the recourse to elaborate subterfuges are depicted with great skill and with a humour that arises both from the incongruous situation and from verbal dexterity.

Among illicit sexual relations (Lev. 18) are those which involve various degrees of consanguinity, such as your parents, your father's wife (i.e. not your mother, but her *'ervah* is your father's nakedness²⁷), your sisters or half-sisters,²⁸ your grand-daughters,²⁹ your aunt (father's sister or mother's sister or father's brother's wife), your daughter-in-law, your sister-in-law, and congress with both a woman and her daughter or grand-daughter (as they are that woman's blood relations, such conduct is described as *zivvah* 'lewdness', v. 17). Nor are you allowed to take the sister of a woman with whom you have sexual relations, as long as that woman is alive (v. 18).³⁰ The prohibitions about approaching a woman during her menstrual period are explicit, repeatedly stressed, and later on form the subject of a considerable body of Talmudic exegesis.³¹

A man must not have carnal knowledge of his neighbour's wife (v. 20), principally no doubt because such conduct constituted a violation of that man's property. In a world of polygamy, adultery—although a capital offence—meant sexual intercourse between a married woman and any man other than her

²⁶ Cf. Gaster, *Myth, legend, and custom in the O.T.*, 217–18, 379.

²⁷ The NEB's translation here, in contrast to the AV, is highly idiosyncratic.

²⁸ The male-centredness (in contemporary parlance) of the Bible is such that illicit relations with brothers are never specifically mentioned; the person addressed (and not only in Hebrew grammatical terms) is always the man. Incidentally vv. 9 and 11 express the same thought in different words.

²⁹ Lest this contingency should appear contrivedly far-fetched, there was a case reported in *The Times* recently of a twenty-year-old boy wanting to marry his grandfather's former wife, aged 77, pending the clarification of legal problems not entirely unconnected with Lev. 18 : 10.

³⁰ In my view, the NEB's rendering is an interpretation, rather than a strict translation, which goes a good deal beyond the plain text.

³¹ E.g. *Niddah* 31 b.

husband. But a married man was not precluded from carnal knowledge of an unmarried woman. I am not aware of any detailed study of the semantic and legal characteristics of the Hebrew term זָנָה³² 'to commit adultery'. While it can be applied to both a man and a woman,³³ it would appear that the question of intent and motive, of *mens rea*, was introduced only in Talmudic sources (one would adduce particularly the term זָנָה in this connexion).

Apart from the legal enactments against the various forms of incest^{33a} (Lev. 18 and 20; Deut. 23:1), there is also the story of Lot's two daughters inebriating their father, in order to obtain offspring from him (Gen. 19:31-6). That this form of incest was considered wrongful even then, becomes plain from the fact that they had to intoxicate him for the commission of this act. However, the presentation and wording of this and similar biblical narratives reveal an innocent straightforwardness far removed from leering prurience. The Old Testament may at times be bawdy in both substance and expression; it never is lascivious, salacious or sly.

There are also specific injunctions against bestiality, but it is interesting to observe that this prohibition (in both Lev. 18:23 and 20:15-16) is repeated separately and in differing wording for men and women. On the other hand, the interdiction of homosexual conduct (described as lying with a man as with a woman, Lev. 18:22; 20:13) is not followed by a similar prohibition against lesbianism. This might mean either that such conduct was not known in the biblical world or that it was more readily condoned than its male counterpart.

The *locus classicus* of sodomy is, as the term implies, in Gen. 19:5-8 where the men of Sodom demand to have Lot's male guests delivered up to them 'so that we may "know" them'—the well-known euphemism for carnal knowledge. Lot's standards of hospitality are such that he prizes this oriental obligation more highly than the virtue of his two virgin daughters whom he offers to the clamorous crowd in lieu of his guests.^{33b} A replica of the main theme of this story occurs in Judges 19:22 ff. where the Levite's concubine is cruelly sacrificed, in the place of the man guest, to satisfy the hooligans' indiscriminate lust (see also below, p. 436).

Sight of the naked body connotes loss of dignity. One need only think of the embarrassment of Shem and Japhet upon hearing from Ham that he had seen their father Noah lying naked in his tent (Gen. 9:21-7). They went into the tent backwards and covered their father's naked body (*ervah*) with a cloak while averting their gaze. Later on, their brother Ham was cursed by Noah when he realized what had happened. Similarly, any form of indecent exposure must be avoided on sacred ground;³⁴ that was as true on the steps of the altar (Ex. 20:26) as it still is near the Ka'ba. One might also compare Deut. 23:1 where the idiom בָּנָה לְגִלּוֹת אֵב is a euphemism for uncovering the naked body.³⁵

³² In Daube's *Biblical law* the term is not subjected to any examination. On the other hand, Daube equates לָקַח with marriage and שָׁכַב with copulation (p. 79), no doubt correctly so.

³³ Cf. esp. Lev. 20:10.

^{33a} Note 22 above has shown that the law against marrying a half-sister was not yet known in Abraham's day—nor, more surprisingly, was it operative at the time of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam. 13:13). Amnon's crime was rape, not incest. See now also J. Pitt-Rivers, *The fate of Shechem*, 151-2.

^{33b} Cf. Leach, *Genesis as myth*, 19.

³⁴ See also p. 429 above.

³⁵ See Baumgartner-Kutschera and others, בָּנָה וְגִלּוֹת אֵב.

Leach's interpretation of this passage and of Gen. 9:21-7 as homosexual incest (op. cit., 19) goes far beyond the textual evidence.

Genesis, ch. 38, recounting the story of Judah, his son Onan, and his daughter-in-law Tamar, is a gem of narrative art for which the first book of the Pentateuch is so justly renowned. It is a bawdy tale of prostitution and aberrant sexual practices, but it is told in a style of beautiful simplicity, straightforward and wholly unsalacious, earthy and humorous—with the name of the Lord only lightly invoked. It is a story of tribal lore describing the sexual and social customs and constraints that prevailed during that era.

The main strand of the narrative is concerned with family relationships, levirate law, prostitution, and many of the taboos of the period. I shall revert to some of these aspects presently; but at this moment I wish to deal with *מעשה און*, Onan's deed.

The bare facts are briefly as follows: Judah got separated from his brothers and married a Canaanite woman. She bore him three sons. In due course Judah found a wife, Tamar, for his first-born. When the latter died, Judah ordered his second son, Onan, to have intercourse (*בא אל*) with his brother's widow and to do his duty as the deceased husband's brother (*יָבֵם*) and to raise up seed (or issue) for his brother (38: 8). But Onan was aware that any offspring would be considered his brother's and not his; hence when he had intercourse with Tamar, his widowed sister-in-law, he spoilt (*שָׁחַת*) the semen by spilling it onto the ground (38: 9).^{35a} This action incurred divine displeasure and Onan was killed, a punishment which must appear somewhat excessive.

It is interesting however that, while Onan's name has entered the ordinary vocabulary of many languages (*onanisme, onanismo, Onanis*, etc.—even Hebrew *מעשה און*), the deed he committed has come to connote masturbation, i.e. self-gratification. In reality he did nothing of the sort; what he practised was plainly *coitus interruptus*, the age-old device of withdrawal to prevent conception.

While later Hebrew connives (as we have seen) at the general tendency of using this misnomer, Talmudic sources are, as far as I know, quite clear about the distinction between Onan's action, masturbation, and *coitus interruptus*. The hand of men who touch their genitals is to be cut off, while this does not apply to women who are considered less sensitive (*Niddah* 13 a). The emission of semen in vain (*ibidem*) is considered a mortal sin (in the terms of Gen. 38: 9). R. El'azar interprets Isaiah 1: 15 (*יְדֵיכֶם דָּמִים מְלֵאן*) 'your hands are full of blood' as committing adultery with the hands; and the commandment *לֹא תַגְאֹף* (Ex. 20: 14) is expounded as including the practice of masturbation by hand (*הַמְגַאֲפִים בְּיָד*). The use of the *pi'el* form of *n'f* is in itself not without interest (see footnote 32 above). The other term for masturbation is *דֶּרֶךְ אַבְרִים*, i.e. by way of limbs (*Niddah* 13 b); but nowhere is the name of Onan invoked in connexion with masturbation. Where Onan is mentioned (*Yebamoth* 34 b), it is done correctly as a depiction of the detested practice of spoiling the seed by *coitus interruptus*.

A brief word on those who are excluded from *qahal Yhwh*, the assembly of the Lord. The reference, in Deut. 23: 2, to one with crushed or severed testicles seems to imply deliberate mutilation to produce the condition of a eunuch, perhaps in the service of a heathen deity. The Talmud considers, however,

^{35a} David Daube (*The duty of procreation*, 4 ff.) is, of course, right in saying that Onan's crime was not the spoiling of his seed but his failure to fulfil his levirate obligations. See now also J. Pratt-Rivers, op. cit., 169, whose work—despite an air of amateurism in matters of Biblical interpretation—repays careful study.

various ways of accidental mutilation (*Yebamoth* 75 a-b). Both the terms employed זָכָה (or זָכָא) and שְׁפָכָה are *hapax legomena*; the latter is, in fact, the urethra. What is clearly considered important by the Hebrew Bible as qualifying for the service of the Lord is ritual cleanness in the widest sense and complete sexual soundness in particular. This is, of course, also the reason why a menstruating woman as well as a man after מקרה לילה (Deut. 23:11; 1 Sam. 20:26) are excluded.

As to the prohibition in Deut. 22:5 against women wearing men's clothes and men women's clothes (cf. note 19 above), it is not explained what the precise nature of this particular objection was. It may have been an indication of sexual abnormality (and hence worthy of condemnation) or a form of cultic transvestitism rampant in Canaan and as such deserving proscription. Since the outer garments worn by the two sexes were not markedly different (as I have already indicated), the reference must be to underclothes and ornaments.

A woman reaches sexual maturity in stages (בוגרת-נערה-קטנה),³⁶ and when she eventually marries, her virginity must be above suspicion. The tests applied to ascertain בתולים are described in Deut. 22:13-21, together with the severe penalties incurred by those who fail to satisfy the criteria laid down. That those tests are far from infallible is never seriously considered.³⁷

In the legal sections of the Pentateuch the notion of rape is not as such fully explored or defined. In Ex. 22:15-16 the case of the seducer is discussed: if a man seduces (יִפְתֶּה) a virgin who is not betrothed, he has to pay the bride-price and must marry her. If her father disallows the marriage, then the seducer shall pay in silver a sum equal to the bride-price for virgins.

The case of a betrothed woman being subjected to intercourse against her will is treated as adultery. This means that the crime of rape is subsumed under two separate heads: (a) seduction, if the girl was not betrothed; (b) adultery, if she was betrothed. Case (a) is treated relatively leniently (as we have seen), while (b) incurs the full rigour of the law, i.e. death for the perpetrator. There is, however, a curious anomaly here (Deut. 22:23-7): If the act took place in a town both parties are deemed guilty and will be executed, because the girl would have been heard had she cried for help. If the act occurred, however, in the country, the girl is given the benefit of the doubt: she is presumed to have cried for help, alas in vain, and the man alone is to die. There is a slight, but perhaps significant, difference in the wording of the two contingencies: in both cases the man 'comes upon her' (מָס'), but only at the meeting in the country are the words והחזיק בה (Deut. 22:25) 'and take hold of her' added.³⁸ This appears thus to constitute an additional element in the presumption of her innocence in the second instance. The anomaly, to which I have referred, lies in the fact that no such bifurcation of the crime, in accordance with the place where it was committed, is contemplated in the case of a married woman. Here both the man and the woman are to die unconditionally (22:22).

The Hebrew verb usually employed to express the notion of intercourse

³⁶ *Niddah*, 45 b, ff.

³⁷ See S. R. Driver, ICC to Deuteronomy, 254 ff.

³⁸ In the case of the unbetrothed girl, the verb is יָרָם. I cannot think of any material

distinction between these two terms and do not believe that there is any warrant for the NEB's translation 'rapes her' and 'forces her', respectively. In Judges 21:21 the not dissimilar verb *hif* 'to snatch' is used.

without consent, i.e. rape, is *נָפַח* (Gen. 34:2; Deut. 22:29; Judges 19:24; Judges 20:5; 2 Sam. 13:14, etc.), though it is scarcely a technical term, like rape, for it is used in many other contexts connoting 'to inflict pain, to humiliate'. In post-biblical Hebrew *'ns* is the appropriate legal term, though it does duty also outside the limited range of enforced carnal knowledge.

In the narrative parts of the Old Testament, there are four particularly notorious cases of rape: two were committed not only from lust but were accompanied by genuine love (Gen. 34 and 2 Sam. 13); the third is an example of mob violence of a particularly disgusting kind (Judges 19:24-5; see above p. 433); and the fourth was actively connived at by the tribes of Israel (Judges 21:18-23).

In Gen. 34, Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, really loved Dinah, Jacob's daughter by his wife Leah. He felt remorse for having raped (*נָפַח* 34:2) and defiled (*נָפַח* 34:5) her, and prevailed upon his father to discuss matters with Jacob and 'to get him this girl for a wife' (v. 4). Hamor's pleading on behalf of his son is an eloquent and affecting passage and scarcely deserved the deceitful and cruel response at the hands of Dinah's brothers who could not become reconciled to the dishonour done to their sister.^{38a}

The story of Amnon's rape of his half-sister Tamar is so well known to require recounting here (2 Sam. 13). I have already pointed out that this splendidly told narrative derives its notoriety from rape rather than incest (note 33a) or at any rate from failure to request the King's permission.

The appalling rape of the Levite's concubine (Judges 19:22-30) had the gravest consequences, which are described in great detail in Judges, ch. 20 and 21, and led directly to the rape, by connivance and collusion, of the women of Shiloh. As a result of the outrage perpetrated at Gib'ah the tribes of Israel had vowed to withhold their daughters from marrying any man of the tribe of Benjamin.³⁹ But later on they rued this oath when they realized that strict adherence to it would inevitably lead to the extinction of one of the tribes of Israel. The Benjaminites were reminded of the annual festival at Shiloh at which the girls would come out to dance: 'Go and lie in wait in the vineyards, and when the girls of Shiloh come forth to dance, rush out from the vineyards and snatch each one of you a maiden for his wife—and then go back with them to the land of Benjamin' (21:19 ff.).

The parallel with the legend of the rape of the Sabine women is, of course, obvious. When Romulus had difficulty in providing his followers with wives, he invited the men of the neighbouring tribes to a celebration of games. In the absence of the menfolk, the Roman youths raided the Sabine territory and carried off all the women they could find. This story has several times been the subject of pictorial art, Rubens' canvas depicting the scene (in the National Gallery, London) being probably the best known example. Alas, I know of no painting showing the rape and abduction of the women of Shiloh.

There are several important facets which arise from the constitution of Old Testament society as being predominantly polygamous (i.e. polygynous, never polyandrous), notably the use of concubines and the relationship between members of the harem. We have already seen that a husband could, therefore, not commit adultery (in any technical sense) with an unmarried woman; only

^{38a} Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., especially 146-7, 156-7.

³⁹ The episode is discussed in its ramifications in Israel and elsewhere in a fine section in T. H. Gaster's *Myth, legend, and custom in the O.T.*, 444 ff. See now also Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., 158.

earnal knowledge of a married woman amounted to adultery and was as such punishable.

While under the Judges and the monarchy the possession of many wives was not uncommon, in earlier (and indeed later) days the number of wives was usually small. Adam was plainly monogamous—and so was Noah. Abraham was urged by his wife Sarah (when she feared she was barren) to take her Egyptian maid, Hagar, as wife or concubine (Gen. 16: 1 ff.). We shall see later on what occurred when she conceived. Abraham evidently liked the idea, for he took another woman, named Qeṭurah (Gen. 25: 1); and he is known to have had several concubines, since the word *pilegeš* occurs in the plural (25: 6). Incidentally, the likelihood that *pilegeš* is of non-Semitic origin (probably Indo-European, by way of the Philistines, connected with Greek *παλλακίς*) does not, of course, imply that the institution of concubinage was not indigenous to Israel. The fact that *paramour* is of French provenance does not connote that illicit lovers are indigenous to France and alien to Britain.

Jacob had two wives, sisters even, but the arrangement arose from Laban's disingenuous conduct. However, both sisters supplied their maids as concubines as well, Rachel because she was barren (Gen. 30: 3) and Leah because she could no longer conceive (30: 9).

In Gen. 35: 22 Reuben lay with his father's concubine, Bilhah, Rachel's maid, but we are not told what happened when Jacob heard of it, for the sentence peters out in aposiopesis. When Absalom is intent on showing his independence of his father David, he has intercourse with his father's concubines (2 Sam. 16: 20–3), proof of his defiant attitude.

The institutions of polygyny and concubinage were clearly important enough and sufficiently established to be enshrined in legislation. Deut. 21: 10–14 deals with women captured in war who may be brought back as wives or concubines.⁴⁰ Deut. 21: 15–17 then goes on to discuss the inheritance and property rights of lawful wives who do not enjoy equal affection in the eyes of their husband. The co-existence of several wives or concubines was apt to lead to friction. The moment Hagar had conceived (Gen. 16: 4 ff.), her mistress Sarah lost authority. And when the latter complained to Abraham, he told her she could do what she liked, for after all Hagar was Sarah's *šifḥah* and as such under her authority. This was a view shared by the angel whom Hagar encountered during her flight and who advised her to return to her mistress and to submit to ill-treatment (16: 9).

Rachel, though the loved wife, was jealous of her sister Leah's fertility (Gen. 30: 1), and Peninnah used to torment Hannah (1 Sam. 1: 6) both because she was barren and because Elkanah loved Hannah. The very existence here of the word *šarah*, 'rival', demonstrates the complexities of polygynous marriages. When Reuben, Leah's son, found some mandrakes, love-apples, and brought them to his mother, Rachel asked her sister for some of the mandrakes (Gen. 30: 14–17). But Leah remonstrated: is it not enough that you have taken my husband's love and now you wish to take my son's mandrakes as well? Rachel was, however, sufficiently keen to obtain some of the mandrakes to barter her turn that night in Jacob's bed for a portion of the love-apples.⁴¹ And when Jacob returned home that night, Leah came towards him and

⁴⁰ The use of the verb *'innah* in this context (21: 14) makes it clear that its meaning is not only 'to rape' (see above) but occurs also in a wider sense as having one's will with a woman.

⁴¹ Mandrakes were well known as an aphrodisiac and as an antidote to barrenness. In the Song of Songs 7: 14 the availability of mandrakes is held out as an additional inducement to the lover. The play on words—*duda'im*: *dodî*—is, of course, obvious.

announced: 'You are to sleep with me tonight, for I have hired you with my son's mandrakes' (30:16). If Jacob was disconcerted by the terms of this arrangement, he did not show it—or at any rate the Bible is silent on this point. No doubt he was used to squabbles in his harem; and we are fortunate to catch such a glimpse into the inner workings of his polygamous household.

The Old Testament attitude towards prostitutes and the institution of prostitution is somewhat ambiguous and depends not only on the contextual framework of a given narrative but also, and perhaps primarily, on the period of composition and the intentions and aims of the writer. In the story of Judah and Tamar in Gen. 38 relations with a prostitute are mentioned entirely as a fact of life without any moral attitudinizing; and the same is true in the case of Samson (Judges 16:1) or of Rahab (Josh. 2) and elsewhere. In prophetic literature, on the other hand, the *zonah* and everything connected with *zonūt* and *zonunīm* have become terms of opprobrium. But here, too, it is not so much the actual individual deed that incurs the prophets' wrath but rather the notion of prostitution, harlotry, and promiscuity in a transferred ethical, religious, and political sense. True, a man who consorts with harlots dissipates both his wealth (Prov. 29:3) and his physical vigour (Prov. 31:3), but he is guilty neither of any crime nor of any clearly stated moral transgression.

We have already seen that Tamar, after the death of her husband, Judah's son, is wronged by her husband's brother Onan who fails to provide issue. And when Onan, in his turn, is killed, Judah promises her his third son Shelah. But this promise was never fulfilled, and Tamar now resorts to a ruse whose detailed description affords an excellent insight into the appurtenances of prostitution (Gen. 38). When Tamar was told that Judah, her father-in-law, was coming up to Timnah, she removed her widow's clothes, covered her face with a veil, and sat at a crossroads on the way to Timnah—presumably a place where prostitutes could usually be found.

When Judah saw her, he thought she was a prostitute (38:15) כִּי כִסְתָה פָּנֶיהָ 'because she had covered her face' (AV), but the NEB interprets this 'although she had veiled her face', for prostitutes and slaves were not supposed to be veiled (Benzinger, *Heb. Archæol.*³, 84). In verse 21, however, Tamar is referred to not as a common *zonah*, prostitute, but as a *godešah*, a temple-harlot or hierodule; and the latter were apparently veiled (Benzinger, *op. cit.*, 85; Skinner, ICC to Genesis, 453-4). In the present case, however, the veil was essential, for otherwise Judah would have recognized his daughter-in-law. In any event, he turned to her and asked her for her sexual favours in very direct terms. She insisted on first agreeing the appropriate remuneration. He suggests a kid from his flock as the proper price. While she consents, she demands as an interim pledge his seal with its cord and the staff in his hand. Intimacy then took place and Tamar conceived.

When Judah subsequently sent an emissary to recover his pledge, the prostitute could not be found, for Tamar had meanwhile returned to her widow's garb. At that point a slightly extraneous element enters into the otherwise matter-of-fact narrative: 'Oh, let her keep the pledge lest we incur contempt' (38:23). I would argue that the idiom לֵבֹחַ נָדִיָּה לָנוּ is closer to 'lest we become a laughing stock' than to the NEB's 'or we shall get a bad name'. It seems to me that Judah is more concerned about any bawdy or ribald comments, if enquiries after the prostitute were pursued further, than about moral indignation on the part of the local populace.

When Judah heard that Tamar was with child, she had—according to the

canons of her society—conceived in harlotry לְהַנִּיחַ. His first reaction was to have her burnt, but when she returned his pledges he realized what had happened and that he was at fault for having withheld his son Shelah.^{41a}

This remarkable story tells us a great deal about prostitution in the patriarchal age: the attire of prostitutes, the places where they would ply their trade, the scale of remuneration, the unselfconscious directness of the initial approach and subsequent arrangements, and the absence of any moral overtones—a business transaction like any other.

When Joshua despatched his two spies, they went to the house of a prostitute named Rahab רִשְׁכָּבִי שָׁמָ (2:1). It is clear that Rahab was no ordinary prostitute: her establishment was evidently well known; she possessed a house and did not ply her trade in the streets or by the crossroads. I doubt whether *škb* in the present context can be rendered 'and they lodged there' (AV) or 'and spent the night there' (NEB), though the latter translation is probably much closer to what is intended.⁴² *škb* is normally a technical term (Daube, op. cit., 79), and the use of *šammah*, rather than אָתָּה or עִמָּה, suggests that Rahab was the madam in charge of this בֵּית אִשָּׁה rather than the lady who necessarily dispensed favours in person.

Another and apparently well-known haunt for prostitutes of a different kind was near the entrance to the 'ohel mo'ed, the Tabernacle. We know that Eli rebuked his sons for copulating with the women who frequent (הַצִּבְאוֹת) the entrances to the sanctuary. It would seem that Eli's wrath was directed against the shameless conduct of his sons in the sight of all the people of Israel (1 Sam. 2:22) rather than the institution of prostitution or even the particular venue chosen by these ladies. They may, of course, have been *gadesot*, hierodules.

The *locus classicus* for the lewd vocabulary of prostitution in particular and any kind of sexual licence in general is Ezekiel, ch. 23, dealing with the whores Oholah and Oholibah. The sermon against these prostitutes and their perversions is long (49 verses) and detailed, if somewhat repetitive, and never shrinks from calling a spade a spade. They played the whore in Egypt while still girls and let their breasts be fondled and their virgin bosoms pressed (v. 3). They were infatuated with Assyrian lovers and pleasure boys (5, 6). Oholibah was even worse than her whoring sister and carried prostitution to yet greater lengths by looking at phallic⁴³ symbols carved on the wall (14). Babylonians copulated with her upon a bed of lovers and defiled her with their fornication; she was quite open about her whoring ways and exhibited her nakedness (17, 18). Both sisters were infatuated with their male prostitutes whose 'members were like those of asses and whose genitals⁴⁴ like those of horses' (20).

Some modern scholars have seemed very worried about such outspokenness, and König detects here some 'want of delicacy' as well as the need 'to explain and to excuse certain passages in Ezekiel', notably ch. 23. He adds: 'it must be admitted that the prophet could equally have achieved his purpose by a

^{41a} I agree with J. A. Emerton's views as against those of M. C. Astour, *VT*, xxv, 3, 357–60.

⁴² I think one might in that case have expected רִשְׁכָּבִי שָׁמָ.

⁴³ See below for further details on the subject of phallic representations.

⁴⁴ I entirely agree with W. McKane (*Nida Festschrift*, 73), Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 270, *BH*, and LXX (*αἰδοῖα*) that we should read this noun metathetically: *uzmorat suim zemoratam*; thus the word for 'penis' is not only represented euphemistically in the OT as *yad* (see below) but also expressly as in later Hebrew (Jastrow I, 402).

different method of treatment. In like manner, the description of the "navel" and the "belly" (Cant. 7:2 ff.) is somewhat too realistic'.⁴⁵ It is, perhaps, fortunate that König did not appear to have grasped the full range of the lexicographical potential of the author of the Song of Songs, for much of his beautiful poetry goes far beyond the mention of navel and belly. However, Ezekiel was plainly a man of strong invectives, though free of all prurience; certainly tedious at times in his repetitiveness and not a poet on the scale of the writer of Canticles. Any squeamishness on our part would not only misconstrue the true *Sitz im Leben* of his speeches but would attribute criteria of judgement and taste (which have radically changed even within our society during the last 25 years) to a totally disparate social milieu 2500 years ago.

We must now turn to one of the most significant aspects of our subject, i.e. all those facets which may be subsumed under the important term 'euphemism', in Hebrew נִקְיָה לְשׁוֹן. There are a number of distinct issues that fall to be discussed under this head: the use of less specific and more acceptable expressions for something considered lewd or offensive to good taste; substitutions for words that were temporarily out of favour; the avoidance, in some cases, of disturbing anthropomorphisms—treated, together with similar instances, under the general subject of *tiqqune soferim* (in this connexion W. McKane's excellent article in the *Nida Festschrift* is of particular value); Massoretic attenuations on the grounds of delicacy, such as 2 Kings 6:25 or Isaiah 36:12; and some misunderstandings by translators of either perfectly innocuous expressions or else of some pretty drastic terms in the original.

I need not at this point reiterate my earlier observations on the yawning gulf in taste, sensibilities, and social conventions between Ezekiel or Deborah, on one hand, and E. König or G. A. Cooke⁴⁶ in the early years of this century, on the other. But König's animadversions (loc. cit., see note 45 above) are rather silly when he pontificates in a major encyclopaedia article that 'there are only a few passages where it appears to us that Biblical writers might have shown a little more reserve in dealing with "the secrets" [Deut. 25:11—the passage on *məbūšim* "pudenda" referred to earlier on]. We have no exception to take to those instances in which "shame" is employed (Is. 20:4⁴⁷ and 47:3), for this is still a veiled epithet'. Thus far Professor König; I shall not revert to him.

The use of phallus and phallic symbols is, of course, much more widespread in the pictorial and literary arts of Israel's neighbours⁴⁸ than it is in those exiguous remnants of classical Hebrew literature that have entered the canon of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, a few instances survive. I have already referred to Ez. 23:14 and 20 with its representation of phallic symbols in murals and in its comparisons with the genitals of asses and horses. An even bawdier interpretation belongs to Ez. 8:17 which has been treated in detail and with accustomed good sense by McKane (op. cit., 71 ff.). The words אָפְסֵי הַחֵטִּי' אֶת הַזְּמֹרָה אֶל אָפְסֵי הַחֵטִּי' have been the object of Rabbinic interference, for the offensive (in that it might be taken to refer to God) *eppi* has been changed to *appam*. It is plain from this that those responsible for this *tiqqun*

⁴⁵ E. König in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, extra volume, 164–5.

⁴⁶ G. A. Cooke, in ICC to Ezekiel, p. 247, is worried about the 'repulsive details' in Ez., ch. 16 and 23.

⁴⁷ This is a particularly poor example from König's point of view (evidently not understood by him) with its reference to 'exposed buttocks' (*šet*), etc.

⁴⁸ Cf., *inter alia*, Benzinger, op. cit., 322 ff.; Robertson Smith, op. cit., 456–7.

soferim had a pretty good idea of what the real connotation of these words was.⁴⁹ And so had the Targum, Rashi and Redaq; they were all conscious of the element of בְּהִתָּה, the unspeakable shamefulness,⁵⁰ implied by those words in Ez. 8:17. It is, therefore, scarcely to be doubted that the offending passage represented a lewd idiom or saying current in Ezekiel's time, something like 'and they fart in my face' or, more literally, 'and they stick their penis in my nose'.⁵¹

The starkness of such expressions is by no means an isolated phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible, even though Ez. 8:17 may be a particularly drastic example. The use of the euphemistic *yad* for 'penis' (and similarly of אֵמָה and אֶצְבָּע)⁵² is fairly widely attested in biblical and post-biblical literature and indeed in Ugaritic and elsewhere. It is likely that many of the *massebot*, obelisk-like stone monuments, were phallic symbols.⁵³ It is distinctly possible that *Yad Abšalom* (2 Sam. 18:18) and the *massebah* which Saul established for himself as *yad* (1 Sam. 15:12) belonged to this category of structure. Moreover, there were other such *massebot* symbolizing female parts, especially the vulva. Herodotus (2, 106) reports that he saw such monoliths in Palestine with γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα, female pudenda, engraved on them.

Before I come to discuss some further biblical examples, recognized or unrecognized, let me briefly cite one entirely unambiguous case from the Dead Sea Scrolls. It occurs in the Manual of Discipline 7:13 and reads 'אשר יציא ידו מחוּת בגדו והוא פה ונראתה ערוּתו תעש שלושים יום'. A man who brings forth his genitals from underneath his clothes and is exposed with his private parts visible shall be mulcted for thirty days'.

In Isaiah 57:8 we hear of whoredom with stones and trees and mountains, of the establishment of symbols (זִכָּרוֹן — so patently to be associated with זָכָר 'male'), of the cutting and moulding of figures (i.e. וְתִכְרֹת לָךְ מֵהֶם), and then 'lying down with them contemplating the phallus' (אֲהַבֵּת מְשַׁכְּבֵם יָד חַיִּית).⁵⁴

Or in the highly evocative, transferred and metaphorical language of the Song of Songs where few things mean what staid translators have chosen to render. Thus in 5:4, in a context of opening and closing and love-making, we read 'דודי שלח ידו מן החור ומצי המו עלי' 'When my beloved slips his organ through the hole',^{54a} my innermost parts stir about him'.

yad in this sense occurs in Ugaritic as well:

tirkm yd il kym

wyd il kmdb⁵⁵

'the organ of El grows long as the sea
and the organ of El like the ocean'.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ The NEB has a rendering so totally awry that I am quite unable to correlate it with the Hebrew text. Brookington's volume offers no help.

Professor Oliver Gurney has been kind enough to draw my attention to some similarly stark expressions (of at times uncertain interpretation) in Akkadian love lyrics published by W. G. Lambert (*Unity and diversity*, edited by H. Goldicke & J. J. M. Roberts, 1975), especially 104-5 (lines 7-11 of col. iii), 122-3 (lines 4-17).

⁵⁰ Apart from McKane, see Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 270; Jastrow, 402; Cooke (ICC to Ezekiel), 100, 103.

⁵¹ The use of rods as phallic representations is described in some detail in Gen. 30:37-42.

⁵² Cf. for all these Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, and Jastrow.

⁵³ Thus Benzinger, *op. cit.*, 322 ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 370; Marti, *Jesaja*, 368.

^{54a} Thus also Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 334: 'erotisch'—vagina. Cf. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, 1728.

⁵⁵ Gordon, *UT*, 52:33-4; No. 1072; Driver, *Canaanite myths and legends*, 122-3.

⁵⁶ See also Ullendorff, *SSL&C*, 137, note 18.

The female pudenda are normally subsumed under the general term *rehem* 'womb'. In Judges 5:30, in Deborah's song, we have the *lawdy* רחם רחמתי 'one wench or two' for each man. However, in Is. 3:17 we find (according to the AV) 'the Lord will smite with scab the heads of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their secret parts'. The second hemistich reads יערה פתחן יערה, and there is nothing very wrong with the AV's understanding. The verb יערה is 'to lay bare, expose', and פת is the rare word for 'vulva'.⁵⁷ This is also the understanding of the Talmud which adds some very rude interpretations of its own.⁵⁸

A few examples where the NEB discovers some unseemly or improper meanings. In Gen. 24:63 we read: ויצא יצחק לשוח בשדה לפנות ערב and the second part continues 'he looked up and saw camels approaching'. The first hemistich, whose Hebrew text I have cited, is rendered by the NEB⁵⁹: 'One evening when he had gone out into the open country *hoping to meet them*' or 'to relieve himself'. The two sets of words which I have italicized seem to do justice neither to the Hebrew text nor to the general contents of the passage. I am ignorant of the detailed justification of the two interpretations canvassed by the NEB, but one's guesses in that direction do not inspire confidence in either. Ibn Ezra (ad loc.) explains לשוח as לשיחם בין השיחים, i.e. to walk among the bushes, *not* to go behind the bushes. His is a popular etymology, not of course a justification for the translation 'to relieve himself'. Nöldeke (*Beiträge*, 43-4) had clearly seen that, despite the somewhat irregular sibilant correspondence, שוח tallies with ساح 'to take a stroll'. The sense of Gen. 24:63 is really perfectly plain: 'And when Isaac went out to take a stroll in the fields towards evening, he looked up and saw camels approaching'. Any reference, in this particular context, to relieving himself would not be improper; it would be wholly inappropriate.

In Deut. 23:13-14, on the other hand, there is an express reference to relieving oneself in the general context of maintaining cleanliness in a military camp: ויד חהיה לך מחוץ למחנה; *yad* is usually translated as 'place' (following the Targum's *atar*). The NEB's 'You shall have a *sign* outside the camp *showing* where you can withdraw' is much too free a rendering, particularly in respect of the words italicized. It seems to me that *yad* may again have to be taken as a euphemism here, something like 'exposure of your pudenda shall be outside the camp', etc. The next verse deals with the burying of excrements away from the camp precinct.

In Judges 3:24 and 1 Sam. 24:4 the expression מסיך את רגליו 'to cover one's feet' means to relieve oneself, i.e. the posture assumed when evacuating the bowels, with the long clothes covering everything unclean and unclean. This has always been the understanding of interpreters (cf. Josephus, vi, 13, 4); thus the Targum and mediaeval Jewish commentators (Rash, ad loc., explains this, rightly, as defecating (נקבים גדולים) and not urinating, though in his commentary to the relevant passage in *Yebamoth* 103a he speaks of רגלים (מי רגלים)). All expressions of this kind are referred to (loc. cit.) as לישוא מעליא, i.e. decent, elevated language. Incidentally, the same place in the Talmud has a midrashic

⁵⁷ Cf. Gesenius-Buhl¹⁶; Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, vi, 5295; Redaq to Is. 3:17: פת : הוא : כני לבית העזרה 'an expression for the place of the [female] pudenda'.

⁵⁸ *Shabbath*, 62 b—and then concludes: אנשי ירושלים אנשי שחץ היו 'The men of Jerusalem were lewd'.

⁵⁹ I owe this reference to Mrs. James Barr.

interpretation of Judges 5 : 27 where the verbs **כרע**, **נפל**, **שכב** occur seven times with **בין רגליה** 'between her legs' and are said to refer to seven **בעילות**, seven acts of intercourse, committed by Sisera against Ya'el.

The preoccupation with absolute cleanness seen throughout in the law and lore of the Hebrew Bible is an expression of the maxim 'cleanness is next to godliness'.⁶⁰

In Josh. 15 : 18 and Judges 1 : 14 we have an interesting doublet: Achsah instigates her husband to ask of her father a field; she alights from her ass, and Caleb asks her what she wants, and she says: do me a favour, please. . . . Now, the words **ותצוה מעל החמור** 'she slipped off the ass' are translated, inexplicably, by the NEB 'she broke wind'. We do not know why this utterly improbable rendering was allowed to stand (for I do not believe that G. R. Driver (see bibliography) adhered to his earlier views on the subject), but James Barr is surely justified in exclaiming that 'competent scholars are left open-mouthed, asking one another how the translators obtained from the Hebrew the meanings that they did. Renderings such as that at Judges 1 : 14 [and Josh. 15 : 18] "as she sat on the ass, she broke wind" are an invitation to ridicule, and deservedly so'.⁶¹ Alighting from an animal is a mark of respect: cf. Gen. 24 : 64; 31 : 34-5; 1 Sam. 25 : 23. Although the meaning of **נחל**⁶² is deduced from the context only and we possess no safe comparative etymology (the verb occurs—as far as I know—in Ethiopic only where it is 'to wait'), its semantic range is completely clear and safely established from some of the parallel contexts cited. And, if the meaning of a word is its use, then there could be no better support than we have in the present case. The indispensability of comparative philology (in this connexion) must not be overstated (cf. Barr, *Comp. Phil.*, *passim*).

It would, incidentally, not be correct to assume that all bodily functions are expressed euphemistically and delicately in the Hebrew Bible. One need only think that the word **masṭin** 'pissing' occurs no fewer than six times (1 Sam. 25 : 22, 34 'any that piss against the wall'; 1 Kings 14 : 10; 16 : 11; 21 : 21; 2 Kings 9 : 8) and is rendered as such by the AV. Yet the NEB has in each case a wholly different translation whose justification eludes me.

The term haemorrhoids is not one that might be expected to occur with any frequency in a text of the limited size and subject-range of the OT; yet it does appear more than half a dozen times—and in rather unusual circumstances. I am not here concerned with the precise nature of this particular affliction and I am, of course, utterly incompetent to pronounce on its medical details.^{62a} What does, however, concern us in our context is the fact that two words are attested for this disease and that one of them occurs generally in the consonantal text, while the other is a Massoretic substitution in the *Qarē*. The plain inference must be that one of the expressions was considered offensive to good taste and the other possessed a greater measure of acceptability.

In Deut. 28 : 27 the *Kəṣib* is **עפלים** and the *Qarē* **טחורים**. The pointing applied

⁶⁰ John Wesley, but derived from a saying by R. Pinhas ben Ya'ir **טרה מביאה לידי חסירות** ('*Abodah zarah*, 20 b).

⁶¹ Barr, *Heythrop Journal*, 387.

⁶² In contemporary Hebrew it is 'to parachute'. I am grateful to James Barr for drawing my attention to E. W. Nicholson's valuable article on **נחל** in *ZA W*, 1977, 2. Ernest Nicholson has placed me in his debt not only by furnishing an offprint but also by supplying other bibliographical indications. Alas, there remain no doubt many regrettable gaps in my bibliographical knowledge of this subject. I saw Arthur Gibson's study of **נחל** only after completion of this paper; I agree with many of the author's points.

^{62a} Generally described in Rabbinic literature as boils on the **פי הטבעת**, i.e. anus.

to the former is, in fact, the pronunciation pattern of the latter. The same phenomenon recurs in 1 Sam. 5:6, 9, 12 (as part of the Lcr's punishment meted out to the Philistines) and in 1 Sam. 6:4. In 1 Sam. 3:11 and 17, on the other hand, *ṭḥorim* appears in the text itself; that it is semantically identical with the apparently offending '*ofalim*' clearly emerges from the context. But we do not know what made '*ofalim*' so particularly obnoxious and *ṭḥorim* evidently so much less so. One can only presume that the former possessed an obscene association that the latter lacked—at any rate at the time of the Massoretes or in the traditions upon which their work was based.

An alternative explanation would be founded on the etymology of *ṭ* which appears to connote a hill or elevation—hence the swelling in the region of the anus. But a word designating such an offensive affliction in so awkward a region must not be brought into any sort of relationship with *Dphel*, one of the mounds on which Jerusalem is built.

A related, though marginally different, case is that of the verb *sgl* for which the Massoretes have regularly substituted the verb *skb* in the *Qarē* in all the three or four places where it is attested. Here we have little reason to doubt that *sgl* was considered particularly obscene in its semantic range from 'copulate' to 'ravish' and that its substitution by the milder *skb* was made in the interests of good taste and modesty. That such amendments for the sake of greater reticence were not carried out in any consistent manner need not surprise us when we take into account the complex history of the canon and the notorious vagaries in determining what constitutes good taste in any given period.

The entire subject of substitution for the sake of decency as well as of reading and translating certain passages of Scripture is ventilated in *Megillah* 25a and b. There we are told that expressions written *לשבו* are read *לשבה*, such as the *שגל* – *שכב* and *עטלים* – *טחורים* passages which we have already discussed. To these have to be added *חרינים* (probably 'pig-dung') to be substituted in reading by *דבירים* (2 Kings 6:25); or Rabshakeh's tough words about the siege of Jerusalem (2 Kings 18:27) when men will have to *לשחות את שניהם* with the *Qarē* demanding the reading *לאכל את צואתם ולשתות את מימי רגליהם* i.e. 'to eat their own excrements and drink their own urine'—in either version. To our eyes and ears there is little genuine difference between the alternatives offered by the written text and the reading postulated. And, finally, the word *מחראות* (no doubt to be placed with the *חריהם* or *חרייהם* of 2 Kings 18:27 and Isaiah 36:15, respectively) which appears in 2 Kings 10:27 and whose pointing and *Qarē* is *מציאות*. Here the position is quite clear: the *Ketib* is 'place of excrements', while the *Qarē* means 'place one goes out to, privy'.⁶³

Other Massoretic interferences with the text or *tiqune soferim* (apart from those already discussed) do not fall directly within our present concerns. For full details, in terms of technique and substance, of the *tiqune soferim* I would once more invite attention to McKane's study in the *Nida Festschrift*.

At this point I would add one or two further isolated instances of euphemistic expressions in the Hebrew Bible—notions which do not appear to have incurred Massoretic censure or attention of any kind. These are, of course, simply examples of a literary device which cannot here be explored in all its manifestations and ramifications.

We have already, earlier on, referred to the frequent use of *yḏ* in the

⁶³ See also Ullendorff, *SSL&C*, 24.

sense of having carnal knowledge, one of the most obvious and well-attested euphemisms in the language of the OT. James Barr, in his important *Comparative Philology*, 19 ff. and 328, has collected some of the meanings and concepts that have been attributed to this verb; one might further consult *JJS*, vi, 1, 1955, 50-2, 56; and especially J. A. Emerton's study in *JSS*, autumn 1970, 145-80. In our present case we need not, however, have recourse to any of the other alleged meanings of *yā'*, for the semantic development is plain; it is also paralleled in Akkadian, Syriac, Greek and no doubt elsewhere. Cases like Gen. 4:1 or 1 Kings 1:4 admit of no other interpretation. It is, however, worth pointing out that *yā'* is not only employed with a man as subject of the action but may also be used with a woman having carnal knowledge of men (Gen. 19:8)—or indeed in homosexual conduct (Gen. 19:5; Judges 19:22).

The verb טָחַן 'to grind' appears in post-biblical Hebrew as a euphemism for sexual intercourse (a simile well known in other languages as well), but it is more than likely that this meaning is already represented in the OT. Job 31:9-10 reads: 'If my heart has been seduced for the sake of a woman, or I have lain in wait at my neighbour's door; then let my wife grind (or better in the *nif'al* as טָחַנָּה with most exegetes: "be ground") by another, and let others crouch⁸⁴ upon her'. This interpretation is attested already in the *LXX*, Targum, Talmud (*Soṭah* 10a: טַחַן לְשׁוֹן עֲבִירָה and then follows Job 31:10), and in mediaeval commentaries.⁸⁵

There are one or two places in the Hebrew Bible where the innocuous and ubiquitous verb אָכַל 'to eat' has been given the sense of 'to enjoy intercourse'. Prov. 30:20 speaks of the adulterous woman who eats and then wipes her mouth and says: I have done no wrong. אָכַלָה in this context has long been interpreted as a euphemism for enjoyment of her adulterous conduct; thus *Ket.* 65b where this verse is discussed at length, in Rashi, and indeed by Baumgartner-Kutscher, and others, 45, and by McKane, *Proverbs*, 658. One might also compare Cant. 4:16 which will be explicated below.

The thigh (יָרֵךְ) as the seat of procreative powers is a standard figure of speech in Hebrew—as in the frequent idiom יִצְאֵי יָרֵכִי (Gen. 46:26, etc.), his descendants, those who issue from his thigh. This corresponds, of course, to the less often attested female equivalent 'those who issue from between her legs' מִבֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ in Deut. 28:57. But there is a special and less obvious context in which *yarek* plays an important part, i.e. in connexion with taking a solemn oath. In such cases the hand has to be placed underneath the thigh which (according to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv, 751 or Baumgartner-Kutscher, and others, 419) is the seat of 'the genital organ' or 'Gegend der Geschlechtsteile beim Schwur'. It is in this sense that we have to understand Abraham's request to his trusted servant to place his hand under Abraham's thigh as part of the ceremony of swearing an oath (Gen. 24:2 and 9) or of Jacob's similar demand of his son Joseph in Gen. 47:29. The sacredness attributed to this organ would lend special solemnity to an oath of this character. And Jewish sources have explained this by way of proximity to בְּרִית מִילָה 'the covenant of circumcision'.

There is one last expression I wish to discuss under this head. In 2 Kings

⁸⁴ *kr* 'in the same meaning as previously discussed in respect of Judges 5:27.

⁸⁵ Despite the references to rape in Lam. 5:11, I do not think that 5:13 encourages any interpretation of *ṣāḥon* other than the literal one of grinding corn (pace Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 358). Daube (*Mnemotryne*, xxx, 2, 177-8) rightly adverts to the similar meaning of *ṣāḥ* in Jud. 14:18 (cf. Jastrow, 507) as a euphemism for *fututio*.

2:23-5 Elisha went up to Bethel; on the way he encountered some small boys who jeered at him 'get along, baldpate, get along'. Elisha was so incensed at this that he cursed them and 42 children were mauled by two bears. This surely seems a most cruel and disproportionate punishment for a minor act of bad behaviour and shows Elisha as a humourless old man. That is, of course, if we take the term קָרְחַ 'baldhead' at its literal meaning but plainly there must have been more to this expression to appreciate the prophet's fury and indignation. We know, of course, that hair was regarded as the visible manifestation of virility. 'Accordingly, a bald man was ... an object not only of fun but also of opprobrium, because he was believed to have lost his vital essence and consequently to be impotent.'⁶⁶ It is only in this light that one can understand Elisha's fierce reaction.

Even a cursory reading of the Hebrew Bible demonstrates the importance attached to the role of the prostitute, the whore, the harlot, זונה and קדשה. While the former was the common prostitute offering her body for gain, the latter played a significant part in the cult and worship of the inhabitants of Canaan and the neighbouring regions.^{66a} It was thus both the reality and the powerful symbolism of whoredom that constituted such a constant and central theme in the literature of Israel. The existence of the harlot and her trade was a well-established fact in Israelite society—and indeed in all societies of the ancient Near East. It was, therefore, not so much the moral peril of common prostitution that endangered the fabric of the monotheistic state but rather the much greater threat represented by the insidious force of types of religion deifying the reproductive powers of nature. This led to licentious rites and orgies in which the *qedeshah* played a central part and in which the harlot was invested with sanctity and protection.

Much of the moral condemnation in prophetic literature was expressed in terms of the symbolism of prostitution and licentiousness. Chapter 23 of Ezekiel (which we have already discussed) is but an extreme example of this form of vituperation. It occurs almost everywhere in this literary genre and obviously referred to a type of immoral behaviour the people could understand and appreciate in all its gravity. Isaiah castigates the women of Zion (3:16 ff.) and uses the simile of the prostitute (23:15, 16); Jeremiah asks how those who assemble in the harlots' houses can be forgiven (5:7); Ezekiel displays an almost obsessive attachment to this symbolism: 'you disgrace your beauty and spread out your legs to every passer-by and multiply your whoredoms' (16:25); the book of Proverbs is redolent of warnings against the harlot and adulteress.

And then, of course, there is Hosea. His marital problems, real or symbolic, have engaged the attention of Old Testament scholars for generations. I am not a Hosea specialist, but I would have thought that a real-life experience with an adulterous and whoring wife was taken as the background for his prophecy and for his description of the relationship between God and Israel. It so happens that the picture of the harlot and the adulterous woman makes a very effective literary symbol for a people lusting after pagan cults and after all the visible and tangible allurements of religious practices and customs more readily comprehensible than the stern moral doctrines of an invisible God of Israel. Peter Ackroyd is surely right in saying that 'for Hosea and his followers it was the *meaning* of the events rather than the events [of his marriage(s)]

⁶⁶ Gaster, op. cit., 517.

^{66a} Cf. now also Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., 158.

themselves which was significant—and here is the strength of the allegorical interpretation . . . The husband-wife symbolism of the opening chapters is echoed elsewhere in the book, especially in allusions to Israel's apostasy'.⁶⁷

The matter-of-fact manner in which the prophets refer to prostitution and harlotry underlines the ubiquity of this institution in the life and cult of the people. But it is also clear, in terms of style and presentation, that the gentleness of Hosea, the earthy outspokenness of Ezekiel, or the poetic artistry of Isaiah did not offend good taste when dealing with subjects of such delicacy. Frankness and candour, even immodesty of language or of subject, depend crucially on the seriousness of the treatment accorded to such a sensitive sphere. The prophets could speak of whoredom and lust, and even describe in detail the aberrations and perversions of sexual conduct, without detracting from the earnestness of their purpose and without incurring any suspicion of prurience.

I think this last statement will hold true even of the Song of Songs when it is interpreted neither as an allegory of the loving relationship between God and Israel nor necessarily as an expression of conjugal love but as a supreme example of love poetry in the most general sense. I agree with James Barr who deprecates⁶⁸ the introduction by the NEB of rubrics designating the speakers as bride and bridegroom, rubrics which do not appear in the Hebrew text. Like Barr, I would accept Eissfeldt's analysis:⁶⁹

The attempt everywhere here to discover married love or at any rate the love of bride and bridegroom is vain, and would be to confine to the sphere of narrow and middle-class legitimacy songs which extol love as a powerful force, often outspokenly, while always profoundly and inwardly.

Rabbi 'Aqiba thought that there was no day in the world as worthy as that on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel. While all the hagiographa were holy, the Song of Songs was the holy of holies.⁷⁰

A general study of this important work of poetry is, of course, entirely outside the province and competence of this paper.⁷¹ The time is overdue for a detailed examination of the language and linguistic symbolism as well as the allusions and covert references contained in this book. It is a rich mine for those to whom the symbolism of psycho-analysis has a powerful appeal, and I imagine it will have been studied in this connexion, though my bibliographical ignorance is such that I have hardly seen any papers devoted to this subject.^{71a}

I have already invited attention (p. 441 above) to one instance of startling directness in the Song of Songs.^{71b} There are, of course, others, but it is not my intention to collect them here systematically. A compilation of this nature

⁶⁷ In Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, 603.

⁶⁸ *Heythrop Journal*, 399-400.

⁶⁹ *The Old Testament: an introduction*, Oxford, 1965, 438 (as quoted by Barr, loc. cit.). This is also the interpretation advocated by A. S. Herbert in Peake's *Commentary*, 469.

⁷⁰ Mishna *Yad*. 3: 5.

⁷¹ Cf. in particular N. H. Tur-Sinai, שיר השירים אשר לשלמה in *Hallashon w'hassefer* II, 361-88; Gordis, *The Song of Songs*.

^{71a} It was only several months after completion of this paper (in Dec. 1977) that Marvin H. Pope's monumental translation, introduction, and commentary reached this country (cf. *TLS*, 7/7/78). This is precisely the type of work I had in mind, and indeed most of my suggestions can be found in Pope's book—amounting at times to a startling confirmation of how identical or very similar conclusions can be reached completely independently. Whatever reservations of detail one may have about Pope's vast opus (it is, e.g., not possible to rely on Gleave's 1951 Ethiopic ed.—p. 20), this is unquestionably a work of the greatest significance.

^{71b} Now corroborated independently by Pope, *Song of Songs*, 1977, 517 ff.

will have to await the painstaking *sondage* to which I have referred and will have to be carried out with considerable methodological rigour, both in the areas of language and allusive symbolism (see now note 71^e).

The Talmud had already clearly recognized that the verb *חזוה* is at times used of gazing, looking in a leering manner: 'The generation of Job was dissolute with lewdness; this is proved by Job 27:12: "behold, all of you have been gazing" and indeed by Cant. 7:1: "Return, return, o Shulamite, return so that we may gaze (*חזוה*) upon you" ...'.⁷² We had earlier on discerned the same meaning in Is. 57:8 and I would suggest that Micah 4:11 calls for a similar interpretation: 'let her (the daughter of Zion) be ravished and let our eye gaze upon her'.⁷³

Daniel Lys, in his 'Notes sur le Cantique',⁷⁴ has assembled a few instances of sexual interpretations in the Song of Songs. There is no need to agree with the details of each of his exegetical endeavours, but it seems to me that he is basically on the right track. And, of course, he has collected only three or four examples and has not so far subjected the entire book to detailed examination (this has since been done in Pope's *Song of Songs*).

In 2:15 M. Lys considers that the little foxes which attack the vineyards represent the imagery of the deflowering of the young girl. In 2:17 he derives *בְּתָרְ הָרִי* from the Semitic root *btr* 'to divide, split', so that the text would be rendered 'think of yourself, my beloved, as a gazelle or young goat upon the twin hills'—and the cleft hills would, of course, be the cleavage of the female breasts.

The old crux *תלפית* (4:4), which is simply transcribed by the LXX, is taken by M. Lys as *tel piyyot*⁷⁵ 'un peu comme en français "mamelon" indique à la fois un sein et une colline'. The tower of David is the neck, and the metaphor continues with the breasts, the gorge which is protected by the tower.

The last of M. Lys's examples to which I would like to refer concerns 7:3, and in particular the word *שֶׁרֶרֶף*, generally translated as 'ravel'. I agree with his conclusions that *šor* here must clearly denote the vulva, and I also accept that the etymology does not greatly matter (whether we should compare *šrr* and think of the umbilical cord, or *š'er* 'flesh, body', or some connexion with Arabic *šir* 'secret' part); but I feel confident that the conclusions should be reached by a different route and not by looking at this obscure word in isolation. The enumeration of the Shulamite's charms is proffered quite systematically from foot to head (vv. 2–6): feet, thighs, then the operative *šor*, followed by belly, breasts, neck, nose, eyes, etc. This sequence does by itself betray the real significance of the noun in question. Now every one of her desirable attributes is either further described or illustrated by some likeness. In this case: *שֶׁרֶרֶף אֵן הַסֶּהַר אֶל יְחֹסֶר הַמָּג* 'Your vulva is like a moon-shaped basin, it shall never lack moisture (or mixture)'. Rabbinic literature refers to *aggan hassahar* 'like a waxing half-moon'⁷⁶; and *mezeg* is

⁷² *Baba Bata* 15 b.

⁷³ Thus also Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 289.

⁷⁴ Suppl. to *Vel. Test.*, xvii, 1968, 170–8. I owe this reference to my friend, Professor George Anderson of Edinburgh University.

⁷⁵ Already Talmud *Berakhot* 30a explained this as *תל שכל פיות פונים בו*, i.e. the elevation towards which all mouths turn.

⁷⁶ See Jastrow, *Dict.*, 960; Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, 46: pelvis.

also employed to express 'discharge'; hence Baumgartner-Kutscher⁷⁷ are right to consider 'sperm, semen'. The general meaning of this hemistich, especially in its overall setting, can thus scarcely be in doubt. I might just add that Gesenius-Buhl¹⁵ adduce *membrum mulieris* for *šor*, and M. Lys compares Akk. *hurdatu* (described by v. Soden, *AHW*, 358, 535 as 'weibliche Scham') in the well-known verse in Gilgamesh, VI, 69: 'stretch out your hand and *luput hur-da-at-ni* touch our vulva'.

I now turn to some further examples selected at random. There is no need to labour the point that *kerem* (1: 6; 8: 12) is capable of bearing a markedly erotic connotation.⁷⁸ Even Gordis (p. 46) accepts that the maiden had left her own 'vineyard' (rightly placed between inverted commas) unguarded, being too prodigal with her favours. The Talmud avers (*Shebu'oth* 35 b) that every mention of Solomon in the Song of Songs is sacred—except 'my vineyard, my own, in front of me' (8: 12); and the Rabbis also accept as secular 3: 7, i.e. *הנה מטת שלשמה* 'behold it is the bed of Solomon'.

In 2: 3, the second hemistich has to be interpreted in a somewhat more robust manner than is usually done: *בצל חמדתי ופריו מתוק לחכי* 'in his shade I ardently desired'⁷⁹ (the *pi'el* of *hmd* occurs only here) and I crouched down and his fruit was sweet to my palate'. *צל*, though related to the trees,

may well refer here to the physical position of the lovers, while *פרי* is rightly described by Gesenius as 'Bild des Liebesgenusses'. In the next verse, 2: 4, 'his banner (*דגלו*) upon me means love' is perfectly feasible, provided it is taken as an erotic symbol. No audience in this day and age, nurtured on those Freudian concepts which seem assured, needs to be reminded of the significance of such sexual symbols as sticks and poles and trees, on one hand, and apples, fruit, woods, hills, and thickets, on the other.⁸⁰ Even Gordis, op. cit., 85, accepts that the *הר המור* 'mountain of myrrh' and the *גבעת הלבונה* 'hill of frankincense' are 'obvious symbols for the body of the beloved' (4: 6). For this reason I can see no compulsion to make the (admittedly very minor) emendation (in 2: 4) from *דגלו* to *רגלו* which has been proposed by some. It seems to me that the author of the Song of Songs was too good a poet to say 'his leg upon me means love'.

The apples and raisins, referred to in 2: 5 as comforts and refreshments, are of the same kind as the mandrakes we discussed earlier on, i.e. aphrodisiacs and symbols in fertility rites described by Hosea.⁸¹

In 2: 7 *חפץ* plainly means to be sexually aroused, to be willing and ready (as Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 326, and the NEB have recognized). This entails that the preceding *תעירו* and *תעוררו* cannot here express 'to arouse, to stir up' but rather 'to disturb, interrupt' (again as the NEB and Gordis, p. 81, have clearly appreciated).

4: 12 to 5: 1 reveal some of this love symbolism, unfeigned and beautiful: *גן נעול* 'a locked garden' is my beloved, *מעין חתום* 'a fountain sealed', is the

⁷⁷ P. 535, following Haller, *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, 18, 41; Gordis, *Song of Songs*, 93, dismisses this without offering any reason (he should have emulated Ibn Ezra!).

Moisture in the vulva is also referred to in the Akkadian love lyrics published by W. G. Lambert (112–13, lines 1–16, of the article cited in note 49 above). This is also the interpretation of this verse in Canticles proffered by Pope, op. cit., 593 and 617 ff.

⁷⁸ See the remarks on 2: 15 above.

⁷⁹ Jastrow, 475: 'to be carnally excited'.

⁸⁰ Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (translated by Joan Riviere), London, 1922, 129 ff.

⁸¹ Hosea 3: 1; cf. also Gordis, op. cit., 81.



lover's plaint; followed soon after by the invitation : **יבא דודי לעו ויאכל פרי מגדיו** : 'let my lover come into his garden and eat its delicious fruit'—and, finally : 'I have come into my garden . . . I have plucked (**אָרייתי**) **מִיָּמ** myrrh, I have eaten my honey and drunk my wine' (5:1).

Among symbolistic verbs we find **רעה** and **לקט** (6:2) : 'מִי lover has gone down to his garden . . . to *graze* in his garden and to *pick* the lilies. I belong to my lover and he to me, he who *grazes* among the lilies' (6:34. Both **ירד** and **עלה** are employed in this emblematic sense: the lover *goes down* into the garden (6:2) and he *climbs up* (7:9) into the palm-tree and to the clusters of grapes which are like her breasts.

I need hardly add that these desultory observations have barely scratched the surface of a subject which encompasses a vast body of biblical material and entails the recovery of Hebrew lexical layers which have at times remained unrecognized—quite apart from the veritable mountain of post-biblical and Rabbinic literary reflections and echoes to which I have only occasionally drawn attention. I hope that one aspect at least of our subject has emerged clearly and unmistakably: there is in the Hebrew Bible, in prose and in poetry, in religious admonition and in secular love songs, a healthy and unabashed outspokenness which, in a sense, constitutes one of the great glories of the Old Testament. It can and does touch upon subjects and issues, candidly and ingenuously and with unvarnished vigour, and will give offence only to the squeamish and the lecherous.

WORDS DISCUSSED

- **אבר** mainly post-biblical
- **שפת אבר**
- **אג הסהר** Cant. 7:3
- **אונן** Gen. 38:4
- **מעשה אונן**
- **אזור** Jer. 13:11
- **אכל** Prov. 30:20; Cant. 4:16; 5:1
- **אמה** (Jastrow, 75)
- **אנס** of **ענה**
- **אצבע** (Jastrow, 110)
- **ארה** Cant. 5:1
- **ארח כושם** Gen. 18:11 (cf. **דרך נשים**)
- **אשת חיל** Prov. 31
- **בא** *passim*
- **ביאה**
- **בִּהְתָּא** of **בִּשְׁת**, **בושה**, **ערוה**
- **בוגרת** of **קטנה-נערה**
- **בַּעַל**
- **בעולה** Gen. 20:3
- **בעילה** (Jastrow)
- **ברך** Job 1:5; Ps. 10:3
- **מבושם (בוש)** Deut. 25:11

- בשר Gen. 2:24; Ez. 23:20
- בתולים Deut. 22:14
- גבעה Cant. 4:6
- גלה Deut. 23:1; Ez. 23:18; Lev. 18:9
- גן Cant. 4:12
- גס (Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*)
- גס בלי מכנסים (Hebrew slang dictionary)
- דביונים 2 Kings 6:25
- דבק Gen. 2:24
- דבר אחר (Jastrow, 278) euphemism
- דגל Cant. 2:4 (Rashi, ad loc., אשיריט — perhaps *girouette*?)
- דוד Cant. *passim*
- דודאים Gen. 30:14-16; Cant. 7:14
- דקה Deut. 23:2
- דרך נשים Gen. 31:35 (cf. ארח כנשים)
- הר Cant. 4:6
- הרי בתר Cant. 2:17
- הרה לזנונים Gen. 38:24
- השיאני (השיא) Gen. 3:13 (cf. פתה)
- זונה
- זנונים, זנות, זנות
- זכר male
- זכרון Is. 57:8 (Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 260)
- זמה lewdness, fornication
- אשת הזמה; שטוף זמה (Ez. 23:44)
- זמורה Ez. 8:17; 23:20 (cf. Gesenius-Buhl, 198; Jastrow, 402; McKane, 71)
- זרע seed, semen
- זערה (cf. סינר) Gen. 3:7; Is. 3:24
- חור Cant. 5:4
- חזה Is. 57:8; Cant. 7:1; Micah 4:11
- החזיק Deut. 22:25 (cf. תפש)
- חטף Jud. 21:21
- חמד Cant. 2:3
- חמס Prov. 26:6 (cf. Baumgartner-Kutscher and others, 316)
- חפץ Cant. 2:7
- חפץ 1 Kings 10:13
- חראיהם Is. 36:12
- חריהם 2 Kings 18:27
- חריונים 2 Kings 6:25
- חרש of. footnote (65)
- חשק Deut. 21:11
- חתום Cant. 4:12
- פי הטבעת anus (cf. commentators to 1 Sam. 5:6 ff.)
- טחורים 1 Sam. 5:6; 6:11 (cf. עפלים)
- טחן Job 31:10 (cf. Gesenius, etc.)
- טחינה (Jastrow)
- טמא Gen. 34:5, etc.
- יבם Gen. 38:8
- יד Is. 57:8; Cant. 5:4 (cf. Baumgartner-Kutscher and other dictionaries)
- יד אבשלום 2 Sam. 18:18

- ידע Gen. 4:1; 19:6; Jud. 19:22; *et passim*
- ירד Cant. 6:2
- ירך Gen. 24:2; 47:29
- כנה Deut. 23:1
- כרם Cant. 1:6; 8:12
- כרע Jud. 5:27; Job 31:10
- לישנא מעליא euphemism
- לשון נקיה
- לקט Cant. 6:2
- מבושים (מבשים) Deut. 25:11
- מוצאות 2 Kings 10:27
- מזג Cant. 7:3
- מחראות 2 Kings 10:27
- מטָה Cant. 3:7
- מילה covenant of circumcision
- ברית מילה Gen. 17
- מכוסי בד Ex. 28:42
- מעין Cant. 4:12
- מצא Deut. 22:23, 25
- מצבה 1 Sam. 15:12; 2 Sam. 18:18
- מקרה לילה (cf. קרי) Deut. 23:11
- מִשֵּׁל Gen. 3:16
- נאף Ex. 20:14; Hos. 3:1; Prov. 30:20
- נאץ Ps. 10:3
- נבלות Hos. 2:12 (cf. Gesenius; Jastrow)
- נוע Gen. 20:6; Prov. 6:29
- נש Ex. 19:15
- נעול Cant. 4:12
- נערה (קטנה - בוגרת)
- נפל Jud. 5:27
- נקב to perforate
- נקבים גדולים - נקב (Rashi to Jud. 3:24)
- יצא לנקביו
- נקבה *perforata*, Gesenius; Jastrow
- נקפּה Is. 3:24
- סינר of Jastrow, p. 983
- עורר - עור Cant. 2:7
- עלה Cant. 7:9
- עָה (אנס) Gen. 34:2; Deut. 22:24; Jud. 19:24, 20:5; 2 Sam. 13:12
- עפלים of. טחורים 1 Sam. 5:6
- ערה
- ערוה Lev. 18: *passim*
- בית הערוה Redaq to Is. 3:17
- ערום - עירום naked
- פורצין'ט סיןר (Rashi)
- פילגש Gen. 25:6
- פרוץ of. Ben Yehuda, 5225 ff.
- פרי Cant. 2:3
- פת Is. 3:17 (1 Kings 7:50) of. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1096-7: *cardo, interstitium pedum*, hence *pudenda muliebria*; cf. Mishna, *Kelim*, 11:2
- פתה (of. הִשְׂיָא, Ex. 22:15-16)

- פתיגיל Is. 3:24
 - צֶחֶק אֶת/ב Gen. 26:8; 39:14
 - צֶל Cant. 2:3
 - צנח Josh. 15:18; Jud. 1:14
 - צרה 1 Sam. 1:6
 - קבה Gesenius, 692
 - קדשה Gen. 38:21
 - קטנה (נערה - בוגרת)
 - קרב Gen. 20:4; Lev. 18:14
 - קרֶחַ 2 Kings 2:23
 - קרי cf. מקרה; Jastrow
 - רגל
 מבין רגליה Deut. 28:57; Jud. 5:27
 מי רגלים Is. 36:12
 מסיך את הרגלים Jud. 3:24
 - רחם womb
 רחם רחמתי Jud. 5:30
 - רעה Cant. 6:2
 - שאר cf. Jastrow
 - שגל Deut. 28:30
 - שדים Cant. 4:5 *et passim*
 - לשחֶחַ Gen. 24:63
 - שחת Gen. 38:9
 - שכב *passim*
 - שִׁמַּח Deut. 24:5
 - תשמיש intercourse
 תשמיש המטה Rashi to Gen. 3:16 *et passim*
 - שפכה Deut. 23:2
 - שררֶךְ Cant. 7:3
 - שר
 - שת Prov. 26:6; Is. 20:4
 - השתין 1 Sam. 25:22
 - תבע to solicit intercourse, to take the initiative
 - תלפיות Cant. 4:4
 - תפוח Cant. 2:3, 5
 - תפשל Deut. 22:28
 - תשוּקה Gen. 3:16
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Postscript

It was only some time after completion of this paper (in December 1977) that a new and very important commentary on Song of Songs reached the U.K.: Marvin H. Pope: *Song of Songs* (The Anchor Bible, Doubleday, New York, 1977).

AFW	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AV	Authorized Version
BH	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>
BQ	<i>Baba Qamma</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
ICC	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopaedia</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
LXX	<i>Septuagint</i>
NEB	New English Bible
SSL&C	<i>Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations</i>
UT	<i>Ugaritic Textbook</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</i>

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ETHIOPIAN DYNASTIC MARRIAGE CONTRACT BETWEEN EMPRESS MENTEWWAB OF GONDAR AND RAS MIKA'EL SEHUL OF TEGRE

By RICHARD PANKHURST

(PLATE I)

The decline of the Gondarine monarchy and the concomitant increase in wealth and power of Tegre province, and of its capital Adwa, led, in the mid-eighteenth century, to a shift in the Ethiopian balance of power. This development, which threatened the then impoverished ruling house of Gondar,¹ and the very continuity of the but weakly centralized State, resulted, as on other such occasions, in a major dynastic alliance between the contending parties. The compact involved two of the most important Ethiopian political figures of the century: Emperor Bākaffa's astute widow Empress Mentewwab, and the first of the great warlords of Tegre, Sehul Mika'el, a rich and powerful chieftain who was soon to emerge as the maker and breaker of kings. Mika'el was by then already well known in the Ethiopian metropolis where, according to the later Scottish traveller James Bruce, he was so 'lavish in his money' that 'all Gondar were his friends', as a result of which it was 'plain' to 'everybody, that nothing could stop' his 'growing fortune'.²

The agreement between the Empress and the ruler of Tegre, which can be seen as one of the steps on the chief's path to supreme power at Gondar, involved the marriage of his son *Dajjazmač Wäldä Hawaryat* to Mentewwab's daughter *Wäyzäro Altäš*. Before the nuptials were celebrated Mika'el pledged to provide his son with many estates, and also promised to give him (or perhaps to the married couple jointly, the text not being clear on this point) numerous guns, carpets, slaves, swords, cattle and oxen. The property was carefully recorded in Amharic on the fly-leaf (folio 370) of a Ge'ez commentary on the Four Gospels which, subsequently forming part of Emperor Tewodros' collection of manuscripts at Mäqdäla, was later seized by the Napier expedition of 1867-8, and found its way to the British Library, where it was catalogued as Orient 732. The text, a valuable political, social and economic document, throws light on how such marriages were arranged, and indicates the type, and quantity, of goods given on such occasions by the feudal lords of this period. The contract is of additional interest in that its scrutiny reveals several significant, and possibly unsuspected, faults in Bruce's writings, one of the principal historical sources of the time.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DATING

Though the document is undated there is, if we accept the evidence of the chronicles, little doubt as to the period to which it refers. Mentewwab's son

¹ The chronicle states that after the death of Emperor Iyasu II in 1755 Empress Mentewwab ordered gold to be brought from the treasury to give to the churches and monasteries to pay for the *täskar*, or commemorative service, for her son, but only 80 (or in another text 20) dinar of gold could be found as the late monarch had 'wasted his riches'. I. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyäsü II et 'Iyo'as*, Paris, 1910, text, 172, translation, 182.

² J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*, II, Edinburgh 1790, 655-6. On the life of Mika'el see also Ismail Ali, *The career of Mika'el Sehul of Tigray (1692-1780)*, Haile Sellassie I University history senior essay, 1972.

Emperor Iyasu II died, as the annals of his reign state, on Bāne 21, 7247,³ i.e. June 27, 1755, a Thursday. *Ras* Mika'el, who was then on his way to Gondar with guns, carpets, gold, silver and other tribute from Tegre, learnt the news two days later, on the Saturday, when he reached Šembera Zāgān in Wāgāra.⁴ He proceeded to the capital without delay, and, arriving on the morrow, found that the late Emperor's son, Iyo'as, then still a child, had ascended the throne.⁵ Effective power in the city was, however, in the hands of Empress Mentewwab and the Amhara lords, several of the most influential of whom were members of her family. They had decided that she should become Regent for her grandson as she had been for her son a decade and a half earlier. The old lady, who was doubtless not unaware of Mika'el's immense wealth and power, and of the virtual impossibility of governing without his co-operation, promptly arranged a dynastic alliance with him. After celebrating the *tāzkar*, or funeral commemoration, for her son, she married her daughter Wāyzāro Altāš to Mika'el's son *Abbeto* Wāldā Hawaryat on Nahase 27, i.e. September 2, 1755—the approximate date, we may assume, of the document here published. The ceremony is said by the chronicle to have been conducted with great pomp, as befitted the wedding of a daughter of the king and queen, and 'great joy' reigned in the house of the ruler of Tegre.⁶

The marriage, it is apparent from the chronicle, thus took place at Gondar, some three months after the death of Iyasu II and accession of Iyo'as. Bruce's statement that Wāldā Hawaryat was by then already married to 'Ozoro Altash'⁷ is therefore almost certainly incorrect, as his editor Alexander Murray seems indeed to have realized in 1805.⁸

The importance of the marriage is underlined in the chronicle which reverts to it in a chapter on *Ras* Mika'el which states that after the accession of Iyo'as Empress Mentewwab and the *māk'anent*, or lords, held a council, and decided to marry her daughter, who is here referred to as Eleni—presumably an alternative name—to Mika'el's son *Abbeto* Wāldā Hawaryat. The latter, it is reported, was given the *meder*, or land, of Sire (or Šire) and other *ahgura*, or countries, which are specified in detail in our document, while his father was made governor of Semen province (Bruce is in error in writing 'Enderta'),⁹ as well as Tegre.¹⁰ The 'old lion',¹¹ as he was sometimes called, thus became, as Bruce says, 'master of near half of Abyssinia',¹² and, we could add, by becoming ruler of Semen, gained control of an important province on the western side of the Tākkāze river within easy striking distance of the capital. On receiving this appointment he returned to his province, taking with him his son Wāldā Hawaryat and his daughter-in-law, again referred to as Eleni, and received the homage of the people of Semen and Tegre. He collected in particular much tribute from the inhabitants of Sire who brought him innumerable quantities of guns, cattle and pieces of cloth, and even the people living like wild animals and snakes in caves in the earth are said to have recognized his authority.¹³

³ Guidi, op. cit., translation, 174.

⁴ *ibid.*, 228.

⁵ *ibid.*, 181, 226.

⁶ *ibid.*, 183. See also 226-7.

⁷ *ibid.*, II, 661.

⁸ *ibid.*, 1805 edition, v, 422.

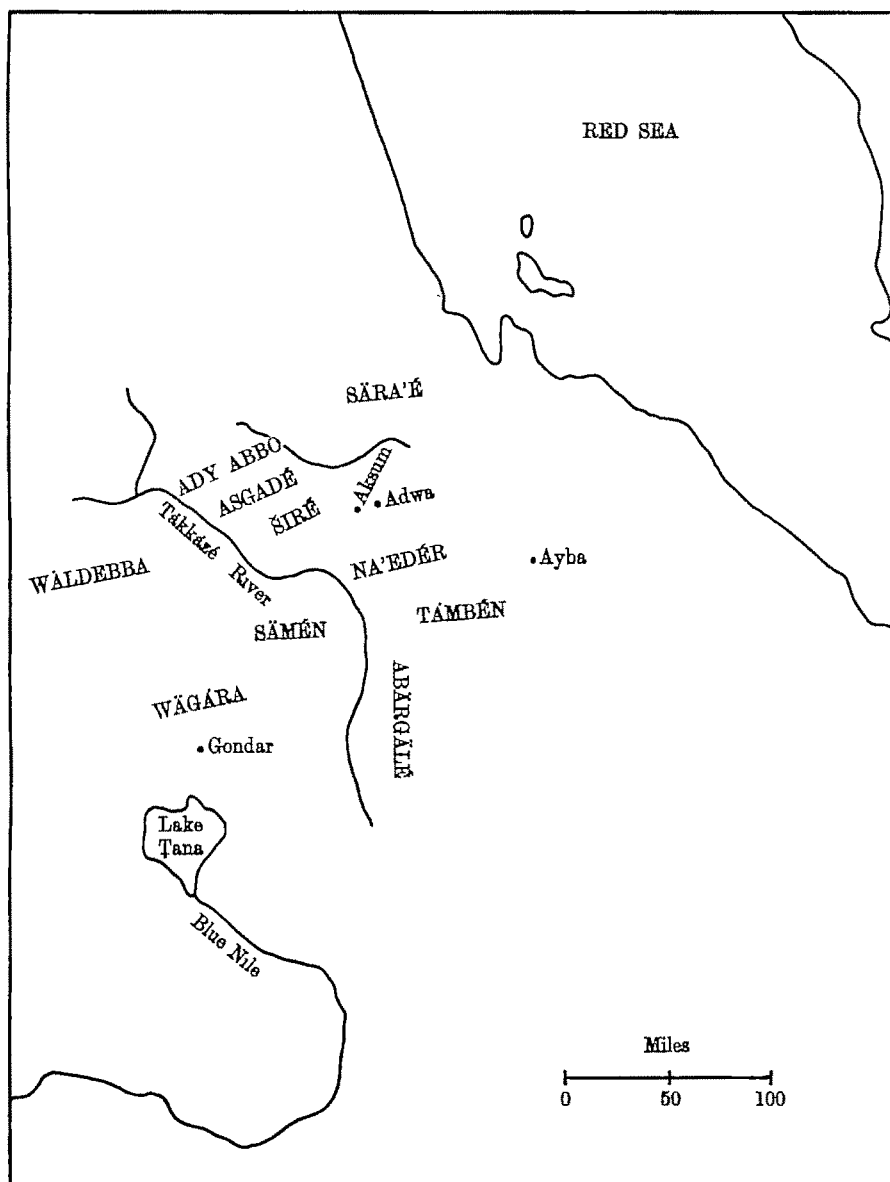
⁹ *ibid.*, 1790 edition, II, 657.

¹⁰ Guidi, op. cit., translation, 226-7.

¹¹ R. Perini, *Di qua dal Marēb (Marēb-mellāso)*, Firenze, 1905, 210.

¹² Bruce, op. cit., 1790 edition, II, 657.

¹³ Guidi, op. cit., translation, 226-7.



Alṭaš and Wäldä Hawaryat, the two young people chosen to unite the ruling houses of Gondär and Tegre, were both personalities of some importance.

Wäyzäro Alṭaš, or Eleni as the chronicle of Iyo'as also calls her, was the youngest of Mentewwab's three daughters by her second spouse, *Grazmač* Iyasu,¹⁴ and thus the half-sister of Emperor Iyasu II, the Empress's son by her first husband Bäkaffa. The chapter on *Ras* Mika'el in the chronicle of Iyo'as is thus inexact in speaking of Alṭaš as Emperor Iyasu's 'sister',¹⁵ though the term is commonly so used in Ethiopian culture. Bruce, though at pains to emphasize his alleged close association with the royal family and especially with Alṭaš's elder sister Aster and father-in-law *Ras* Mika'el, is, as Alexander Murray noted in 1805, 'perplexing' in that his genealogy of Mentewwab's offspring differs from that in the chronicle which 'it would appear he had omitted to consult'.¹⁶ The Scotsman thus refers to Alṭaš and her two sisters as the daughters not of *Grazmač* Iyasu (who is however identified as the father in a correction by Murray),¹⁷ but of *Qañazmač* Nāččo of Q'ara.¹⁸ Bruce is nevertheless correct in asserting that Alṭaš was the youngest of the three sisters. He provides the additional information that she was married when 'almost a child'.¹⁹ This statement is not improbable in view of the traditional early age of marriage in Ethiopia.²⁰ Moreover since Mentewwab's first husband died in 1730 Alṭaš as the third child of the Empress's second consort could not have been born much before 1733, and was therefore at this time not more than 22 years old at the very most.

As for the bridegroom, Wäldä Hawaryat, he was probably Mika'el's eldest son, and was called after his great-grandfather.²¹ Little over a month after marrying the princess he was appointed *Bajerond* of the *Eqa-bet*, or royal treasurer,²² and less than a year later was given the higher title of *Qañazmač*, or commander of the right wing,²³ though within a twelve-month he was again placed in charge of the treasury.²⁴ Bruce refers to the young man on several occasions in seemingly circumstantial detail, as well as in several notable speeches which he includes in his narrative, largely, it would appear, to enhance his own importance. Wäldä Hawaryat, he claims, was alive at the time of his own arrival at Gondar in 1770 during an epidemic of smallpox. The chief, he states, had then but recently come to the capital 'from the camp', and was 'ill of a fever' which people were 'afraid . . . was the small pox'.²⁵ Bruce learnt on the following day that the patient was 'much better, by the medicine of a saint from Waldubba had given him, which consisted in some characters written with common ink upon a tin plate, which characters were washed off by a medicinal liquor, and given to him to drink'—though for his own part the Scotsman thought it was because Wäldä Hawaryat had eaten 'heartily of

¹⁴ *ibid.*, translation, 10, 183, 226.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 226.

¹⁶ Bruce, *op. cit.*, 1805 edition, iv, 96.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, iv, 98.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 1790 edition, II, 612–13.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, II, 613, 661. See also III, 127.

²⁰ Early in the nineteenth century the British traveller Henry Salt reported that girls married 'at ten, eleven, or twelve' years of age, while a later observer Mansfield Parkyns wrote, 'I have seen brides of eight or nine years old'. Valentia, *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, II, London, 1809, 506; M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, II, New York, 1854, 38. See also Perini, *op. cit.*, 407.

²¹ Guidi, *op. cit.*, translation, 223.

²² *ibid.*, 184–5. See also 227.

²³ *ibid.*, 193. See also 227.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 194.

²⁵ Bruce, *op. cit.*, 1790 edition, III, 200.

brind, or raw beef'.²⁶ The recovery, he relates in what is one of the highlights of his account, was only temporary, for later that day he was told that the chief was 'very bad', and that his wife *Wäyzäro* Alṭaš, her sister *Wäyzäro* Aster, and their mother Empress Mentewwab herself had desired that he should 'come and see him to-morrow'. He replied to the messenger, evidently in somewhat arrogant vein, that:

the small-pox is a disease that will have its course . . . This morning you said a man had cured him by writing upon a tin plate; and to try if he was well, they crammed him with raw beef. I do not think the letters he swallowed will do him any harm, neither will they do him any good; but I shall not be surprised if the raw beef kills him, and his daughter Welleta Selaše, too, before I see him to-morrow.²⁷

On the next day, the author continues, 'three great saints' arrived from the province of Wäldebba, 'one of whom had neither ate nor drank for 20 years of his life', and promised to cure the patient 'by laying a picture of the Virgin Mary and the cross upon him'. Bruce was accordingly told that his services were no longer needed, whereupon he gave vent to his feelings, declaring:

I shall strictly obey you. There is no sort of reason for my meddling in this affair with such associates. If they can cure him by a miracle, I am sure it is the easiest kind of cure of any, and will not do his constitution the least harm afterwards, which is more than I will promise for medicines in general; but, remember what I say to you, it will, indeed, be a miracle, if both the father and the daughter are not dead before to-morrow night.²⁸

The speech, the traveller implies, was indeed prophetic, for the same afternoon he heard that the daughter was dead, and her father, he says, passed away later that night.²⁹

The story, though significant no doubt of the author's pride in his repartee and medical knowledge, constitutes further evidence of his unreliability as an historical source, for it would seem a complete fabrication: Wäldä Hawaryat, according to the chronicle, died in Tegre on Genbot 15, 7252, i.e. May 22, 1760³⁰—10 years before the Scotsman's visit to Gondär and the monk of Wäldebba's supposedly unsuccessful 'cure'!

The Wäldä Hawaryat-Alṭaš marriage led, according to the chronicle, to the birth of one child, a daughter, *Wäyzäro* Yäweb Dar.³¹ Bruce, on the other hand, states that Mentewwab's daughter and Ras Mika'el's son had three children, two sons and one daughter. One boy is said, like his father, to have died of smallpox, while the other and the girl 'happily recovered'.³²

Yäweb Dar (or as Bruce calls her Ayabdar) was, according to the Scotsman, one of the patients he treated for smallpox which left her 'very much marked'.³³ Not long afterwards she married the ruler of Bägemder, *Dajjazmač* Wänd Bawässän (Bruce's Powussen).³⁴ The union, which took place, Bruce recalls,

²⁶ *ibid.*, III, 203.

²⁷ *ibid.*, III, 205-6.

²⁸ *ibid.*, III, 207.

²⁹ *ibid.*, III, 209. See also II, 613.

³⁰ Guidi, *op. cit.*, translation, 203. Bruce, it is interesting to note, refrains from any mention of mourning for Wäldä Hawaryat's supposed death, nor is there any indication of such bereavement in the report of the Scotsman's treatment of the royal patients which Salt later obtained from an Ethiopian eye-witness *Däldära* Aster. H. Salt, *A voyage to Abyssinia*, London, 1812, 334.

³¹ Guidi, *op. cit.*, translation, 11; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 1805 edition, IV, 99.

³² Bruce, *op. cit.*, 1790 edition, II, 613, III, 211.

³³ *ibid.*, III, 209, 211, 220.

³⁴ Guidi, *op. cit.*, translation, 11; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 1790 edition, III, 209, 211, 241, 393; H. Wald Blundell, *The royal chronicle of Abyssinia 1769-1840*, Cambridge, 1922, 214

in 1770 when the bride could not have been more than 14 years old, was in many ways a dynastic match reminiscent of that between her parents. The ceremony was a great affair. Bruce, who claims to have had a headache as a result of 'the quantity of mead' he had been obliged to drink, states that 'all Gondar was in one scene of festivity'. The presents given to the bride likewise recalled those recorded in the Alṭaš wedding contract, for the Emperor gave her 'large districts of land' in Bāgemder, while her grandfather *Ras Mika'el* presented 'gold, muskets, cattle, and horses'.³⁵ (A contemporary chronicle later tells of Yāweb Dar travelling with 'many guns' she had received from her grandfather.)³⁶ Bruce adds: 'all the town, that wished to be well-looked upon by either party, brought something considerable as a present. The Ras, Ozoro Esther, and Ozoro Altash, entertained all Gondar. A vast number of cattle was slaughtered every day, and the whole town looked like one great market; the common people, in every street, appearing loaded with pieces of raw beef, while drink circulated in the same proportion'.³⁷

Yāweb Dar, descended as she was from such noble grandparents, was herself a woman of substance, as evident from the fact that she later made a significant gift of land to the notable church of Däbrä Šāhay at Q'wesq'wam just outside Gondar which Mentewwab had founded two generations earlier.³⁸

THE CONTRACT

The Alṭaš-Wäldä Hawaryat marriage contract, though brief and consisting of little over 200 words, contains six distinct elements:

1. An enumeration of lands given by *Ras Mika'el* to his son, mainly in the Na'eder, Tāmben and Abargāle areas, i.e. to the east of Šire, the area mentioned in the chronicle.

2. The names of two guarantors for this land, one for that inherited by the bridegroom from his father, and the other, the *Nebura Ed*, or governor of Adwa, for that from his mother.

3. A listing of the number of guns, carpets, slaves, swords, cows and oxen given by the ruler of Tēgre.

4. The names of two guarantors for the above property, both of them prominent Gondari courtiers.

5. The names of thirteen other Gondari courtiers or churchmen, among them the *Abunā*, or Metropolitan, and the *Ečage*, the next most important dignitary of the church, who had adjudicated on the matter. These dignitaries, we may note, constituted a kind of on-going council as evident from the fact that no less than eleven of the thirteen are listed, in the same order, as witnesses of a marriage contracted at Gondār a year or so later.³⁹ The only difference between the two lists is indeed accounted for by the death of one of the courtiers (*Azzaṣ* Tewodoseyas) and the replacement of another (the *Ečage*).

6. The statement that *Ras Mika'el* had given authority to his son Wäldä Hawaryat, and that the latter's brothers were excluded from any share in the above patrimony which was thus reserved exclusively for Empress Mentewwab's son-in-law.

³⁵ Bruce, op. cit., 1790 edition, III, 241-2.

³⁶ Weld Blundell, op. cit., 9, 214.

³⁷ Bruce, op. cit., 1790 edition, III, 242.

³⁸ British Library, Orient MS. 778, 3r.

³⁹ *Idem*, Orient MS. 778, 1r. which records the marriage of *Abbe* Gälwēdewos the son of *Ras Wäldä Gorygis* to *Wäyzäro Wälätta Šeyon*, the daughter of *Wäyzäro Wälätta Rufa'el*.

Text of the contract, Translated by Germa-Selassie Asfaw

When the son of *Däjjazmač*¹ Mika'él, *Abbeto*² Wäldä Hawaryat, was married to *Wäyzäro*³ Aläši:⁴

The *meder*⁵ (lands) which your father gave you: Ad Abbo,⁶ Zehay.⁷ Ad Rāb,⁸ Agura Māqāber,⁹ Deqena,¹⁰ Ad Amhara,¹¹ Ad G'wanso,¹² Šalim Bayeta,¹³ Dābrare,¹⁴ Ad Zeban,¹⁵ Enzona,¹⁶ Qāhey Medri,¹⁷ Gebśās,¹⁸ Mem'waq,¹⁹ [and] Ad Gumbi.²⁰ These 15 are the *meder* (land) of Na'eder.²¹ Gābgāb,²² Af Gume,²³ Debeza,²⁴ from Ayba²⁵ 12 *čeqa*²⁶ in Adeq Sandun,²⁷ 12 *čeqa* from Tāmben,²⁸ Edgeb,²⁹ Šärizba,³⁰ from Abargāle,³¹ Walewa,³² Dorozeba,³³ Baršāne,³⁴ Kālware,³⁵ Gamča,³⁶ Lebābarfa,³⁷ May Čelemeyānatu agār,³⁸ Jiqamba,³⁹ Wāgr Šaba,⁴⁰ upper Ad Sālam,⁴¹ lower Ad Sālam, Ad Qāši,⁴² May Tākli,⁴³ Mārebāt,⁴⁴ Asgādu,⁴⁵ Ad Abeye,⁴⁶ Ad Dānagul,⁴⁷ Bitanya,⁴⁸ Kārfaho,⁴⁹ Nuna,⁵⁰ Ma'ekālay,⁵¹ Amfi,⁵² May Ebra,⁵³ Beraqo,⁵⁴ Ad Sāgān,⁵⁵ Ad Qādāsom,⁵⁶ Haddis Addi,⁵⁷ Ad Eyo,⁵⁸ Sāra'e,⁵⁹ Amho,⁶⁰ Ad Hankera,⁶¹ Ad Akāyt,⁶² Ad Šehay,⁶³ [and] Nāqizom.⁶⁴ For these the *wasoč*⁶⁵ (guarantors) [are] for the *agār*⁶⁶ (country) of his father, *Abbeto* Tewodros; ⁶⁷ the *was* (guarantor) for the *agār* (country) of his mother, *Neburā Ed*⁶⁸ Tākile.⁶⁹

100 *nāfi*⁷⁰ (guns), 100 carpets, 100 slaves, 30 *sāyf*⁷¹ (swords), 10 *šotāl*⁷² (cutlasses), a thousand cows [and] 100 pairs [of oxen]. For these the *wasoč* (guarantors) [are], for the [one] half, *Blattengeta*⁷³ Kabtu; ⁷⁴ *Balambaras*⁷⁵ Mentāsenot,⁷⁶ for the [other] half. And the *sedanoč* (arbiters ?) [are] *Däjjazmač* Wārāñña⁷⁷ [and] *Abbeto* Ya'eqob,⁷⁸ the son of *Abbeto* Asmā Giyorgis.⁷⁹ Those who heard this *feššame*⁸⁰ (conclusion) [were] *Lige*⁸¹ Tāklä Haymanot,⁸² *Lige* Isayyas,⁸³ *Lige* Nāččo,⁸⁴ *Lige* Fasilō,⁸⁵ *Azzaj*⁸⁶ Tewodoseyas,⁸⁷ *Azzaj* Bātre,⁸⁸ *Azzaj* Kokābā Leda,⁸⁹ *Azzaj* Bahrey,⁹⁰ [the] *Abun*,⁹¹ [the] *Ēčage*,⁹² [the] *Alāqa*⁹³ (head) of Iyāsus⁹⁴ (church) *Šeraj Masäre*⁹⁵ Habtā Dengel,⁹⁶ [the] *Alāqa* of [the] *Gemja Bet*⁹⁷ (treasury) *Liqa Ma'emran*⁹⁸ Neway,⁹⁹ [and the] *Alāqa* of Dābra Berhān¹⁰⁰ (church) *Māl'akā Berhanat*¹⁰¹ Wäldä Rufa'el.¹⁰² And he [*Däjjazmač* Mika'él] has given the *alāqenāt*¹⁰³ (leadership) to *Abbeto* Wäldä Hawaryat. From this that is written the brothers¹⁰⁴ will not share.

¹ *Däjjazmač*, literally 'commander of the gate', a military title given to or assumed by important provincial rulers. Weld Blundell, op. cit., 508; G. Massala, *Lectiones grammaticales pro missionariis qui addiscere volunt linguam Amharicam*, Paris, 1802, 255-6; Guèbrē Sellassié, *Chronique du règne de Ménlik II roi des rois d'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1930-1, I, 84.

² *Abbeto*, an honorific title applied to princes or lords of consequence. I. Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, Roma, 1901, 454; *idem*, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, Paris, 1903-5, translation, 346; Weld Blundell, op. cit., 508; Guèbrē Sellassié, op. cit., I, 87.

³ *Wäyzäro*, a title traditionally accorded to princesses. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 509.

⁴ *Aläši*. The princess's name, according to the chronicle, was in fact Altaş. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 10-11, 183.

⁵ *Meder*, land. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 106.

⁶ Ad Abbo. This place, according to the text, is in Na'eder, i.e. north of Tamben, and should therefore apparently not be identified with Ady Abbo west of Šure mentioned in several medieval land grants. Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, translation, 165; G. W. B. Huntingford, *The land charters of northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa, 1965, 33, 36, 88.

⁷ Zehay, another locality in the Na'eder area.

⁸ Ad Rāb, also in the Na'eder area.

⁹ Agura Māqāber, somewhere in Na'eder area, and probably the site of a *māqāber*, or graveyard. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 276.

¹⁰ Deqena, in the Na'eder area.

¹¹ Ad Amhara, likewise in the Na'eder area.

¹² Ad G'wanso, also in the Na'eder area.

¹³ Salim Bayeta, another place in the Na'eder area.

¹⁴ Dābrare, in the Na'eder area.

¹⁵ Ad Zeban, in the Na'eder area.

¹⁶ Enzona, in the Na'eder area, and possibly the place of the same name mentioned in a land grant of Emperor Susenyos in the seventeenth century. Huntingford, op. cit., 60.

¹⁷ Qayeh Medri, in the Na'eder area, and possibly Qayeh Medr referred to in the above land grant of Susenyos. Huntingford, op. cit., 60.

¹⁸ Gebzas, in the Na'eder area, and apparently the place cited in the above land grant of Sumneyos. Huntingford, op. cit., 60.

¹⁹ Mem'eq, also in the Na'eder area.

²⁰ Ad Gumbi, the last of the places described as in Na'eder.

²¹ Na'eder, a region south of Adwa and east of Adet, already to be found in a fifteenth-century land charter of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob, and, much later in the nineteenth-century tax records of Emperor Tewodros. Huntingford, op. cit., 35, 89; T. J. Holland and E. M. Hozier, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London, 1870, map; R. Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie Asfaw, *Tax records and inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1855-1868)*, London, 1878, 31, 39, 46, 73.

²² Gabghb, an area mentioned in an early Aksumite land grant as well as in tax documents of Emperor Tewodros, and thought by Huntingford to be situated south of Asmara. Huntingford, op. cit., 29, 86; *Smith's New Map of Abyssinia* (London, 1867); Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 74.

²³ Af Gume, possibly the place of that name mentioned in a fourth-century land charter of the cathedral at Aksum. Huntingford, op. cit., 29.

²⁴ Debeza, the location of which is uncertain.

²⁵ Ayba, probably the village or locality north of Garalta frequently mentioned in Ethiopian chronicles, and also in the tax records of Emperor Tewodros. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsū II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 229; G. W. B. Huntingford, *An introduction to the historical geography of Ethiopia*, London, 1969 (manuscript in the library of School of Oriental and African Studies), 306; Holland and Hozier, op. cit., map; G. Simon, *L'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1885, plate opposite 190; Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 27, 35.

²⁶ Čegga, a district ruled by a čegga šum, or village chief. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 847-8; Parkyns, op. cit., II, 190; A. B. Wyld, *Modern Abyssinia*, London, 1901, 495; M. Perham, *The government of Ethiopia*, London, 1948, 275; E. Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians*, Oxford, 1973, 178.

²⁷ Adeq Sandun, conceivably a copyist's error for Ad Daq Sandud, a locality in the Čalaqot area referred to in a late eighteenth-century land grant of Emperor Takla Gyorgis and in the tax records of Emperor Tewodros. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 63; Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 65, 77.

²⁸ Tamben, a district around Abbi Addi, north of Mäzale. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 32, 34, 41, 64; E. Combes and M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, IV, Paris, 1838, map.

²⁹ Edgeb, an unidentified locality.

³⁰ Šarizba, the location of which is also unidentified.

³¹ Abargale, a district east of the Takkaze river on the south-western borders of Tegra. Holland and Hozier, op. cit., map.

³² Walewa, the location of which is uncertain.

³³ Dorozeba, the location of which is uncertain.

³⁴ Baršane, the location of which is uncertain.

³⁵ Kälware, the location of which is uncertain.

³⁶ Gamča, the location of which is uncertain.

³⁷ Lebabarfa, the location of which is uncertain.

³⁸ May Čelemeyanatu agar, the location of which is uncertain.

³⁹ Jiqemba, the location of which is uncertain.

⁴⁰ Wägr Šaba, the location of which is uncertain.

⁴¹ Ad Salam, possibly the place of that name mentioned in an early nineteenth-century land grant made by *Dajjasmač* Sebagades of Tegra. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 73.

⁴² Ad Qaši, the location of which is unidentified.

⁴³ May Takli, the location of which is unidentified.

⁴⁴ Märebāt, the location of which is unidentified.

⁴⁵ Asgādu, possibly Asgāde, a locality south of Šire mentioned in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century land charters of Emperors Lebna Dengel and Fasiladas as well as in tax records of Emperor Tewodros II. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 33, 61; Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 43.

⁴⁶ Ad Abeye, the location of which is unidentified.

⁴⁷ Ad Danagul, the location of which is unidentified.

⁴⁸ Bitanya, the location of which is unidentified.

⁴⁹ Karfaho, probably the place of that name mentioned in a fourteenth-century land grant of Emperor Sayfa Ar'ad. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 32.

⁵⁰ Nuna, the location of which is unidentified.

⁵¹ Ma'ekälāy, probably the place of that name referred to in a late eighteenth-century land grant to the convent of Šādya in Tegra. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 66.

⁵² Amfi, the location of which is unidentified.

⁵³ May Erba, the location of which is unidentified.

⁵⁴ Beraqo, the location of which is unidentified.

⁵⁵ Ad Šāgan, the location of which is unidentified.

⁵⁶ Ad Qadasom, possibly Ad Qadaso, a locality in Šire mentioned in a fifteenth-century land charter of Emperor Yeshaq as well as in the nineteenth-century tax records of Emperor Tewodros. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 34; Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 43.

⁵⁷ Haddis Addi, a locality referred to in a land charter of Emperor Lebna Dengel, and thought by Huntingford to be situated either south-west of Adi Ugri or else near May Barazo west of Aksum. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 29, 42, 86, 91.

⁵⁸ Ad Eyo, the location of which is unidentified.

⁵⁹ Sara'e, a district north of the Mharab river. The area was mentioned in a fourteenth-century land charter of Emperor Sayfa Ar'ad. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 88, 193; T. Lefebvre and others, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris, 1845-9, III, 16-19; Holland and Hoxier, op. cit., map.

⁶⁰ Amho, the location of which is unidentified.

⁶¹ Ad Hankera, probably the place of that name given to the cathedral of Aksum in two land grants. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 29, 70.

⁶² Ad Aqāyt, probably the place of that name granted to the cathedral of Aksum in several land charters and likewise referred to in nineteenth-century tax records of Emperor Tewodros. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 29, 35, 67; Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 84.

⁶³ Ad Sehay, the location of which is unidentified.

⁶⁴ Ad Naqizom, probably the place of that name in Šire mentioned in a fifteenth-century land grant by Emperor Yeehaq to the convent of Dabra Abbay, and referred to as Ad Naqzo in tax records of Emperor Tewodros in the nineteenth century. Huntingford, *Land charters*, 34; Pankhurst and Germa-Sellassie, op. cit., 43.

⁶⁵ Was, a guarantor. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 570. Later in the text the scribe writes *waš* in error.

⁶⁶ Agar, country. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 502.

⁶⁷ Abbeto Tewodros, who thus acted as guarantor for Walda Hawaryat's paternal land inheritance, was probably a nobleman from Tēgre.

⁶⁸ *Nebura Ed*, literally 'one who is put in office through the laying on of hands', the title given to the civil and religious governor of Aksum. C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, II, Cambridge, 1961, 557-8; Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 386.

⁶⁹ Takle, presumably the *Nebura Ed* of this time, would have been a good guarantor for property in much of Tēgre.

⁷⁰ *Nāft*, a gun. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 410.

⁷¹ *Sāyf*, a straight sword. *Idem*, 189.

⁷² *Sōdā*, a two-edged sword, often curved. *Idem*, 218; Parkyns, op. cit., II, 19-20.

⁷³ *Blattengela*, an honorific title given to a high official of the court, usually with civilian rather than military responsibilities. Massaia, op. cit., 256; Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 315; Weld Blundell, op. cit., 508.

⁷⁴ *Blattengela* Kabtu, who served as guarantor for half the movable property given by Ras Mika'el, was a trusted Gondar courtier and sometime commander of the Maḥsa troops. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 169, 197, 242.

⁷⁵ *Balambaras*, literally a *ras*, or chief, in charge of an *amba*, or mountain, a title given to lesser dignitaries at court. Massaia, op. cit., 258; Guèbrè Sellassie, op. cit., I, 245.

⁷⁶ *Balambaras* Mentassenot, the guarantor for the other half of the movable property, was another prominent Gondar courtier. A trusted chief he had been made *Salaga*, or commander of a thousand men, in 1746, *Balambaras* in 1747, and was for a time a *Fitawrari* in charge of the town of Yebaba in northern Gojjam. Later, in 1756, he was appointed *Azzaj*, or judge, and *Raq Masāra*, or Master of Ceremonies, and though soon relieved of the latter post, continued to play some part in political and military affairs. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 187-8, 182, 183, 172, 193, 197, 220, 262.

⁷⁷ *Dājjamač* Warāñña, one of the two arbiters, was a Galla who had given trusted service to Emperor Bakaffa, and now held the important post of governor of Gojjam. Described in the chronicle as a friend of Emperor Iyasu II Warāñña was the first chief to arrive in Gondar after the late monarch's death. He continued to play a major role in court affairs for almost a decade, and died in 1763. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 181, 186, 207 *et passim*, Weld Blundell, op. cit., 216; Bruce, op. cit., 1790 edition, II, 605-6, 613, 660.

⁷⁸ *Abbeto* Ya'eqob son of *Abbeto* Aḡma Giyorgis, the second of the two arbiters, was a courtier who later served as a witness for the marriage of another member of the nobility at Gondar, *Abbeto* Galawdewos. British Library Orient MS. 778, Ir.

⁷⁹ *Abbeto* Aḡma Giyorgis was possibly the brother-in-law of Emperor Iyasu I, and if this identification is correct had died in 1700. Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, translation, 222, 228.

⁸⁰ *Feggame*, conclusion. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 895.

⁸¹ *Liye*, literally a 'superior', a title given to judges attached to the court and also to heads of churches. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 22; *idem*, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, translation, 347; Weld Blundell, op. cit., 509; Guèbrè Sellassie, op. cit., I, 66, 88.

⁸² *Liye* Takla Haymanot, the first of thirteen persons mentioned as concluding the marriage arrangements, was a courtier throughout the reign of Emperor Iyasu II, later served as *Jan Dāraba Azzaj*, or Royal Prosecuting Magistrate, and died in 1761. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 45, 59, 98, 118, 119, 127, 133, 141, 202, 206.

⁸³ *Liye* Isayyas was probably *Azzaj* Isayyas who had been in charge of Dabra Berhan Sellase church at Gondar from 1747 to 1752 for which reason he was referred to by the title of *Ma'aka Berhanat*. He died in 1760. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 183, 186, 203.

⁸⁴ *Liye* Naččo was probably the cleric of that name whom Ras Mika'el later put in charge of the church of Aḡḡatame Qeddus Mika'el at Gondar which carried with it the title of *Ma'aka Gānnat*. Weld Blundell, op. cit., 204; *idem*, *Vocabolario*, 414.

⁸⁸ *Liqe Fasilo* was a courtier who later became *Ṣāhaje Te'ezaz*, or Royal Secretary, in 1758. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 197, 200.

⁸⁹ *Azzaj*, a title given to a major domo or head of the palace servants, but also to the more important judges. Combes and Tamisier, op. cit., III, 195; Massaia, op. cit., 257; Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 486-7; Guèbrè Sellassié, op. cit., I, 190.

⁹⁰ *Azzaj* Tewodessayas, who had been appointed governor of the coastal province of Bur in 1730 at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Iyasu II, was a prominent courtier at Gondar, and died in 1756. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 35, 59, 115, 158, 189.

⁹¹ *Azzaj Bātre* was another courtier from the time of Iyasu II. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 59.

⁹² *Liqe Kokaba Leda* had been appointed *Ṣāhaje Te'ezaz*, or Royal Secretary, in 1749, and given the additional position of *Taräsembe Azzaj*, or judge, in 1753. He died in 1758. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 63, 158, 168, 196, 262.

⁹³ Bahrey, who had been appointed *Azzaj* in 1744, had undertaken a mission to Tegre for Emperor Iyasu II in 1752, and died in 1764. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 126, 166.

⁹⁴ *Abun*, literally 'our father', the title given to the Metropolitan, or head, of the Ethiopian church, who traditionally came from Egypt. Bruce, op. cit., 1790 edition, III, 316-17; Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 455; Ullendorff, op. cit., 103. The *Abunē* at this time was Yohannes who had arrived from Egypt in 1745 and died in 1761. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 127, 129, 181, 207.

⁹⁵ *Etage*, the title given to the head of the monks, an official who resided at Gondar and was second in importance only to the *Abunē*. Bruce, op. cit., 1790 edition, III, 319; Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 511; Guèbrè Sellassié, op. cit., I, 39; Ghiorgis Melleessa, 'Gondar yesterday and today', *Ethiopia Observer*, XII, 3, 1969, 171. The *Etage* at this time was Ewosfat-wos who had been appointed a little earlier in 1755 and was replaced in 1757. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 178, 181, 192.

⁹⁶ *Alāga*, literally a 'superior', a title given to the head of a church. Massaia, op. cit., 260; Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 414; Guèbrè Sellassié, op. cit., I, 66.

⁹⁷ Iyasus, or Addababay Iyasus, one of the principal churches of Gondar. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 760; A. A. Monti della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma, 1938, 100.

⁹⁸ *Seraj Masāre*, the title given to a high official at the court who was responsible for crowning the monarch. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 862; Guèbrè Sellassié, op. cit., I, 48; Huntingford, *Land charters*, 108.

⁹⁹ Habtä Dengel was appointed *Seraj Masāre* in 1747, and, having crowned Emperor Iyo'as in 1755, died in 1758. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 153, 196.

¹⁰⁰ *Gemja Bet*, literally *gemja*, or cloth, *bet*, or house, the term given to the treasury. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 719; Guèbrè Sellassié, op. cit., II, 392. The word would, however, seem to designate the church of Gemja Bet Maryam, so called because of its location by the treasury. Monti della Corte, op. cit., 100.

¹⁰¹ *Liqä Ma'emran*, i.e. *liqä*, or chief, of the *ma'emran*, or learned men, a title given to judges attached to the court. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 23; Huntingford, *Land charters*, 107.

¹⁰² *Liqä Ma'emran* Neway, who had held the position of *Ṣāhaje Te'ezaz*, or Royal Secretary, from 1747 to 1749, died in 1760, whereupon the title of *Liqä Ma'emran* was accorded to his son Keflu. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 153, 206, 207.

¹⁰³ Dābrä Berhan, or Dabra Berhan Sellase, one of the foremost churches of Gondar. O. A. Jager and I. Pearce, *Antiquities of north Ethiopia*, Stuttgart, 1974, 47-56.

¹⁰⁴ *Mal'akä Berhanat*, a title given to the head of the church of Dābrä Berhan at Gondar. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 414.

¹⁰⁵ *Mal'akä Berhanat* Wäldä Rufa'el was in charge of Dābrä Berhan church in 1754-5, and was at one time or another also associated with two other Gondar churches Hāmrä Noh and Qeddus Rufa'el. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 163, 166, 173, 185.

¹⁰⁶ *Alāgenāt*, condition of being an *Alāga*, or head. Guidi, *Vocabolario*, 45.

¹⁰⁷ Brothers, i.e. those of Wäldä Hawaryat. *Ras Mika'el*, according to the chronicle of Emperor Iyo'as, had a second son, *Däjjazmač* Wäldä Kidan, but was actually succeeded as ruler of Tegre by another son *Däjjazmač* Wäldä Gabre'el. Guidi, *Annales regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*, translation, 223; J. Kolmodin, *Traditions de Teazzega et Hazzeza*, Upsal, 97; Perini, op. cit., 211.

THE VERB IN NORTHERN NAJDI ARABIC¹

By PETER F. ABBOUD

The dialects spoken in the Najd of Saudi Arabia have striking features which not only are unknown or unreported in other dialects but also retain some characteristics of the 'Arabiyya and of ancient dialects of the peninsula reported by the Arab grammarians. On both these counts, they are of paramount importance for synchronic, comparative and historical dialectology. Yet little is known of them and published materials remain scanty.² It is the purpose of this article to describe in some detail the morphology of the verb, i.e., the stem, the subject markers and the object pronouns, and in the process, present phonological features and processes, in a dialect spoken in the North of the Najd, specifically that of Ḥāyil. This is an important town on the edge of the Jabal Shammar mountains just south of the Nafud, and some 350 miles to the north-west of Riyādh. Although the dialect manifests features which are typically Najdi, in the sense that investigation shows them to exist in other dialects of the Najd,³ it also possesses peculiarities all its own.

The paper deals first with all forms of the stems, simple and derived, perfect, imperfect, and imperative, active (section 2) and passive (section 3), of the strong verb, then those of the final-weak (section 4), hollow (section 5), doubled (section 6), and initial-weak verbs (section 7). That is followed by a discussion of (1) the subject markers (section 8), i.e., the suffixes of the perfect, the prefixes and suffixes of the imperfect, and the suffixes of the imperative (which are markers of the person, number, and gender of the subject), (2) the suffixed object (and the almost identical possessive) pronouns (section 9), (3) sequences of open syllables with low vowels (section 10), and (4) syllabication and stress assignment (section 11).

¹ Some of the features discussed in this paper were presented in papers read at panels of the Middle East Studies Association and the American Oriental Society annual meetings. A summary of some of the peculiarities of this dialect was given in a paper read at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1967. Heavy pre-occupation in various projects prevented the publication of this and other very extensive material, which I have had for some time, until now.

² A bibliography of relevant studies is given at the end of the paper. Cantineau's articles, *Études*, present in two footnotes (II: 1-4 and III: 126-7) his evaluation of previous works relevant to his study; basically, he decries the fact that there are mostly texts, often of mixed origins and doubtful value, and very few systematic analyses, with which I fully concur. The articles themselves examine carefully phonological and morphological features in the speech of nomads over a large geographical area from the Syrian desert to the South of the Najd. Though detailed, they are far from being thoroughgoing or complete (thus, they give a few examples of passive forms that occurred in some texts, but nowhere indicate whether these were isolated instances or whether the feature is widespread; the treatment of final-weak verbs is also rudimentary, etc.). For Northern Najd, Cantineau based his work on the speech of a man he met in Palmyra, a bedouin from the tribe of Sinjāre belonging to the Šammari groups that live in the region of Ḥāyil, and on a study of some Šammari bedouin texts. This present study, on the other hand is based mostly on the speech of a city dweller, a native of Ḥāyil, whose well-known family lived in the town for generations.

³ A paper dealing with other Najdi dialects in the Central Najd, and specifically that of al-Majma'a, is being prepared.

1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The following is a list of the independent pronouns in this dialect: ⁴

3 m.s.	hu (w)
f.s.	hi (y)
m.p.	ham
f.p.	hin
2 m.s.	ʔant
f.s.	ʔantay
m.p.	ʔantam
f.p.	ʔantin
1 s.	ʔana
1 p.	hinna

2. STRONG VERBS: ACTIVE

2.1. *Form I: perfect*

The dialect distinguishes two types in the first form. Their full paradigms are given below:

	Type I		Type II
3 m.s.	sikan	'dwell'	širib
f.s.	skanat		šarbat
m.p.	skanaw		šarbow
f.p.	skanan		šarban
2 m.s.	sikant		širibt
f.s.	sikanti		širibti
m.p.	sikantu		širibtu
f.p.	sikantin		širibtin
1 s.	sikant		širibt
1 p.	sikanna		širibna

The first paradigm might suggest that type I verbs have the shape *CiCaC*. However, the first vowel of this type is low in the following cases: (1) when the first consonant is a guttural, i.e., one of the velar or post-velar fricatives: /x ɣ ħ ʔ/, e.g.:

xada9	'deceive'	9abad	'worship'
yadar	'betray'	hajar	'abandon'
ħasab	'count'	ʔamar	'order'

⁴ The transcription uses the following symbols which are more or less familiar in Arabic Studies:

stops	b	t	d	j	ɬ	g	ʔ		
affricates		θ	ʄ						
fricatives	f	o	s	z	ʃ	x	v	h	ɣ
resonants	m	n	r	l	w	j			
vowels	i	ē	ā	ō	ū	ː	a	u	
diphthongs	ay	aw							

Emphasis is marked by a dot under the consonants. In the stops, the last symbol /ʔ/ represents the glottal catch. It is to be noted that this dialect has a palatal stop, represented here by /j/, for the Classical Arabic affricate. The affricates are apical. The last five symbols in the fricatives represent uvular then pharyngeal (voiceless then voiced), and glottal fricatives. Three short vowels appear in the list, but only in final position is there a clear contrast between the high vowels. Elsewhere the distinction seems to be neutralized and is indicated in examples by the symbol /i/, which has a wide range of high vowel colouring whose nature depends on the nature of flanking consonants. Whether the neutralization is complete is still an open question and needs to be investigated.

and (2) when the second consonant is a guttural or one of the sonorants: /l, n, r/, e.g.:

daxal	'enter'	dahan	'paint'
šayal	'work'	jalas	'sit'
šaḥaḏ	'beg'	šanag	'behead'
da9as	'trample'	jaraf	'wash away'

Except for these environments, a short low vowel in open syllable is raised (a rule henceforth referred to as Low Vowel Raising). Type I, therefore, clearly has the canonical shape *CaCaC*.

It will be observed that the first vowel of type I does not appear in the 3 f.s., 3 m.p., and 3 f.p. forms. For these, the subject markers start with a vowel, which when added to the *CaCaC* stem creates a sequence of two open syllables with low vowels. In such a sequence, the first vowel is always dropped in this dialect (a rule henceforth referred to as Low Vowel Deletion), giving the proper forms.

Verbs of type II are characterized by having an /i/ for their second vowel. Again, the first vowel is /a/ when the first consonant is a guttural. Thus:

xasir	'lose'	9arif	'know'
yari9	'drown'	halic	'perish'
halif	'swear'	?amin	'be safe'

This fact and the presence of a low vowel in forms with a closed syllable (such as /šarɓaw/) above show clearly that type II has the canonical shape *CaCiC*. That the first vowel is high in open syllable in forms such as /širib/, /širibt/ is readily explained by Low Vowel Raising. (It will be noted that the vowel is raised in spite of the fact that it is followed by a sonorant, because Low Vowel Raising specifies that raising occurs unless the sonorant (or medial guttural) is flanked by low vowels, thus explaining the raising in /širib/ but not in /jaraf/ 'wash away'.)

Finally, the loss of the second vowel in verbs of type II, with subject markers that start with a vowel (as in /šarɓaw/), is due to a rule that deletes a high vowel in open syllable (henceforth referred to as High Vowel Deletion).

In summary, form I verbs in this dialect are either of the type *CaCaC* or *CaCiC*. In order to explain the actual forms in the two paradigms, we need three rules: Low Vowel Raising, Low Vowel Deletion, and High Vowel Deletion.⁵ The forms and shapes of the subject markers of the perfect will be discussed in a later section.

2.2. Form I: imperfect

Ablaut

In the imperfect, the first vowel is dropped. The stem vowel, i.e. the vowel before the final consonant, has the inverse height of that of the perfect: it is high, when the perfect stem vowel is low, and low when it is high (this rule is

⁵ These rules will be further illustrated in many of the examples that follow. No attempt is made in this paper to discuss or justify rule ordering among these and other rules given later.

henceforth referred to as Ablaut). The following are the full paradigms of the two types:

	Type I		Type II
3 m.s.	yaskin 'dwells'	yašrab 'drink'	
f.s.	taskin	tašrab	
m.p.	yasknūn	yašribūn	
f.p.	yasknin	yašribin	
2 m.s.	taskin	tašrab	
f.s.	tasknīn	tašribīn	
m.p.	tasknūn	tašribūn	
f.p.	tasknin	tašribin	
1 s.	ʔaskin	ʔašrab	
1 p.	naskin	našrab	

The stem vowel of the imperfect of type I, which is high, is deleted by the aforementioned High Vowel Deletion (e.g., in the 3 m.p. /yæknūn/)⁶; that of type II, which is low, is raised by High Vowel Raising (e.g., in the 2 f.s. /tašribīn/), with suffixes that begin with a vowel, i.e. when these vowels are in open syllable.

Guttural Assimilation

There is one class of verbs which is an exception to Ablaut: verbs of type I whose second or third consonant is a guttural. For these, the stem vowel of the imperfect is low; clearly an assimilation process (henceforth referred to as Guttural Assimilation) is at work here. Thus:

maxaʔ	yamxaʔ	'churn'	nifax	yanfax	'blow'
šayal	yašyal	'work'	balay	yablay	'reach'
šaħaʔ	yašħaʔ	'beg'	nijaħ	yanjaħ	'succeed'
la9an	yal9an	'curse'	giṭa9	yagṭa9	'cut'
nahab	yanhab	'pillage'	karah	yakrah	'hate'
saʔal	yaʔal	'ask'			

Post Guttural Low Vowel Insertion

In both types of form I verbs, when the first consonant is a guttural,⁹ a low vowel appears after it in the imperfect. Thus, for /xaʕan/ 'serve', the imperfect is /yaxadim/, not */yaxdim/. Here are other examples:

xada9	yxada9	'deceive'	xasir	yxasar	'lose'
yaras	yvaris	'plant'	yariġ	yvarag	'drown'
ħalab	yħalib	'milk'	ħamiġ	yħamaġ	'be foolish'
9abad	y9abid	'worship'	9aṭiš	y9aṭaš	'be thirsty'
hajam	yhajim	'attack'	halic	yhalak	'perish'

⁶ A sequence of three consonants in this and other examples is sometimes broken by means of an anaptyctic vowel after the first consonant, but with some classes of consonants in first and second position such clusters are allowed. This matter will not be pursued further in this paper.

⁷ There are some verbs with medial /9/ which do not undergo Guttural Assimilation, e.g., /ga9ad, ya9id/ 'sit'. It will be noted that this is also observed in Classical Arabic and in other Arabic dialects, and with the same items, if they exist.

⁸ This is the only example with medial hamza I could obtain and even then it may be a borrowing from the literary language. There are no examples with final hamza, though traces of it may be found in certain items, as explained below.

⁹ With the exception of hamza. For hamza-initial verbs, see section 7

The full paradigm for a verb of this class is as follows :

3 m.s.	yxadim	'serve'
f.s.	txadim	
m.p.	yxadmūn	
f.p.	yxadmin	
2 m.s.	txadim	
f.s.	txadmīn	
m.p.	txadmūn	
f.p.	txadmin	
1 s.	?axadim	
1 p.	nxadim	

This vowel after the guttural is accounted for by means of an insertion rule (henceforth referred to as Post Guttural Low Vowel Insertion or Low Vowel Insertion, for short).¹⁰ Low Vowel Deletion will then explain the absence of vowels in all the prefixes of the imperfect but 1 s., which will be an exception to the Deletion rule.

In summary, the stem of form I verbs in the imperfect is *-CCVC*. The following rules apply to this stem to account for actual forms : Ablaut, Guttural Assimilation, Low Vowel Insertion, in addition to the other rules given in 2.1 above, which apply whenever there are open syllables. The forms and shapes of the prefixes and suffixes will be discussed later when other verbs have been presented.

2.3. Verb forms other than Form I

These include the derived forms of the simple trilateral verb, traditionally numbered II-X, the quadrilateral and its derived forms, traditionally numbered I, II, and IV, and a few other derivatives. The paradigms of form IX and Quadrilateral IV will be discussed further below under doubled verbs.

Perfect-imperfect

The stem vowel (i.e. the vowel before the final consonant) of the perfect is /a/, and of the imperfect (with the exception of ta-prefixed derived forms, where it is /a/), /i/. All the other vowels in the stem are low.¹¹ (In open syllable the vowels are subject to raising or deletion, according to the rules given earlier, of course.) In what follows, in order to save on space, only representative forms of the conjugation are given. In the perfect these include 3 m.s.; a form with a vowel subject marker (i.e. 3 f.s., 3 m.p., or 3 f.p.); and a form with a consonant subject marker (one of the remaining forms). In the

¹⁰ With exceptions to be noted in following sections, this process of Low Vowel Insertion is at work whenever there is the environment—*aXO*—where *X* is a guttural. Additional cases of this environment are the following: (1) nouns of the pattern *CaXC(at)*, e.g. /n9ajat/ 'ewe' not */na9jat/ (cf. /cabdat/ 'liver'); (2) the m.s. of adjectives of colour and defect of the pattern *?aXCaC*, e.g. /hamar/ 'red' not */?ahmar/ (cf. /?azrag/ 'blue'); (3) the f.s. of adjectives of colour and defect, of the pattern *CaXCa*, e.g. /dhama/ 'brown' not */dahma/ (cf. /hamra/ 'red'); and (4) passive participles of the form *maXCūC*, e.g. /mhabūs/ 'imprisoned' not */mahbūs/ (cf. /maftūh/ 'open'). Cantineau in *Etudes*, III, 167-170, reported this same phenomenon as did others, like Blanc (who calls it 'the *ghawa* syndrome'), but they did not note the exceptions given below. The evidence for insertion rather than some other process, say Metathesis, has not been given here in the interest of brevity.

¹¹ The initial vowel in the perfect of forms VII-X is prosthetic, is always high, and is thus not part of the stem.

imperfect they include a form (or more) without a suffix (3 m.s., 3 f.s., 2 m.s., 1 s., or 1 p.); and one (or more) with a suffix.

Form II: CaC_2C_2aC

Perfect		Imperfect	
3 m.s.	labbas	‘dress (s.o.)’	3 f.s. tlabbis
3 m.p.	labbisaw		2 f.s. tlabbsin
2 m.s.	labbast		1 s. ?alabbis

Form III: $CāCaC$

3 m.s.	hājam	‘attack’	2 f.s. thājim
3 m.p.	hājimaw		2 f.s. thājimīn
2 m.s.	hājamt		1 s. ?ahājim

Form IV: $?aCCaC$

Unlike other dialects, Najdi uses this form very productively.

3 m.s.	?arsal	‘send’	3 f.s. tirsil
3 m.p.	?arsalaw		2 f.s. tirsilīn
2 m.s.	?arsalt		1 s. ?arsil

Form V/VI: $taCaCCaC/taCāCaC$

The imperfect forms of these differ from imperfect forms of other verbs in three respects: (1) the stem vowel is /a/, not /i/, though the active participle has /i/ (see 2.5 below), which suggests that /i/ must be considered as a stage in their derivation (thus, it is clear all derived verbs undergo Ablaut); (2) the m.p., 2 f.s., and f.p. suffixes are /-ōn, -ēn, -an/ rather than /-ūn, -īn, -in/, respectively; and (3) as in some classical usage, attested in the Qur’ān, a *haplology* process is at work reducing a sequence of t(V)ta>ta.²² Examples are given below. (The full paradigm of the imperfect is given for comparison.)

		Perfect		
3 m.s.	tizawwaj	‘get married’ tanaššaf	‘dry oneself’ tigāsam	‘share’
3 m.p.	tizawwijaw	tanaššifaw	tigāsīmaw	
1 s.	tizawwajt	tanaššaft	tigāsamt	
		Imperfect		
3 m.s.	ytizawwaj	ytanaššaf	ytigāsam	
3 f.s.	tizawwaj	tanaššaf	tigāsam	
3 m.p.	ytizawwijōn	ytanaššifōn	ytigāsīmōn	
3 f.p.	ytizawwijān	ytanaššifān	ytigāsīman	
2 m.s.	tizawwaj	tanaššaf	tigāsam	
2 f.s.	tizawwijēn	tanaššifēn	tigāsīmēn	
2 m.p.	tizawwijōn	tanaššifōn	tigāsīmōn	
2 f.p.	tizawwijān	tanaššifān	tigāsīman	
1 s.	?atizawwaj	?atanaššaf	?atigāsam	
1 p.	ntizawwaj	ntanaššaf	ntigāsam	

It is clear from these examples that the derivational prefix, i.e. the one closest to the stem, is /ta-/, with a low vowel, which is raised by Low Vowel Raising

²² As explained later, if there is a V in the imperfect prefix, in this environment it will delete either by High Vowel Deletion (for V = i), or by Low Vowel Deletion (for V = a). In any case an initial double consonant is produced, which must then be shortened.

in /tizawwaj/ but not in /tanaššaf/, because in the latter it precedes a resonant which itself is followed by a low vowel.

Form VII/VIII: ʔinCaCaC/ʔiCtaCal

	Perfect		Imperfect
3 m.s.	ʔinkisar	'got broken'	3 f.s. tinkisir
3 m.p.	ʔinksaraw		2 f.s. tinkasrīn
2 m.s.	ʔinkisart		1 s. ʔankisir
3 m.s.	(ʔi)stalam	'receive'	3 f.s. tistilim
3 m.p.	(ʔi)stlimaw		2 f.s. tistalmīn
2 m.s.	(ʔi)stalamt ¹³		1 s. ʔastilim

As can be readily seen, the 3 m.p. perfect forms illustrate the Low Vowel Deletion rule given above.

Form IX: $\text{ʔiC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3\text{C}_4$

Here are some examples:

ʔihmarr, yihmarr	'turn red'
ʔi9wajj, yi9wajj	'become crooked'

(The paradigms will be discussed further below under double verbs.)

Form X: $(\text{ʔi})\text{staCCaC}$ ¹³

3 m.s.	stagbal	'receive (s.o.)'	3 f.s. tistagbil
3 m.p.	stagbalaw		2 f.s. tistagblīn
2 m.s.	stagbalt		1 s. ʔastagbil

Quadrilateral Verbs

Form I (or QI): $\text{C}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_3\text{aC}_4$

They are of various kinds: (1) some have four different consonants with no apparent relation to a trilateral verb, e.g. /tarjam/ 'translate'; (2) some are related to trilateral verbs, with C_1 , C_2 , C_3 , or C_4 as the incremental consonants, e.g. /šaglab/ 'overturn' (cf. /galab/ 'turn') and /xōzag/ 'do s.o. in' (cf. /xazag/ 'pierce'); and (3) some reduplicate C_1C_2 as C_3C_4 , e.g. /lamlam/ 'gather' (cf. /lamm/ 'gather'). The paradigm is as follows:

	Perfect		Imperfect
3 m.s.	bartal	'bribe'	3 f.s. tbartil
3 m.p.	bartalaw		3 f.s. tbartlīn
2 m.s.	bartalt		1 s. ʔabartil

Form II (or QII): $\text{taC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{C}_3\text{aC}_4$

3 m.s.	talaffslaf	'wrap oneself up'	3 m.s. ytalaffslaf
3 m.p.	talaffslifaw		2 f.s. talaffslifēn
2 m.s.	talaffslaft		2 m.p. talaffslifōn

Note that these behave like forms V, VI (see comments above).

¹³ The initial sequence /st-/ is permissible. The anaptyctic vowel is dropped, unless it is stressed as in /ʔista9add/.

Forms IV (or QIV): $\text{ʔiC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3\text{aC}_4\text{C}_4$

Najdi has a number of verbs of this type. Here are examples:

ʔišmaʔazz	yišmaʔizz	'recoil'
ʔiḏmaḥall	yiḏmaḥill	'fade away'
ʔidlahamm	yidlahimm	'become gloomy'

(The paradigms are discussed below under doubled verbs.)

Other forms

These include two types. The first is a very productive pattern, unknown in Classical Arabic or in any of the non-Najdi dialects. It has the combined prefix /n-/ and /-ta-/ added to forms II, III, and QI (for convenience this unique pattern will be referred to as VII A). It is mostly used in the imperfect. Here are examples:

yintalabbas	'he can/should be dressed, is dressable'
tintigāsimōn	'you (m.p.) are apt to be shared with'
tintibartālēn	'you (f.s.) can be bribed'

Like forms V, VI, and QII, the suffixes of the imperfect are /-ēn, -ōn, -an/. The second type consists of a few verbs which have the form X prefix /sta-/ added to a form II, III, or QI stem. Thus:

ʔistisamkar	'it (m.) was locked'
yistifaggaddōn	'they (m.p.) showed concern for'
tistaxalbiṭēn	'you (f.s.) are confused'

One final note about these non-form I verbs: Post-Guttural Low Vowel Insertion¹⁰ does not apply to any of their forms. Thus:

sta9mal	'use'	not *st9ama
ʔahlak	'destroy'	
gahwa	'give coffee to drink'	
dayday	'bruise'	

2.4. The imperative

The imperative has the stem of the imperfect but differs from it in (1) not having a /n/ in the suffixes of the form - ʔn ; (2) not having the prefix; and (3) having a prosthetic high vowel, where the stem has an unacceptable initial cluster. Here is the full paradigm for form I verbs:

		Type I		Type II
2 m.s.	ʔiskin	‘dwell’	ʔigta9	‘cut’ ʔišrab
f.s.	ʔiskni		ʔigti9i	ʔišribi
m.p.	ʔisknu		ʔigti9u	ʔišribu
f.p.	ʔisknin		ʔigti9in	ʔišribin

It is to be noted that verbs with initial gutturals do not undergo Low Vowel Insertion in the imperative, since the environment for it, -aXC,¹⁰ does not materialize. Thus:

ʔihjim	'attack (m.)'	not *hajim cf. impf. thaḡim
ʔihjmi	'attack (f.)'	thaḡmi

As for the imperative of verbs other than form I, the following additional remarks apply: (1) form IV verbs maintain their typical /ʔa-/ prefix, which as was shown earlier, does not appear in the imperfect, e.g.:

m.s.	ʔarsil	'send'	cf. impf. tirsil
f.s.	ʔarsli		tirsiln
m.p.	ʔarslu		
f.p.	ʔarslin		

and (2) all verbs, including those which, like forms V and VI, have /-ən, -ōn/ suffixes in the imperfect, have the high vowel in the imperative, e.g.:

m.s.	tizawwaj	'get married'	
f.s.	tizawwiḡi		not *tizawwijay
m.p.	tizawwiḡu		
f.p.	tizawwiḡin		

Here are other examples:

m.s.	labbis	'dress'	ʔistlim	'receive'	stagbil	'welcome'
f.s.	labbsi		stlimi		stagbli	

2.5. The active participle

The active participle of form I verbs has the canonical shape *CāCiC*. Here are examples with the full paradigm:

m.s.	sākin	'dwelling'	kāsir	'breaking'
f.s.	sāknat		kāsrat	
m.p.	sāknīn		kāsrīn	
f.p.	sāknāt		kāsrāt	

The active participle of other forms is obtained by prefixing /m(i)/ to the imperfect stem (the vowel of this prefix, if any, is the same as that of the imperfect prefix and is discussed in section 8.2 below); the stem vowel is always /i/, even for forms V, VI and QI, which suggests that /i/ must be considered as a stage in the derivation of these verbs. Here are examples:

m.s.	mirsil	'sending'	mtigāsīm	'sharing'	mi9tibir	'respecting'
f.s.	mirslat		mtigāsmat		mi9tabrat	
m.p.	mirslīn		mtigāsmīn		mi9tabrīn	
f.p.	mirslāt		mtigāsmāt		mi9tabrāt	

3. STRONG VERBS: PASSIVE

3.1. Perfect-imperfect

One of the dialect's most salient features, which is widespread in the Najd, is the preservation of the passive by internal vocalic change as a productive formation. Thus, in this dialect there is a threefold distinction:

kisar	'he broke'	
ʔinkisar	'it got broken'	(as by some outside unspecified force)
ksir	'it was broken'	(as by an outside agency known but not indicated, or unknown)

In the passive, (1) the vowel(s) (the stem vowel and other vowels, if any) of the perfect is/are high, and that/those of the imperfect stem, low (again subject to raising and deletion rules in the proper environments); (2) Ablaut is thus operative; and (3) the imperfect suffixes are always /-ēn, -ōn, -an/, not /-in, -ün, -in/. Below are representative forms (3 m.s., 3 m.p., and 1 s., in that order) of the passive paradigm. (The active is given in some cases for purposes of comparison.)

Form I

Perfect			Imperfect	
ACTIVE	PASSIVE		ACTIVE	PASSIVE
kital	ktil ¹⁴	'kill'	yaktil	yiktal
ktalaw	kitlaw		yaktilün	yiktalōn
kitalt	kitilt		?aktil	?aktal
ħabas	ħbis	'imprison'	yħabis	yihbas ¹⁵
ħbasaw	ħbasaw		yħabstün	yihbisēn
ħabasna	ħbisna		?aħabis	?aħbas
simi9	smi9	'hear'	yasma9	yisma9
sam9aw	sim9aw		yasmi9ün	yisma9ōn
simi9t	smi9t		?asma9	?asma9

Form II

labbas	libbis	'dress'	ylabbis	ylabbas
	libbsaw			ylabbisōn
	libbist			?alabbas

Form III

9aalaj	9iilij	'treat'	y9aalij	y9aalaj
	9iiljaw			y9aalijōn
	9iilijt			?e9aalaj

Form IV

?arsal	?irsil	'send'	yirsil	yirsal
	?irslaw			yirsalōn
	?irsilt			?ersal

Form VI

Perfect			Imperfect	
ACTIVE	PASSIVE		ACTIVE	PASSIVE
tigāsam	tgīsīm	'share'	ytigāsam	yigāsam
	tgīsīmaw			yigāsīmōn
	tgīsīmt			?etigāsam

¹⁴ The paradigms suggest that the canonical shape of the passive of form I is *CiCiC*. (It will be shown later that at some level we have to assume it is *CuCiC*.) The vowel in the open syllable deletes by High Vowel Deletion, giving /ktil, kitilt/ (instead of */ktil/ and */kitilt/). The form /kitlaw/ (instead of */kiulaw/) suggests that High Vowel Deletion first applies to the first vowel from the left (leaving the second vowel in closed syllable and thus not subject to deletion), then presumably to others in a left to right direction.

¹⁵ Post Guttural Low Vowel Insertion does not apply since the guttural is preceded by a high vowel.

Form VIII

ʔi9tibar	ʔi9tbir	'consider'	yi9tibir	yi9tibar
ʔi9tbaraw	ʔi9tibraw		yi9tabrūn	yi9tbarōn
ʔi9tibart	ʔi9tbirt		ʔa9tibir	ʔa9tibar

Form X

stagbal	stigbil	'welcome'	yistagbil	yistagbal
stagbalaw	stigblaw		yistagblūn	yistagbalōn
stagbalt	stigbilt		ʔastagbil	ʔastagbal

3.2. *The passive participle*

The passive participle of Form I has the canonical shape *maCCūC*. Thus :

m.s.	maksūr	'broken'	mḥabūs	'imprisoned'
f.s.	maksūrat		mḥabūsāt	
m.p.	maksūrīn		mḥabūsīn	
f.p.	maksūrāt		mḥabūsāt	

The passive participle of other forms is obtained by prefixing /m(i)/ to the passive imperfect stem. Thus :

m.s.	m9ālaḥ	'treated'	mi9tibar	'respected'
f.s.	m9ālijat		mi9tbarat	
m.p.	m9ālijīn		mi9tbarīn	
f.p.	m9ālijāt		mi9tbarāt	

4. FINAL-WEAK (OR LAME) VERBS

These are verbs with roots having a glide (i.e. /y/ or /w/) for their last consonant. The nature of the glide is determined in most cases through the form of the verbal noun or other derivations. As in other dialects of Arabic, however, final /w/ verbs behave like verbs with final /y/ in their conjugational paradigms ; but some differences will be indicated below.

4.1. *Form I: perfect*

The three subtypes of the strong verbs, *CaCaC*, *CaCiC*, and *CiCiC* (the first two, it will be remembered, are for the active, and the last, for the passive) exist for lame verbs as *CaCa*, *CaCi*, and *CiCi*, respectively, with the first vowel raised or deleted when appropriate. Here are examples with the full paradigm :

	Active			Passive	
3 m.s.	šifa	'heal' nisi	'forget' šfi	'be healed' nsi	'be forgotten'
f.s.	šifat	nasyat	šifyat	nisyat	
m.p.	šifaw	nasyaw	šifyaw	nisyaw	
f.p.	šifan	nasyan	šifyan	nisyan	
2 m.s.	šifēt	nisīt	šfīt	nsīt	
f.s.	šifēti	nisīti	šfīti	nsīti	
m.p.	šifētu	nisītu	šfītu	nsītu	
f.p.	šifētīn	nisītīn	šfītīn	nsītīn	
1 s.	šifēt	nisīt	šfīt	nsīt	
1 p.	šifēna	nisīna	šfīna	nsīna	

4.2. *Form I: imperfect*

As with strong verbs, (1) the first vowel is dropped in the imperfect, (2) Ablaut applies (i.e. the stem vowel of the imperfect bears an inverse height relationship to that of the perfect), as is readily seen in the imperfect of the aforementioned verbs, whose full paradigms are given below

	Active		Passive	
3 m.s.	yašfi	yansa	yišfa	yina
f.s.	tašfi	tansa	tišfa	tina
m.p.	yašfūn	yansōn	yišfōn	yinaōn
f.p.	yašfin	yansan	yišfan	yinsan
2 m.s.	tašfi	tansa	tišfa	tina
f.s.	tašfīn	tansēn	tišfēn	tinsēn
m.p.	tašfūn	tansōn	tišfōn	tinaōn
f.p.	tašfin	tansan	tišfan	tinsan
1 s.	ʔašfi	ʔansa	ʔašfa	ʔana
1 p.	našfi	nansa	nišfa	nina

(3) Guttural Assimilation operates, when the second consonant is a guttural:

naha, yanha	'forbid'	ra9a, yar9a	'graze'
ʔaya, yaʔya	'be tyrannical'	sa9a, yas9a	'perform ritual walk during pilgrimage'

and (4) Low Vowel Insertion, under the conditions specified earlier,¹⁰ also applies:

xaši, yxaša	'fear'		
yaza, yʔazi	'raid'	but yzi, yiʔza	'be raided'
hana, yhani	'bend'	but hni, yiḥna	'be bent'
hayi, yhaya	'live'		
9afa, y9afi	'pardon'	but 9fi, yi9fa	'be pardoned'
9ami, y9ama	'be blind'		
hawa, yhawī	'love'	but hwi, yihwa	'be loved'

Unlike strong verbs, however, the suffixes of the imperfect, as is seen in the examples above, are /-an, -ēn, -ōn/, rather than /-in, -īn, -ūn/, even in the active, when the stem vowel is low. In the passive, of course, it is the former set in all cases. Thus:

tašfīn	'you (f.s.) heal'	tišfēn	'you (f.s.) are healed'
tansēn	'you (f.s.) forget'	tinsēn	'you (f.s.) are forgotten'

There are two small, though interesting, classes of verbs which are exceptions to (2) and (3) above.¹¹ The first of these consists of a few verbs which do not undergo Ablaut:

mala, yamla	'fill'
gara, yagra	'read'
wiṭa, yāṭa	'trample; copulate'
hada, yhada	'become calm', cf. hada, yhadi 'guide'
ḏara, yaḏra	'sow seed'

¹⁰ In addition, there are a few individual exceptions: /diri, yadri/ 'come to know', /risi, yarsi/ 'anchor', /wi9a, yā9i/ 'be aware'.

It will be noticed that these are verbs which in the classical language have a final glottal stop. The second class consists of a few verbs which should undergo Guttural Assimilation but do not:

saha, yashi	'be distracted'	v.n. shawat
da9a, yad9i	'invite; invoke God'	v.n. d9awat
ṣaḥa, yaṣhi	'awake'	v.n. ṣhawat
ṭaya, yaṭyi	'bleat'	v.n. ṭyawat
raya, yaryi	'bray (camel)'	v.n. ryawat

All these verbs have /w/ for their last consonant, as shown by their verbal nouns (v.n.). It will be remembered that *w*-final verbs in the classical language do not undergo Guttural Assimilation, either.

4.3. Other forms: perfect and imperfect

For verbs other than form I, the active and passive perfect vowels are /a/ and /i/, respectively, in all cases; these verbs conjugate like /ṣifa/ and /ṣfi/:

3 m.s.	ʔahda	'give a gift'	samma	'name'	tigaffa	'follow'
3 m.p.	ʔahdaw		sammaw		tigaffaw	
1 s.	ʔahdēt		sammēt		tigaffēt	

but, in the passive:

3 m.s.	ʔihdi	simmi	tǧiffi ¹⁷
3 m.p.	ʔihdyaw	simmyaw	tǧiffyaw
1 s.	ʔihdīt	simmīt	tǧiffīt

The active imperfect stem vowel is /i/, again except for forms with /ta-/ prefix, where it is /a/; the former conjugate like /yaṣfi/, and the latter, like /yansa/. The passive imperfect stem vowel is always /a/. The other vowel(s) in the stem is/are low. Thus, in the active:

3 m.s.	yihdi	'give a gift'	ysammi	'name'	ytigaffa	'follow'
3 m.p.	yihdūn		ysammūn		ytigaffōn	
2 f.s.	tihdīn		tsammīn		tigaffēn	

but, in the passive:

3 m.s.	yihda	ysamma	ytigaffa
3 m.p.	yihdōn	ysammōn	ytigaffōn
2 f.s.	tihdēn	tsammēn	tigaffēn

4.4. The imperative

There are two major points which should be noted in regard to the imperative of final-weak verbs. (1) The m.s. form has no final vowel. No short vowel appears, either, when object pronouns are affixed:

taṣfi	'you (m.s.) heal'	tansa	'you (m.s.) forget'	tḥani	'you (m.s.) bend'
ʔiṣf	'heal'	ʔins	'forget'	ʔihn	'bend'
ʔiṣfah	'heal her'	ʔinsan	'forget me'	ʔihnah	'bend her'

¹⁷ The vowel of the prefix is dropped, being a high vowel; in the active, the vowel is low and is thus maintained but raised.

tiḥdi	'you (m.s.) give'	tsammi	'you (m.s.) name'	tigaffa	'you follow'
ʔahd	'give'	samm	'name'	tigaff	'follow'
ʔahdah	'give her'	sammah	'name her'	tigaffah	'follow her'

(2) As in the case with the strong verb the f.s. and m.p. suffixes have no /n/ in the imperative; for /-ī, -ū/, the final vowel shortens, but for /-ē, -ō/, the suffix is the corresponding diphthong. The f.p. suffix of the imperative is the same as that of the imperfect. Thus:

f.s.	ʔahdi	'give'	sammi	'name'	tigaffay	'follow'
m.p.	ʔahdu		sammu		tigaffaw	
f.p.	ʔahdin		sammin		tigaffan	
f.s.	ʔišī	'heal'	ʔinsay	'forget'	ʔihni	'bend'
m.p.	ʔišū		ʔinsaw		ʔihnu	
f.p.	ʔišān		ʔinsan		ʔihnin	

4.5. *The participle*

The participles are formed according to the patterns of the strong verbs. Here are examples; full paradigms are given to show what happens to the final glide (which is /y/ in all cases):

	Active		Passive	
Form I				
m.s.	nāsi	‘ forgetting ’	mansi	‘ forgotten ’
f.s.	nāsyat		mansiyyat	
m.p.	nāsīn		mansiyyīn	
f.p.	nāsyāt		mansiyyāt	
Form II				
m.s.	msammi	‘ naming ’	msamma	‘ named ’
f.s.	msammyat		msammāt	
m.p.	msammīn		msammēn	
f.p.	msammyāt		msammiyāt	
Form IV				
m.s.	mihdi	‘ giving a gift ’	mihda	‘ given a gift ’
f.s.	mihdyat		mihdāt	
m.p.	mihdīn		mihdēn	
f.p.	mihdyāt		mihdiyāt	
Form VIII				
m.s.	migtini	‘ purchasing ’	migtana	‘ purchased ’
f.s.	migtanyat		migtanāt	
m.p.	migtinīn		migtanēn	
f.p.	migtanyāt		migtaniyāt	

4.6. *Summary of final-weak verbs*

The behaviour of the glide depends on (i) the type of suffix which is added to the stem, and (ii) the quality of the vowel that precedes it. Here is a chart

that summarizes the statements given above (*G* is glide, *R* the rest of the word):

	Verbs (perfect, imperfect)	Participles	Imperative	
	<i>RaG</i> —	<i>RiG</i> —	<i>RaG</i> —	<i>RiG</i> —
	<i>Ra</i>	<i>Ri</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
ø				
-at	Rat (verbs)	Ryat		
-at	Rāt (non-verbs)	Ryat		
-āt	Rayāt	Ryāt		
-aw/an	Raw/Ran	Ryaw/Ryan		
-in	Ran	Rin	Ran	Rin
-īn	Rēn	Rīn	Ray	Ri
-ūn	Rōn	Rūn	Raw	Ru
-C(<i>V</i> (C))	RāC (<i>V</i> (C))	RiC (<i>V</i> (C))		

5. *Hollow verbs*

These are verbs that appear with (mostly) a long or a short vowel between the first and the third consonant. The evidence for a middle glide is the fact that such a glide does appear in various derivations of the root, which thus determines its nature, i.e. whether it is a /w/ or a /y/.

5.1. *Form I: perfect-imperfect*

In the active, the perfect stem has the form *CāC* with vowel-initial and *CīC* (for both /w/ and /y/ verbs, since the distinction /u-i/ is neutralized) with consonant-initial subject markers. By far the large majority have their imperfect stems as *-CūC* or *CīC* (for medial /w/ or /y/, respectively). Here are examples with representative principal forms:

Perfect	3 m.s.	jāb	‘bring’	zār	‘visit’
	3 m.p.	jābaw		zāraw	
	1 p.	jībna		zirna	
Imperfect	3 m.s.	yijīb		yizūr	
	3 f.s.	tijībīn		tizūrīn	
	1 s.	ʔajīb		ʔazūr	

Since the vowel of the imperfect is completely determined by the glide, Guttural Assimilation is inoperative in hollow verbs. Note:

rāh	yirūh	‘go’
bā9	yibī9	‘sell’

There are only a few examples of verbs with imperfect stem *-CāC*. These are:

nām	yanām	‘sleep’
xāf	yaxāf	‘be afraid of’
9āf	ya9āf	‘get tired of’

In the passive, the perfect stem has the form *-CīC* with all subject markers, but with consonant-initial subject markers, a surprising stem increment *-ī-*

appears. The imperfect stem is *-CāC*, and the suffixes are the now familiar */-ēn, -ōn, -an/*. Here are examples with full paradigms:

	Perfect	Imperfect		Perfect	Imperfect	
3 m.s.	jīb	yjāb	‘ be brought ’	šif	yšāf	‘ be seen ’
f.s.	jībat	tjāb		šifat	tšāf	
m.p.	jībaw	yjābōn		šifaw	yšāfōn	
f.p.	jīban	yjāban		šifan	yšāfan	
2 m.s.	jībīt	tjāb		šifit	tšāf	
f.s.	jībīti	tjābēn		šifiti	tšāfēn	
m.p.	jībītu	tjābōn		šifitu	tšāfōn	
f.p.	jībītīn	tjāban		šifitin	tšāfan	
1 s.	jībīt	ʔajāb		šifit	ʔašēf	
1 p.	jībīna	njāb		šifina	nšāf	

5.2. Other forms: perfect-imperfect

In the perfect, the active stem has a long */-ā-/*, the passive, a long */-ī-/*, between the first and last consonants.¹⁸ With subject markers that are consonant-initial, the former shortens, while the latter has the stem increment */-ī-/* added:

	Active		Passive
3 m.s.	ʔabād	'annihilate'	bīd ¹⁹
3 m.p.	ʔabādaw		bīdaw
1 p.	ʔabadna		bīdīna
3 m.s.	xtār	'choose'	xtīr
3 m.p.	xtāraw		xtīraw
1 p.	xtarna		xtīrīna
3 m.s.	stišār	'consult'	stšīr
3 m.p.	stišāraw		stšīraw
1 p.	stišarna		stšīrīna

In the imperfect, the active stems of forms IV and X have a long */-ī-/*, and of forms VII and VIII, a long */-ā-/*; the passive stems have a long */-ā-/* throughout:

	Active		Passive
3 m.s.	ybīd	'annihilate'	ybād
3 m.p.	ybīdūn		ybādōn
3 m.s.	yixtār	'choose'	yixtār
3 m.p.	yixtārūn		yixtārōn
3 m.s.	yistišīr	'consult'	yistišār
3 m.p.	yistišīrūn		yistišārōn

¹⁸ It is of course understood that these remarks do not apply to forms II, III and their derivatives, which behave like strong verbs.

¹⁹ The vowel of the derivational prefix is in open syllable, and, being high, is deleted. The hamza, left vowelless, is also deleted. The passive stems of hollow verbs of forms IV and I thus have the same canonical shapes.

5.3. *The imperative of hollow verbs*

The imperative has the stem of the imperfect, as with the strong verb. There is one important difference: the suffixless form (i.e. 3 m.s.) has a short vowel in the imperative. Here are examples:

	jāb, yijīb 'bring'	zār, yizūr 'visit'	šāf, yišūf 'see'
m.s.	jīb	zir	šif
f.s.	jibi	zūri	šūfils
m.p.	jibu	zūru	šūfu
f.p.	jibin	zūrin	šūfiln

The three verbs with -CāC for their imperfect stems have surprisingly different stems in the imperative. Thus:

	nām, yanām 'sleep'	xāf, yaxāf 'be afraid'	9āf, ya9āf 'get tired of'
m.s.	nīm	xif	9if
f.s.	nīmi	xūfils	9īfils
m.p.	nīmu	xūfu	9īfu
f.p.	nīmin	xūfiln	9īfiln

Here are examples of derived hollow verbs:

	ʔabād, yibīd 'annihilate'	ʔi9tād, yi9tād 'get used'	stijār, yistijir 'seek refuge'
m.s.	ʔabid	ʔi9tad	ʔistijir
f.s.	ʔabīdi	ʔi9tādi	stijiri
m.p.	ʔabīdu	ʔi9tādu	stijiru
f.s.	ʔabīdin	ʔi9tādin	stijirin

5.4. *The participles*

The active and passive participles of form I have the canonical shape CāyīC and maCCūC respectively. For other forms, they are obtained by prefixing /m(i)/ to the imperfect stem. Here are examples:

	Active	Passive
Form I	jāyib	majyūb
Form IV	mbīd	mbād
Form VIII	mixtār	mixtār
Form X	mistišir	mistišār

5.5. *Summary of hollow verbs*

Here is a chart that gives the stems of the various forms of the hollow verb:

Form	Perfect		Active Imperf.		Imperative		Passive Perfect		Imperf.
	3rd		all				3rd		all
	pers.	others	persons	m.s.	others		pers.	others	persons
I	CāC	CiC	CiC	CiC	CiC		CiC	CiCi	CāC
	CāC	CiC	CūC	CiC	CūC		CiC	CiCi	CāC
	CāC	CiC	CāC	CiC	CiC		CiC	CiCi	CāC
	CāC	CiC	CāC	CiC	CūC		CiC	CiCi	CāC
IV	ʔaCāC	ʔaCaC	CiC	ʔaCiC	ʔaCiC		CiC	CiCi	CāC
VIII	CtāC	CtaC	CtāC	CtaC	CtāC		CtāC	CtāCi	CtāC
X	staCāC	staCaC	staCiC	staCiC	staCiC		stCiC	stCiCi	stīCāC

6. *Doubled verbs*

These are verbs whose second and third consonants are identical and whose forms show no vowel between them.

6.1. *The perfect (all forms)*²⁰

In the active, the perfect stem has an /a/ before the double consonants, and in the passive, an /i/. With consonant-initial subject markers, there is a stem increment /-ē-/ for the former, and /-ī-/ for the latter. Thus:

	Active		Passive
3 m.s.	sabb	'curse'	sibb
3 m.p.	sabbaw		sibbaw
1 p.	sabbēna		sibbīna
3 m.s.	ʔa9add	'prepare'	9idd ²¹
3 m.p.	ʔa9addaw		9iddaw
1 p.	ʔa9addēna		9iddīna
3 m.s.	ʔihtall	'occupy'	ʔihtall
3 m.p.	ʔihtallaw		ʔihtallaw
1 p.	ʔihtallēna		ʔihtallīna
3 m.s.	ʔistaradd	'get (s.th.) back'	ʔistridd
3 m.p.	staraddaw		striddaw
1 p.	staraddēna		striddīna

6.2. *The imperfect, imperative, and participles (all forms)*

In the active, the imperfect stem of forms I, IV, and X has an /-i-/ and of the forms VII and VIII, an /-a-/ before the double consonants; in the passive, it has an /-a/:

	Active		Passive
3 f.s.	tisibb	'curse'	tsabb
2 m.p.	tisibbūn		tsabbōn
3 f.s.	ti9idd	'prepare'	t9adċ
2 m.p.	ti9iddūn		t9adċōn
3 f.s.	tihtall	'occupy'	tihtall
2 m.p.	tihtallūn		tihtallōn
3 f.s.	tistiridd	'get (s.th.) back'	tistaraċd
2 m.p.	tistiriddūn		tistaraċdōn

Only a few form I verbs have an /-a-/ in the imperfect e.g.: /ʔall—yiʔall/ 'remain, continue'.

²⁰ The relevant derived verbs are forms IV, VII, VIII, and X, since the others behave exactly like strong verbs.

²¹ The prefix is deleted as with the hollow verbs.¹⁹

The imperative follows from the imperfect. Thus :

	sabb, yisabb 'curse'	ʔa9add, yi9idd 'prepare'	ʔinʕamm, yinʕamm 'join'
m.s.	sibb	ʔa9idd	ʔinʕamm
f.s.	sibbi	ʔa9iddi	ʔinʕammi
	ʔihtall, yihtall 'occupy'	ʔistimarr, yistimirr 'continue'	
m.s.	ihtall	ʔistimirr	
f.s.	ihtalli	ʔistimirri	

The participles are obtained in the regular manner. Note the m.s. active participle of form I is *CāCC*. Thus :

sābb	'cursing'
------	-----------

6.3. Other verbs with final double consonants

Forms IX and QIV, which have a final double consonant, have paradigms similar to those of doubled verbs. (Being intransitive, however, they do not have passive forms.) Thus :

	Perfect		Imperfect
3 m.s.	ʔihmarr	'be red'	yihmarr
3 m.p.	(ʔi)hmarraw		yihmarrōn
1 s.	(ʔi)hmarrēt		ʔahmarr
3 m.s.	ʔišmaʔazz	'recoil'	yišmiʔizz
3 m.p.	(ʔi)šmaʔazzaw		yišmiʔizzūn
1 s.	(ʔi)šmaʔazzēt		ʔašmiʔizz

7. HAMZA-INITIAL AND GLIDE-INITIAL VERBS

These behave like strong verbs except in one environment : when the *hamza* or glide is followed immediately by a consonant. Such is the case in forms I, IV, and X.²²

In the following chart, the first column gives a representative abstraction of *hamza*-initial verbs for I, IV, and X. had they been regular. The second column gives the corresponding actual form. In each case, the 3 m.s. (in the imperative, the 2 m.s.) forms are taken. The order 1 to 5 is active perfect, active imperfect, passive perfect, passive imperfect, and imperative, respectively. The third and fourth columns do the same for *waw*-initial verbs.

Form I

1 ʔaCVC	ʔamar 'command'	wiCVC	wizan 'weigh'
2 ya+ʔCVC	yāmir	ya+wCVC	yāzin
3 ʔCVC	wmir	wCVC	wzin
4 yi+ʔCaC	yūmar	yi+wCaC	yūzan
5 ʔi+ʔCVC	ʔimir	ʔi+wCVC	ʔizin

²² It is also the case in Form VIII verbs, but these are rare. With *waw*-initial verbs, the glide is assimilated to the infix, e.g. /ʔittasāl/ 'got in touch'. With *hamza*-initial verbs, of which there is the example */ʔataman/ 'entrust', the actual form can be surmised from the discussion that follows.

Form IV

1	ʔa+ʔCaC	ʔāḏa	'harm'	ʔa+wCaC	ʔawhaḡ	'light a fire'
2	yi+ʔCiC	yūḏi		yi+wCiC	yūhiḡ	
3	ʔi+ʔCiC	ʔūḏi		ʔi+wCiC	ʔūhiḡ	
4	yi+ʔCaC	yūḏa		yi+wCaC	yūhaḡ	
5	ʔa+ʔCiC	ʔāḏi		ʔa+wCiC	ʔawhiḡ	

Form X

1	sta+ʔCaC	stājar	'rent'	sta+wCaC	stāfa	'get one's due'
2	yi+sta+ʔCiC	yistājir		yi+sta+wCiC	yistāfi	
3	sti+ʔCiC	stījir		sti+wCiC	stīfi	
4	yi+sta+ʔCaC	yistājar		yi+sta+wCaC	yistāfa	
5	sta+ʔCiC	stājir		sta+wCiC	stāf	

7.1. *Hamza-initial verbs*

It is abundantly clear from this chart that the predominant pattern is for the hamza to drop with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: thus, I (2,5), IV (1,5), and X (all examples). In four examples though, this is not the case: the passive imperfect of I and of IV, i.e. I (4) and IV (4); the active imperfect of IV, i.e. IV (2); and the passive perfect of IV, i.e. IV (3). To get the correct forms, one must assume that the preceding vowel in each case is /u/ rather than /i/.

The first three of these examples will have to do with the vowel of the imperfect prefix, which will be discussed in the next section. The fourth suggests the hypothesis that as in Classical Arabic the passive perfect vowel(s) must be /u/ in all but the stem vowel. This is clear for form IV, and seems to be supported for others, i.e. the hypothesis explains (1) the appearance of /w/ not only in I (3) above but also in the whole passive perfect paradigm of form I:

	ʔamar	'order'	ʔasar	'take captive'
3 m.s.	wmir	'be ordered'	wsir	'be taken captive'
3 m.p.	wimraw		wisraw	
1 s.	wmirt		wsirt	

and (2) the anomalous behaviour of some hamza-initial form X verbs which show alternate forms to those given above. Thus, while in X (3) the /i/ is predominant, a few show an /ū/: e.g. /stāman/ 'entrust' (root ʔ m n) has the form /stūmin/ in the passive perfect, while the verb /stānas/ 'find pleasure in' (root ʔ n s) has both /stīnis/ and /stūnis/. Historically, this situation must have been more prevalent.

The forms of the participles follow immediately from the above discussion. Here are examples:

		Active		Passive
Form I	ʔāmir	'commanding'	māmūr	'commanded'
IV	mūḏi	'harming'	mūḏa	'harmed'
X	mistājir	'renting'	mistājar	'rented'

Another fact about hamza-initial verbs is that some (but by no means all) show alternation with /w/ in some of their forms, especially intervocalically. Thus:

ʔaxxar	'delay'	but	yiwxaxir
ʔarrax	'date s.t.'	but	yiwarrix, yintiwarraḡ
ʔanis	'be pleased'	but	wannas, tiwannas
ʔaddab	'discipline'	but	yiwaddib

The example /wannas/ might explain the form /stūnis/ 'found pleasure in' above, but it must be pointed out that this alternation of /w/ and /ʔ/ is not possible everywhere. Thus the root ʔ m n is found exclusively with a hamza in all occurrences, and the alternation cannot explain /stūmin/. Other such examples are the roots /ʔ j r, ʔ s f, ʔ t y, ʔ ʕ n/.

Finally, the two verbs /ʔakal/ 'eat' and /ʔaxaḡ/ 'take' are aberrant. Thus, while the regular paradigm /ʔakal, yākil/ and /ʔaxaḡ, yāxiḡ/ occurs, the imperative forms are /kil, xiḡ/. The interesting point is that these unusual imperatives, being similar to the imperative of hollow verbs, are so interpreted, with the result that the other forms of the imperative are:

f.s.	kūli	'eat'	xūḡi	'take'
m.p.	kūlu		xūḡu	
f.p.	kūlin		xūḡin	

Moreover, a very common alternative to the perfect /ʔakal, ʔaxaḡ/ are the forms /kala, xaḡa/, which are conjugated like final weak verbs:

3 m.s.	kala	xaḡa
3 m.p.	kalaw	xaḡaw
1 s.	kalēt	xaḡēt

The imperfect forms, however, are one and the same: /yākil, yāxiḡ/.

The participles are regular: /ʔākil, mākul/.

7.2. WāW-initial verbs ²³

Referring to the chart once again, one notices several points. (1) The potential sequence *i+u* has two actual reflexes: (i) /ū/ in I (4), IV (2, 3, and 4), and (ii) /i/, elsewhere. If we assume, as in the preceding section, that, in the cases where /ū/ occurs the vowel that precedes /w/ is /u/, not /i/, then the paradox is solved; *u+u* is actualized as /ū/, and *i+u* as /i/. (2) The apparent sequence *a+u* also has two actual reflexes: (i) /aw/ in IV (1,5); and (ii) /ā/ elsewhere.²⁴

For some verbs of form IV, /aw/ is also actualized as /ō/:

ʔōfa	'fulfil (a promise)'
ʔōlam	'make a feast'
ʔōma	'beckon'

but

ʔawga9	'let fall'
ʔawgaf	'stop'

²³ Verbs which are yāʔ- initial verbs are very few. The most commonly used are /yibis/ 'dry up', and /yitim/ 'become orphan'. The forms of the first, for example, are /yābas/ in the imperfect and /ʔibas/ in the imperative.

²⁴ It is obvious that /aw/ has been maintained in form IV verbs in order to preserve the integrity of these verbs as members of a separate class, as they otherwise would fall together with form III verbs.

The occurrence of the long vowel /ō/, rather than the diphthong /aw/, is the rule within words:

sōlaf	'tell a story'	cf. siwālif	'stories'
lōh	'board'	cf. lwāh	'boards'

Actually, from form I and IV alone, it seems clear that /aw/ occurs within a stem, i.e. basic stem and derivational affixes, while /ā/ occurs outside it, i.e. with imperfect prefixes. That this is so is indicated by the survival for Form X, in some verbs at least, of examples that maintain /aw/ rather than /ā/. Thus, for the verb /stāla/ 'take possession of', there exist the following forms:

Form X

1	stāla	and also	stōla ~ stawla
2	yistāli		yistōli ~ yistawli
3	stīli		stūli
4	yistāla		yistōla ~ yistawla
5	stāl		stōl ~ stawl

The same holds true for /stārad/ 'import', /stāraθ/ 'get an inheritance'.

The example /ʔūhig/ (form IV (3)) supports the hypothesis that the passive perfect stem had /u/ in all but the last vowel. So would the form /stūli/ above in X (3). Further evidence can be found in quadriliterals whose second consonant is /w/. Thus:

sōlaf	'tell (a story)'
sūlif	'it was told'

The alternation active /ā/—passive /ī/ is of course well grounded in the language in that it occurs with hollow verbs, e.g. /šāf : šif/, and with all Form III and VI verbs, e.g. /sānad : sinid/, /tigāsam : tgīsīm/.

The participles of waw-initial verbs are as follows:

	Active	Passive
Form I	wāzin 'weighing'	māzūn 'weighed'
IV	mūgid 'lighting'	mūgad 'lighted'
X	mistāfisi 'getting one's due'	mistāfa 'gotten (as of a right)'

Finally, quadrilateral verbs with $C_2 = /y/$ and $/w/$ exist. Their forms are:

Form QI

1	hēlam 'bluff'	sōlaf 'tell (a story)'
2	yhēlim	ysōlif
3	hīlim	sūlif
4	yhēlam	ysōlaf
5	hēlim	sōlif

8. SUBJECT MARKERS

8.1. Subject markers of the perfect

(1) 3 f.s.: The form to which suffixes are added, i.e. the bound form, is /-at/. With no suffixes, i.e. in the free form, the /t/ is surprisingly dropped

and sometimes replaced with a slightly perceptible /h/, and the vowel is raised to the lower mid vowel [e] (which is referred to as *ʔimāla*). Thus :

šāfatham	‘ she saw them ’
šāfe(h)	‘ she saw ’

This phenomenon is known to occur in many dialects with the free form of most feminine and certain plural (e.g. *ʔaCCiCa*) nouns, participles, and adjectives, but unlike most other Arabic dialects, *ʔimāla* in this dialect occurs no matter what the adjacent consonant is, i.e. even next to a guttural or emphatic.²⁵ Only words ending in an /-a/ which does not alternate with /-at/ (this /-a/ corresponds to Classical Arabic endings /-ā/ or /-āʔ/) are not subject to *ʔimāla*. Thus :

	bgare(h)	‘ a cow ’
	smīne(h)	‘ fat ’
	bgaratham	‘ their cow ’
	bgirtin ²⁶ smīne(h)	‘ a fat cow ’
	bgirtin smīnitin balhāl	‘ a very fat cow ’
	jabhe(h)	‘ brow ’
	rft9e(h)	‘ thin ’
but	diwa (cf. diwāham)	‘ medicine ’
	sima (cf. simāham)	‘ sky ’
	hamra	‘ red (f.) ’
	dhama	‘ brown (colour of a camel’s lips) ’

It is to be noted that the bound form of the f.p. suffix of adjectives, participles, and many nouns is /-āt/. In the free form, the /t/ is replaced with /y/ in this dialect (a feature reported by some of the ancient Arab grammarians). Thus :

	bgarāti	‘ my cows ’
but	bgarāy	‘ cows ’
	smīnātīn balhāl	‘ very fat (f.p.) ’
	smīnāy	‘ fat (f.p.) ’
(2) 3 m.p. :	The form is /-aw/ in final position. Thus :	
	ktalaw	‘ they killed ’
	kitlaw	‘ they were killed ’
(3) 3 f.p. :	The form is /-an/. Thus :	
	ktiban	‘ they (f.) wrote ’
	jāban	‘ they (f.) brought ’

²⁵ The dropping of the /t/ of the 3 f.s. subject marker in verbs and *ʔimāla* have been reported by Cantineau (*Études*, III, 132, 149) for the speech of the Šammari nomads, many of whom live in the vicinity of Ḥāyil; they do not seem to occur anywhere else. It is to be noted that the *ʔimāla* vowel [e] behaves like the low vowel in that, e.g., if preceded by a sonorant or guttural which in turn is preceded by a low vowel, this low vowel is not subject to raising. Thus :

	ktale(h)	‘ she killed ’	xda9e(h)	‘ she deceived ’
	ktalah	‘ he killed her ’	xda9ah	‘ he deceived her ’
of.	ktāluh	‘ he killed him ’	xdi9uh	‘ he deceived him ’

For convenience, the f.s. marker for verbs and nouns has been marked as /-at/ in most examples in the paper. It should be remembered that except in bound form, it is always pronounced /e(h)/.

²⁶ The *tanwin* marker /in/ appears on indefinite nouns, adjectives, and participles, singular and plural, when not in pausal form. Its use is more or less consistent.

(4) 2nd and 1st persons :

2 m.s.	-t
2 f.s.	-ti
2 m.p.	-tu
2 f.p.	-tin
1 s.	-t
1 p.	-na

(5) 3 m.s. : This form has no marker. The verb form may end in a vowel (final-weak verbs) or a consonant (elsewhere).

8.2. *Prefixes of the imperfect*

From the many examples that have preceded, two facts can be gleaned.

(1) The 1 s. prefix is always /ʔa-/, active or passive, in open or closed syllable (i.e. the vowel is not raised by the Low Vowel Raising rule, since it is in the same syllable with a laryngeal, but neither is it ever deleted by the Low Vowel Deletion rule even when conditions for deletion obtain). (2) For the other persons, the consonantal part of the imperfect prefix is :

y- for 3 m. (s. and p.) and 3 f.p.
t- for 3 f.s. and 2nd (all persons)
n- for 1 p.

The prefix, in addition, may or may not have a vowel. The details are as follows (*P* is the cover symbol for the consonantal part of prefix) :

Form I

In the active the prefix is :

Pa with -CCV(C), but PCaCV(C) when the first consonant is a guttural, e.g. /sikan, yaskin/ 'dwell', /xadam, yxadam/ 'serve'.

Pā with *wāw*- or *hamza*-initial verbs, e.g. /wizan, yāzin/ 'weigh', /ʔamar, yāmir/ 'command'.

Pi with -CVC and -CVCC, e.g. /jāb, yijīb/ 'bring', /sabt, yisabb/ 'curse'.

This /i/ in /Pi/ must be an original /a/ raised, otherwise it would delete. As further evidence for /a/, we have the forms /yanām, yaxāf/, where no raising occurs since the environment for raising does not obtain.²⁷ It is clear, therefore, that for Form I, the vowel of the imperfect prefix is /a/ in the active.

In the passive the prefix is :

Pi with -CCa(C), e.g. /xdim, yixdam/ 'be served'.

Pū with *wāw*- or *hamza*-initial verbs, e.g. /wzin, yūzan/ 'be weighed', /wmir, yūmar/ 'be commanded'.

P with -CāC and -CaCC, e.g. /jīb, yjāb/ 'be brought', /sibb, ysabb/ 'be cursed'.

Here it is obvious the vowel of the prefix is a high vowel, deleted in the case of hollow and doubled verbs by High Vowel Deletion. Further, it must be a /u/, as explained in the previous section; when short, the distinction /u-i/ is neutralized.

²⁷ There exist in common usage only a couple of double verbs with -CaC imperfect stems, none of which have a guttural or a sonorant for their first consonant.

Form IV

In the active and passive the prefix is :

Pi with *-CCa(C)*, e.g. /ʔarsal, yirsil/ 'send'.

Pū with *wāw-* or *hamza-*initial verbs, e.g. /ʔawhag, yūhiġ/ 'light a fire',
/ʔāḏa, yūḏi/ 'harm'.

P elsewhere, e.g. /ʔaḡadd, yḡidd/ 'prepare'.

Following the same reasoning given above, we conclude that for Form IV the vowel of the imperfect prefix is /u/, for both active and passive.

Forms VII to X and QIV

Here, we only get :

Pi with all stems (all of which start with *-CC*; the prefix is always in closed syllable), e.g. /stagbal, yistagbil/ 'welcome'.

All other forms

In all other cases (i.e. forms II, III, V, VI, QI and QII), we only get prefixes with no vowel.²⁸

Summary

The prefixes of the imperfect are thus :

Pa with form I active stems ;

Pu with form I passive and form IV active and passive stems ;

Pi with other stems which start with *-CC* ;

P with other stems which start with *-CV*.

In this last case, /y-/ is always vocalic /i-/.

It is to be noted that these are also, and for the same reasons, the prefixes of the participles (where *P = m*), except that the active participle of Form I, of course, has no prefix, and that of its passive participle is /ma-/.

8.3. *Suffixes of the imperfect*

Five forms have suffixes in the imperfect: the m.p., and f.p. (of both 3rd and 2nd persons) and the 2 f.s. Two sets of forms exist for these: (1) /-ēn, -ōn, -an/ respectively, with all imperfect stems whose stem vowel is /a/,²⁹ except active form I strong verbs, and (2) /-in, -ūn, -in/ respectively, elsewhere. The other forms of the imperfect do not have suffixes.

8.4. *Suffixes of the imperative*

Three forms have suffixes in the imperative. They are: the f.s., m.p., and f.p. Again, two sets of forms exist: (1) /-ay, -aw, -an/ respectively,³⁰ with

²⁸ One can assume in the case of forms II, III, and QI, that there is a high vowel (deleted by High Vowel Deletion) and in the case of forms V, VI, and QII, that there is either a high vowel (deleted by High Vowel Deletion) or a low vowel (deleted by Low Vowel Deletion, since we would have a sequence of two open syllables with low vowels); this is speculative, however, and goes beyond the evidence of the data.

²⁹ These are: all passive stems, form VIIA, all active stems of forms V, VI, and QII (both strong and final-weak), and active stems of final-weak verbs of the type *yaCCa*. For final-weak verbs see section 4.6.

³⁰ These correspond in part to the first set of imperfect suffixes, with the exception of passives, which have no imperative, and of forms V, VI, and QII of strong verbs, which take the second set of suffixes.

stems of final weak verbs whose stem vowel is /a/, and (2) /-i, -u, -in/ respectively, elsewhere. Thus:

ʔinsay	'forget (f.s.)'	but ʔirmi	'throw (f.ē.)'
tigaffaw	'follow (m.p.)'	tifaggadu	'visit (m.ḡ.)'

Imperative verbs in the m.s. do not have a suffix. They may end either in a consonant which is the third radical of the root, or in the case of final weak verbs, with the second radical. Thus:

ʔikšif	'uncover'	ʔirm	'throw'
šif	'see'	tigaff	'follow'

The following chart shows the subject markers of the perfect and the imperfect:

	Perfect suffixes	Imperfect prefixes	Imperfect suffixes	Imperative suffixes
3 m.s.	-	y-	-	-
f.s.	-at ~ -e(h)	t-	-	-
m.p.	-aw	y-	-ūn ~ -ōn	-
f.p.	-an ³¹	y-	-in ~ -an	-
2 m.s.	-t	t-	-	-
f.s.	-ti	t-	-in ~ -ēn	i ~ -ay
m.p.	-tu	t-	-ūn ~ -ōn	-u ~ -aw
f.p.	-tin	t-	-in ~ -an	-in ~ -an
1 s.	-t	ʔa-	-	-
p.	-na	n-	-	-

9. Object (and possessive) pronouns

In a discussion of these pronouns and of the forms that result when they are suffixed to words, it is important to specify what the initial segment of the pronouns and the final segment of the words are. In this dialect, pronouns are consonant- or vowel-initial. Words may end in (i) a consonant (i.e. a closed syllable), in which case it must further be specified whether that consonant is preceded by another consonant or a long vowel (whether the word ends in -CC or -VC, i.e. in a heavy syllable), or by a short vowel (whether the word ends in -VC, i.e. in a light syllable), or (ii) a vowel or diphthong (i.e. an open syllable), in which case it must further be specified whether that vowel is high or low.

In case (ii), the vowel or diphthong appears as a long vowel, whenever a suffix is added, i.e. final /i, u, a, aw, ay/ appear as /ī, ū, ā, ō, ē/ respectively.³² Changes involving case (i), if any, are described below.

³¹ See the next section for evidence that this and all (3rd and 2nd) 3.p. verb suffixes have /-nn/ in their underlying forms.

³² Since short and long vowels never contrast in final open syllable, it is possible to proceed with the assumption that in that position we have either a short vowel and a rule that lengthens it when suffixes are added, or a long vowel and a rule that shortens it when in open syllable. In some cases there is evidence for a long vowel which shortens: e.g. if the imperative is to be derived from the imperfect, then the suffixes /-i, -u/ of the imperative must somehow be derived from /-in, -ūn/, respectively, of the imperfect. This is further supported by an analogy to the diphthongs; thus, ō(n): aw:: ē(n): ay:: ūn: u(w):: in: i(y). In other cases, however, there is no evidence either way; thus, for the 2 f.s., 2 m.p., 1 p. perfect subject markers, there is no synchronic evidence for deciding whether the final vowel is short or long, and we can arrive at the desired forms with either assumption.

The pronouns themselves are as follows :

(1) *Pronouns that are consonant-initial* : These are the plural pronouns :

3 m.p.	-ham
3 f.p.	-hin
2 m.p.	-kam
2 f.p.	-kin
1 p.	-na

Here are examples with words ending in a non-heavy syllable :

šāfat	šāfatham	'she saw them (m.p.)'
hajar	hajarhin	'he abandoned them (f.p.)'
ʔakrah	ʔakrahkam	'I hate you (m.p.)'
šifti	šiftīna	'you (f.s.) saw us'
šifna	šifnākin	'we saw you (f.p.)'
tizawwajtu	tizawwajtūhin	'you (m.p.) married them (f.)'
tizawwijaw	tizawwijōhin	'they (m.) married them (f.)'
ʔinsay	ʔinsēham	'forget (f.s.) them (m.)'

With words ending in a heavy syllable, an anaptyctic ³³ vowel of the same height as the pronoun is added to the word. Thus :

yagtlūn	yagtlūnakam	'they kill you (m.p.)'
txad9īn	txad9īnaham	'you (f.s.) deceive them (m.)'
sammēt	sammētaham	'I called them (m.)'
nisīt	nisītihin	'I forgot them (f.)'
šāf	šāfakam	'he saw you (m.p.)'
tijīb	tijībikin	'she brings you (f.p.)'
simi9t	simi9tana	'you (m.s.) heard us'
sabb	sabbakam	'he swore at you (m.p.)'

There is a tendency, however, to drop the anaptyctic vowel between identical consonants, e.g. when /-na/, the 1 p. pronoun, follows a word with a final /-n/. Thus :

txād9īnna 'you (f.s.) deceive us'

The same anaptyctic vowel is added when the verb has the f.p. subject markers (2nd or 3rd person, perfect or imperfect), which suggests that these have /-nn/ for their ending. Thus :

kitaltin	kitaltinnaham	'you (f.p.) killed them (m.)'
yāšfin	yāšfinnihin	'they (f.) describe them (f.)'

There is thus a rule for shortening final long consonants, as well as final long vowels. These shortening rules are very important for stress assignment (see section 10 below).

³³ Cantineau indicates that he observed this feature in the speech of all the nomads he studied (with one exception). He argues that the vowel is not anaptyctic but a residue of an ancient case ending. It is to be noted that this vowel is not subject to raising, even in the proper environment, e.g. in /yagtlūnakam, nisītakam/ (anaptyxis must be a late rule), and that its quality is determined by vowel harmony. Thus, whatever its historical origin, it behaves synchronically as an anaptyctic vowel.

The situation described above applies to nouns, participles, and prepositions as well. Thus:

ǧidam	ǧidamham	' their (m.p.) leg '
jār	jārana	' our neighbour '
galb	galbakam	' your (m.p.) heart '
hābsīn	hābsīnaham	' imprisoning them (m.) '
9ala	9alēkam ³⁴	' upon you (m.p.) '
ʔibu	ʔibūkin	' your (f.p.) father '
yada	yadāna	' our lunch '

Nouns like /kirsi/, which end in /i/, have the form [kirsiyy] when pronouns are added. Thus:

kirsi	kirsiyyaham	' their chair '
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When there are no suffixes, the double consonant shortens to give the form /kirsiy/, and ultimately /kirsi/.

Dual nouns that refer to body parts, lose their /n/ when pronouns are added. Thus:

rijlən	rijlēham	' your feet '
ʔidən	ʔidēkam	' your hands '

(2) *Pronouns that are always vowel-initial*: There is only one: the 3 f.s. The form is always /-ah/. Here are examples with words that end in a closed syllable:

šāf	šāfah	' he saw her '
nisīt	nisītah	' you (m.s.) forgot her '
simi9t	simi9tah	' I heard her '
nāgat	nāgitah	' her camel (f.) '
galb	galbah	' her heart '

With words that end in the low vowel, there is a merger into /āh/; the other vowels and the diphthongs are resolved into the corresponding glide. Thus:

hada	hadāh	' he guided her '
xada9na	xada9nāh	' we deceived her '
yada	yadāh	' her lunch '
nisīti	nisitūyah	' you (f.s.) forgot her '
migtini	migtanyah	' purchasing (m.s.) her '
9ala (cf. 9alēh)	9alyah	' on her '
jibtu	jibtwah	' you (m.p.) brought her '
ʔibu	ʔibwah	' her father '
šāfaw	šāfwah	' they saw her '
ksaraw	ksarwah	' they broke it (f.) '

³⁴ This preposition has the form /9alay-/ with all pronouns including 3 f.s. and 1 s., whose forms are /9alyah, 9alayyi/ respectively.

In the last two examples and in examples with the subject markers /-aw/ in general, alternate forms with a doubled glide occur. Thus:

šāfwah	šāfuwwah	'they saw her'
ʔihṭgarwah	ʔihṭgaruwwah	'they despised her'

(3) *Pronouns that may be either consonant-initial or vowel-initial*: (i) The 1 s.: The forms are /-an/ after verbs or participles that end in a consonant, /-nan/ after verbs or participles that end in a vowel or diphthong. Thus:

txad9in	txad9inan	'you (f.s.) deceive me'
nisīt	nisītan	'you (m.s.) forgot me'
šāf	šāfan	'he saw me'

but,

šāfaw	šāfōnan	'they saw me'
nisīti	nisītīnan	'you (f.s.) forgot me'
hada	hadānan	'he guided me'

The 1 s. is the only pronoun for which there is a form for the possessive different from that for the object. The possessive pronoun is /-i/ after a consonant, /-y/ after /-a/ or /-u/, or /-yi/ after /-ay/. Thus:

jār	jāri	'my neighbour'
marat	mriti	'my wife'
kirsi(yy)	kirsiyyi	'my chair'
ʔibu	ʔibūy	'my father'
dawa	dawāy	'my medicine'
rijlēn	rijlaiyi	'my feet'

(ii) The 2 m.s./2 f.s.: The forms are ak/ic and k/c respectively. The former is used after a consonant, the latter after a vowel or diphthong. Thus:

sammat	sammitak	'she called you (m.s.)'
nisīt	nisitic	'I forgot you (f.s.)'
b-	bak	'with you (m.s.)'

and,

šāfaw	šāfōk	'they saw you (m.s.)'
hada	hadāc	'he guided you (f.s.)'
ʔada	ʔadāk	'your (m.s.) lunch'

(iii) The 3 m.s.: It has the form /-uh/ after a consonant and /-h/ after a vowel or diphthong, with one exception: after /ā/, it is /u/, diphthongized to /aw/, with sometimes a slight, almost imperceptible /h/. Thus:

šāf	šāfuh	'he saw him'
simi9t	simi9tuh	'I heard him'
rijl	rijluh	'his leg'
šāfaw	šāfōh	'they (m.) saw him'
nisīti	nisītih	'you (f.s.) forgot him'
jibtu	jibtūh	'you (m.p.) brought him'
hadēna	hadēnāw(h)	'we guided him'
ʔada	ʔadāw(h)	'his lunch'

Summary

The following chart summarizes the statements given above (*X* represents the word having the ending specified at the head of the column):

	...CC—, ... $\bar{V}C$ —	...C—	... ā—	... ū/ō—	... i/ē—
3 m.s.	<i>Xuh</i>		<i>Xw(h)</i>	<i>Xh</i>	
3 f.s.	<i>Xah</i>		<i>Xh</i>	... <i>uah</i>	... <i>yah</i>
2 m./f.s.	<i>Xak/ic</i>		<i>Xk/c</i>		
1 s. (verbs, participles)	<i>Xan</i>		<i>Xnaa</i>		
(Others)	<i>Xi</i>		<i>Xy</i>		... <i>iygi/aygi</i>
Other persons	$X + V' + CVC$ ($V' = V$)	$X - C^2C$			

10. A SEQUENCE OF OPEN SYLLABLES WITH LOW VOWELS

It will be observed that the addition of vowel-initial suffixed pronouns potentially creates a sequence of two or even three open syllables with low vowels. A potential sequence of two open syllables, obtained by adding a vowel-initial suffix to a final *CaCaC*, has already been encountered in section 2.1, when the suffix is a subject marker; it will be remembered that a Low Vowel Deletion rule was posited to account for forms like /skanaw/, 'they dwelt' (from the sequence */sakan+aw/). One can account for the form /ktibaw/ 'they wrote' (from the sequence */katab+aw/) in a similar fashion; but in this case, in addition, the low vowel in open syllable is raised by Low Vowel Raising, which does not operate in the former example. Here are other such examples with subject markers:

ʔinksaran	'they (f.p.) got broken'	from *ʔinkasa-+an
ʔinh̄bisaw	'they (m.p.) were jailed'	ʔinh̄baas+aw
ʔi9tgalat	'she arrested'	ʔi9ta9aI+at

The only exception to Low Vowel Deletion in a sequence of open syllables occurs when the first syllable is the 1 s. prefix of the imperfect, /ʔa-/. Here the vowel is never deleted. Thus:

ʔata9awwar	'I get hurt'
cf. nta9awwar	'we get hurt' ²⁸

The same processes are at work when other vowel-initial suffixes, such as suffixed pronouns or the suffix of the *Nomina Unitatis* are added to a final *CaCaC*. Thus:

bigar	'cattle'	from *bagar
bgiri	'my cattle'	bagar+i
bgarak	'your (m.s.) cattle'	bagar+ak
bgare	'a cow'	bagar+at
xada9	'he deceived'	xada9
xdi9uh	'he deceived him'	xada9+uh
xda9ah	'he deceived her'	xada9+ah

kital	' he killed '	katal
ktiluh	' he killed him '	katal+uh
ktalan	' he killed me '	katal+an
?igtane	' she obtained '	?igtanat
?ignitah	' she obtained it (f.) '	?igtanat+ah
rime	' she threw '	ramat
rmitah	' she threw it (f.) '	ramat+ah
stagblitic	' she welcomed you (f.s.) '	stagbalat+ic
marmritak	' she made you (m.s.) miserable '	marmarat+ak
migtaniyāt	' purchased (f.p.) '	migtanayāt

Now, here are examples of a potential sequence of three open syllables with low vowels (obtained mostly by adding the f. marker and a vowel-initial suffixed pronoun):

bgirti	' my cow '	from *bagarat+i
wrigtah	' her paper '	waragat+ah
ḡribtan	' she beat me '	ḡarabat+an
ktiltan	' she killed me '	katalat+an
?ihgtirtah	' she despised her '	?ihgtarat+ah

It seems clear from the above that Low Vowel Deletion and Low Vowel Raising apply as in the case of the sequence of two open syllables. Low Vowel Deletion always applies to the first vowel (or to the last from the right). We must specify that Low Vowel Raising applies to the two remaining vowels, but first to the first vowel from the right, as, otherwise, we could not raise the middle vowel in /ktiltan/ (since the /l/ is followed by a low vowel; cf. section 2.1). Finally, the first vowel from the right itself (in most but not all cases it is the vowel of the f. marker) is deleted (by a second Low Vowel Deletion rule).

11. SYLLABICATION AND STRESS

11.1 Syllabication

The onset of a syllable must have at least one consonant. A syllable must have a vowel for its peak and may be open (i.e. not followed by a consonant), closed (i.e. followed by one consonant), or doubly closed (i.e. followed by two consonants).

In word-initial position only, the onset of a syllable may have two consonants.³⁵ Here are examples of the most common syllable types in various positions (a dot indicates syllable boundary):

	Initial (CC-)	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>CV</i>	nxa.dim	ki.tal	yis.ti.šīr	zir.na
<i>CVC</i>	txad.mīn	šar.ban	šā.fat.ham	šā.fat.kam
<i>CVCC</i>	tlabb.sīn	labb.si	mti.labb.sīn	?ih.ti.gart
	tbarṭ.līn	barṭ.li	mti.barṭ.līn	
<i>CV̄</i>	thā.jim	hā.jim	mis.tā.jir	—
<i>CVC̄</i>	thāj.mīn	hāj.mi	mti.gās.mīn	yix.tār

³⁵ Three consonants may occur in word-initial position, but that is limited to a few sequences such as *str-*. See also note 8.

Syllable boundary assignment follows easily from (i) and (ii) above. Thus, in a sequence (1) *VCV*, the syllable boundary falls before the consonant, (2) *VCCV*, it falls between the two consonants, and (3) *VCCCV*, it falls after the second consonant (whenever an anaptyctic vowel is required, it invariably falls after the first consonant, thus creating a syllable whose boundary is after the second consonant).

11.2. *Stress*

Stress in this dialect is totally predictable. It is a late rule, i.e. it applies to surface forms after all the other rules mentioned above have applied. The stress assignment statements are as follows:

- (1) Stress never falls further from the end than the antepenultimate.
- (2) In words that are monosyllabic, stress obviously falls on that syllable.

mán	' who '
jáb	' he brought '
nímt	' I slept '

- (3) In multi-syllabic words, stress falls on the first heavy cluster from the right. A heavy cluster is a sequence *VC* or *VCC*. Thus:

ʔistahlikóh	' they consumed it (m.) '
tintaxbún	' you (m.p.) select '
ʔinʔaráf	' I became known '
ʔintxíbt	' I was selected '
yista9mlúnuh	' they (m.p.) use it (m.) '
tanáwal	' he received '
ʔigtanáthin	' she bought them (f.p.) '
tintibártal	' she can be bribed '
wrígtak	' you (m.s.) paper '
yi9tázúnaham	' they (m.p.) need them (m.p.) '
tanáwale	' she received '
ʔístara	' he bought '
ríkbiti	' my knee '

It should be noted that clitics such as the definite article /ʔəl-/ may receive the stress, under the proper conditions. Thus:

ʔáljibal	' the mountain '
ʔálma	' (the) water '

- (4) In the absence of a heavy cluster, stress falls on the penultimate. Thus:

ʔi9tgálaw	' they (m.p.) arrested '
ʔi9tgíluh	' he arrested him '
ʔínksáre	' it (f.) got broken '
tarbsítah	' she locked it (f.) '
yáktlah	' he kills her '
bírtlaw	' they (m.p.) were bribed '
rmítah	' she threw it (f.) '
yními	' my sheep '

It should be noted that *VCCC* (obtained either by Low Vowel Deletion or High Vowel Deletion) is not considered a heavy cluster.

It will be remembered that a final double consonant is shortened (see section 9 above). It therefore does not constitute a heavy cluster, and stress is assigned accordingly.³⁶ Thus:

šāfan (cf. šāfānnah)	'they (f.p.) saw'
ʔfhtal (cf. ʔihtāllaw)	'he occupied'
yīstirid (cf. yīstiriddah)	'he gets (s.t.) back'
ʔiṣfar (cf. ʔiṣfārran)	'it (m.) became yellow'
yimīd (cf. yimiddūn)	'he stretches'

³⁶ The transcription in the paper is somewhat inconsistent in that it indicates final double consonants for doubled verbs, but not elsewhere. Thus: /šāfan/ 'they (f.p.) saw', but /yīstiridd/ 'he gets (s.t.) back'.

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MANI'S ŠĀBUHRAGĀN

By D. N. MacKENZIE

It is remarkable that, of the many more or less fragmentary Manichaean writings in Iranian languages discovered in Central Asia at the beginning of this century,¹ one of the few texts directly attributable to Mani himself has still, three-quarters of a century after its first partial publication, not appeared in a full and satisfactory edition, with translation. 'Mani's *Šābuhragān*, in which he summarized his teachings in Persian for the enlightenment of Šābuhr I,'² is known from nine more or less fully preserved sheets (i.e. of at least two pages each) of one MS. and some eight or nine smaller pieces.³ The larger fragments were first published in transcription in 1904, in F. W. K. Müller's pioneering 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan', II,⁴ with an incomplete interlinear translation and partly out of order. The text alone was then republished in transliteration (in Hebrew letters) in C. Salemann's 'Manichäische Studien' I.⁵ There the matter largely rested until 1930, when A. V. W. Jackson used the text extensively in his article 'A sketch of the Manichaean doctrine concerning the future life'.⁶ In an article published posthumously in 1946,⁷ A. Ghilain established, without seeing either photographs or the originals, that the two fragments of M 473 glassed together as *a* and *b*, and published by Müller as they so appeared, are to be fitted together in the reverse order, the lower piece *b* above the upper *a*. Most recently Mary Boyce has included the text of the fragments M 473, 475, 477, 482, 472 and 470, so ordered correctly but with the omission of a number of incomplete passages, as text *z* in her *Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*.⁸

It was consideration of one of the passages omitted by Boyce (the 'number of words after *chrāmēd* ... too badly preserved for the sense to be clear', *Reader*, *z* 15, note) that led to the present publication. The text, M 472 I R, lines 1-6, as published by Müller and Salemann reads thus:

wpr wdcyd * * []'n
[] k' h'n rwsnyh []'nd
[] d'n 'hr'myd (š) w n'(p)
'wd 'sm'n h'm(d) qwn'nd w
š 'sm'n 'y 'brdwm k(y) pd h'n
'y 'yrdwm hm'g šh(r)wny[]

It was immediately obvious to me that something was wrong: this could not

¹ See Mary Boyce, *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean script in the German Turfan Collection*, Berlin, 1960; also 'The Manichaean literature in Middle Iranian', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 4, *Iranistik*, 2, *Literatur*, Lfg. 1, Leiden, 1968.

² Boyce, 'Man. lit.', 70.

³ Detailed description of all treatment to that date *sub* M 470 *et seq.*, Boyce, *Catalogue*, 31.

⁴ *Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1904*, Berlin, 1904, 1-117.

⁵ *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VIII série, VIII, 10, 1908.

⁶ *JAOS*, 50, 3, 1930, 177-98. He states (p. 183) that 'although I have made a complete translation of the six Apocalyptic Fragments, with critical notes and explanations, for publication later, I can here give only a rendering of the first, and then an outline of the contents of the other five Fragments, with short renderings incidentally inserted'.

⁷ 'Un feuillet manichéen reconstitué', *Le Muséon*, LIX, 535-45, with reference to a partial translation by F. C. Andreas.

⁸ *Acta Iranica*, 9, Troisième série, II, Teheran and Liège, 1975.

represent the true state of the manuscript, as the ends of the lines 3–6

/(š) ū n'(p)
/(d) qwn'nd ū
/k(y) pđ h'n
/(r)wny[]

do not fit the foregoing words by any stretch, however imaginative, of the Middle Persian language. It did not take long to note that they do, however, fit very well into the lacuna in the immediately preceding sheet, M 482 I,⁹ thus (based on Salemann's version):

tr d[xmg]'n 'wd 'stw[d'n]/'n
[b'] wdyr'nd 'wš'n wyn/'nd
[w]š'n xwyš twhm / ū n'(p)
['y wd]rd hynd 'y/(d) qwn'nd ū
5 gr'nd kw w['y] 'wyš'n / k(y) pđ h'n
'w'm ['y] bzg mwd 'wd / wny [bwd]
(hym)[d].

This discovery sent me for the first time to the photographs of the fragments fortunately preserved in the Nachlass of F. C. Andreas in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Göttingen, and readily available to me. Although these sepia prints are all of 60 years old they are still admirably clear,¹⁰ if a little lacking in contrast, and my suspicion that the puzzling section of text was indeed from a piece of M 482 I, still adhering to and concealing a part of M 472 I (and naturally its own verso) was soon strengthened. This notion I imparted to Dr. W. Sundermann of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin, in the form of a provisional new transliteration of the whole text of the published fragments. He very kindly and with great despatch not only confirmed my theory, but also provided me with further details and readings from the original manuscripts. I quote from his letter of 3.1.1978: '[Diese] Entdeckung leuchtete mir sofort ein. Im Institut konnte ich sie dann am Originaltext bestätigt finden. Die Stelle, an der ein Stück von M 482 auf M 472 klebte, war von grösserer Dicke als der Rest des Blattes. Wenn man das Fragment gegen das Licht hielt, konnte man es deutlich erkennen. Ich habe nun das Stück von M 482 so gut ich konnte abgelöst und an seine richtige Stelle gesetzt.' 'Wie ich jetzt sehe, sind noch in einigen anderen Fällen Textstücke zusammengeklebt, deren Trennung bisweilen Ergänzungen gestattet. So war ein winziges Stück von M 475 an M 477 angeklebt.' And later, 'die letzten sieben Zeilen von M 477 I V sind auf Ihrem Photo durch Text des Endes von M 482 überklebt'.

Accordingly Sundermann was able to provide me with complete new readings of the first lines of M 475 I V, M 477 I R, M 482 I R and V, and M 472 I R, and of the end of M 477 I V and M 482 I R (in the complete text below, that is, lines 73–6, 97–8, 138–44, 145–51, 162–8, 169–74, and 193–200). These I was in small part able to confirm and to a very slight extent 'improve' on the basis of the Göttingen photographs, in the sense that some letters of ll. 146–7 marked by Sundermann as doubtful or illegible in the manuscripts appear more clearly in the photographs.¹¹

⁹ W. B. Henning had essayed a reconstruction of ll. 5–9 in 'A farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatarān', *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 516.

¹⁰ V. Boyce, *Catalogue*, p. XXIV.

¹¹ V. Boyce, *Reader*, 76: 'The ms. from which the fragments come is of very soft paper, and the surface is in many places rubbed, with the loss of letters or words'. In this connexion it

Sundermann also wrote: 'Nur einen wichtigen Punkt möchte ich noch berühren: die Reihenfolge der Texte. Auch ich habe mich mit diesem Problem befasst und bin zu Ergebnissen gekommen, die geringfügig . . . abweichen.¹² Ich glaube, dass sowohl die Zusammenfügungen der Überschriften auf V- und R-Seiten wie die zahlreichen spiegelschriftlichen Abbildungen aufeinander gelegen habender Blätter eine in den meisten Fällen sichere Bestimmung ihrer Folge gestatten. Sie ist m. A. n.:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. M 8256 (?), | 2. M 519 + M 473, | 3. M 475, |
| 4. M 477, | 5. M 482, | 6. M 472, |
| 7. M 535 + M 536, | 8. M 470, | 9. M 505 a + b + M 542. |

Für die rekonstruierten¹² Blattüberschriften ergibt sich daraus:

A v/ B r * 'br 'mdyśnyh * (belegt M 519 V)

E v/ F r * 'y h'mqyśwr * (belegt M 535 R)

F v/ G r * 'br 'stptyh * (belegt M 535 V)

G v/ H r * 'br rw'n'n * / [* 'y dw]šgyrdg'n'n * (belegt M 505 a R).'

Of the hitherto unpublished fragments mentioned, photographs of only M 505 a + b, M 535 and M 536 are preserved in Göttingen. To these I now went and made a second provisional transliteration to submit to Sundermann. The texts of M 519, M 542 (and M 8256 I) he then provided, and also made several revisions and improvements to my second provisional text. In particular the piecing together of H and J, lines 337-426, from the fragments M 470 c, M 475 c, M 505 a and b, and M 542 b, is all his work.

Only when the third text so constituted was (as we thought ready for press did Sundermann find time to devote himself to the remaining fragments of the *Šābuhraḡān*, to provide the second part of this article. In the process he was able to separate further fragments stuck together and to fit some of these, and others, into the main text. Thus the two layers of M 487 b fit into E and F, M 497 b into G, and (previously unconnected) M 1745 into H, yielding new text (not available in Göttingen) for lines 208-15, 232-9, 256-63, 280-4, 303-10, 328-33, 351-5, and 375-9. All his readings, from the MSS, are indicated in the apparatus by the initial S.

Clearly it would have been more practical and proper for Sundermann himself to have taken over the publication of the complete text of the portions of the *Šābuhraḡān* preserved. Instead he has from the beginning encouraged me to go ahead with it, at the same time providing not only much new text and better readings but also invaluable notes to my translation. Mary Boyce also kindly read an early draft and suggested a number of improvements.

* * * *

To place this apocalyptic portion of the *Šābuhraḡān* in context one can do no better, besides referring to the works of Müller, Jackson and Ghilain, than quote Boyce's introductory notes (*Reader*, 77) to text 2: 'The first fragment is concerned with the period just before the Second Coming of Jesus, the Great War being by then over. Much of the material in this and the following fragments derives from the apocalyptic prophecies in the Christian Gospels (*Matthew XXIV*, *Mark XIII*, *Luke XXI*).' Mani's vision of the End of the

must be said that Sundermann's use of round brackets for 'doubtful' letters is far more cautious than mine. I insert them only when there is real doubt as to the reading of a letter, whereas he appears to use them for letters to any extent, however little, incomplete.

¹² From / in my above-mentioned first provisional transliteration.

World, for him the Renovation (*Frašegird*),¹³ and its part in his cosmology is admirably summarized in Boyce's 'Introduction' (*Reader*, 8):

The end of the world will be presaged by the Great War, a time of conflict and bitterness and waning faith, since by then most of the Light will have been drawn out of the world. There will follow the Second Coming of Jesus, who will establish his judgment-seat and separate the righteous from the sinners. Thereafter the gods supporting the cosmos will abandon their tasks, the heavens and earths will collapse, and the Great Fire will break out, in which the last particles of Light will be freed and will ascend to the New Paradise as the Last God.

Matter will be imprisoned, and the prison will be sealed with a great stone; and finally the New Paradise will be joined again to the Paradise of Light, and its inhabitants, gods and the redeemed, will behold once more the face of the Father of Greatness, hidden from them since the struggle began.

The following translation follows the text as closely as possible. The notes are mainly concerned with the establishment of the text and linguistic matters.

TEXT

A r: H[reading], 1-3	A v: H, 25- 27	M 519 I
+ 4- 24	+ 28- 48	M 473 I
B r: H, 49- 72	B v: H, 73- 96	M 475 a I
C r: H, 97-120	C v: H, 121-144	M 477 I
D r: H, 145-161	D v: H, 169-184	M 482 I
+ 161-168	+ 185-192	M 477 b
E r: H, 193-213	E v: H, 217-238	M 472 I
+ 208-216	+ 232-239	M 487 b (1)
F r: H, 241-244	F v: H, 264-268	M 535
+ 245-264	+ 269-288	M 536
+ 256-263	+ 280-284	M 487 b (2)
G r: H, 289-312	G v: H, 313-336	M 470 a
+ 303-310	+ 328-333	M 497 b
H r: H, 337-357	H v: H, 361-379	M 505 a
+ 340-347	+ 364-371	M 542 b I
+ 351-355	+ 375-379	M 1745
+ 352-360	+ 376-384	M 470 c
J r: H, 385-404	J v: H, 409-424	M 505 b
+ 386-395	+ 409-419	M 542 b II
+ 400-408	+ 424-426	M 475 c

¹³ Middle Persian *prš(y)g/k/qyrd*, 'die Erneuerung des ursprünglichen Zustandes der Welt durch Auflösung des aus den Himmeln und Erden bestehenden Kosmos' (W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I, Berlin, 1932, 222), is a term taken directly from Zoroastrianism, Pahlavi *plškrī*, Avestan *frašō.kereti*, literally 'making excellent'; see W. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altperischen*, Wiesbaden, 1964, 119, *fraša* 'hervorragend', etc', and M. Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris, 1963, 34f. (on *fraša*) and passim (*fraškarī* 'Rénovation'). That 'in the Manichaean interpretation [*frašegird*] means that everything becomes "healthy, *integrum*" (= *fraša*) in that the world perishes totally, and not as in Zoroastrianism where the world will only be renewed' (as J. P. Asmussen will have it, 'Manichaeism', 605, in *Historia religionum, Handbook for the history of religions*, I, ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, Leiden, 1969) seems to be in conformity with S. Insler's recent reinterpretation of G. Avestan *foraša* < **frarta-*, √*ar*, 'healed, repaired' (*The Gāthās of Zarathustra (Acta Iranica*, 8.), Teheran and Liège, 1975, 172). But there is no record of such a meaning in Zoroastrian tradition, where the only Pahlavi 'translations' of *fraša*, besides the transcription in *plškrī*, are Vd. I, 20 *pursšnyk* (as if from √*fras* I) and otherwise *pl'e*, and NP *farāx*: that Mani could have reinterpreted *frašegird* etymologically is, of course, quite impossible.

/ A r [* *dw bion* 'y *] / (* δ)['](*b*)*whrg*['n] *

- [] pd dyw('n) 'wd []
 [] bw[] (e)[]
 [] (p)tg (kw)[]
 [] (d)'nd w gw'nd [kw 'm]h
 5 [y]zd'n pyysgr hwm ** (. . m . . .)
 pd 'yn pnd 'yg 'mh []
 mrdwhm pr'yyst wyps['nd]
 'wš'n pd dwsqyrdg'ny[h]
 q'm rw'nd * w dynwr ky x[wyš]
 10 dyr ny wrw'd h'no 'w 'wyš['n]
 hnzps'd w 'wy zm'n k' 'nd[r]
 šhr xyr 'yn'wn bw'd * '[yg]
 pc zmyg w 'sm'n 'wd (x)[wr]
 'wd m'h w 'xtr'n ['wd]
 15 ['st[']rg'n wzrg nys'n pyd['g]
 b[w]'d **
 ps xrdyšhr yzd h'n ky
 nxwst 'wy nr d'm nwxwyr ['y]
 prtwmyn xrd 'wd d'nyš[n d'd]
 20 'wš ps'c j'(r) j'r w (')[w'm]
 'w'm xrd 'wd d'nyšn 'w (m)[rdñ ?]
 pryst'd h'n p[d] 'wye '[w'm]
 'y 'bdwmyn nzd 'w prš(q)[yrd]
 [h'](n xr)dyšhr (x)[wd'y 'c hm'g]

A v / B r [* 'br 'mdyšnyh * / * 'y myrd'n pwer *

- A v
 (25) [y](zd'n 'wd) dynwr'n (h)mys
 ['wz]dh [] (. . y')[]
 [*] 'yg p(d '')[sm'] (n 'n)drw(n) ['wl ?]
 'yst[d] 'wd wzrg xrw[h] ['yw ?]
 5 xw'nyh('d) w h'mšhr 'zdy[h'd ?]
 (30) [']wd ['y]myš'n yzd'n ky 'ndr
 ['s]m'n'n w zmyg'n h'mkyšwr
 [m](')nbyd wysbyd zndbyd 'wd
 [dh]ybyd p'hrgbyd 'wd dyw'n
 10 [ny]xrwst'r hynd h'n xrdyšhr
 (35) 'pryn qwn'nd w mrdwhm'n
 [k](y) 'ndr šhr šhry'r bw'nd
 [dw](w) dww'n pdš 'wy šw'nd
 ['wd] nm'c (b)r'nd 'wš prm'n
 15 [p]dyr'nd w mrdwhm 'yg "zygr
 (40) ['wd] dwsqyrdg'n w mrdyhng'n
 [h]'n pšym'n bw'd 'wd ps
 [xrd]yšhryzd prystg'n 'w
 [xwr]s'n 'wd 'w xwrnw'r
 20 [pryst]'d w šw'nd 'wd mrdwhm
 (45) ['y d]ynwr 'b'g hy'r'n * w h'n
 [dws]qyrdg'[n] 'z h'mkw(ny)šn'n
 [hmys pr'c 'w py]š xrdyšhr

TRANSLATION

[The two principles, of the] Šābuhragān

... with demons and ... will ... and say, 'We are the agents of the gods. [You should go] in this path of ours'. Mankind will mostly be deceived and will proceed according to their (the false prophets') will to
 10 do evil. And the 'religious' who may not believe in his own religion will also join himself to them. And at that time, when things will be thus in the world, [then] also on earth and in heaven, and on the sun and moon, and in the constellations (of the zodiac) and the stars, a great sign will appear.

Then Xradešahr (the god of the world of wisdom)—he who first [gave]
 20 that male creation, the original First Man, wisdom and knowledge, and (who) afterwards from time to time and from [age] to age sent wisdom and knowledge to mankind—in that last [age] also, close to the Renovation, that lord Xradešahr, together with

On the coming / of the Son of Men

all the gods and the religious [exiled ?] ... will then stand [up ?] in the [heavens], and a great call will resound and it will become known to the
 30 whole universe. And these gods which in the cosmos of heavens and earths are lord of the house, of the village, of the tribe, and of the land, border-guard and demon-tormenter will praise that Xradešahr. And the men who will be rulers in the world will go running before him and pay homage
 40 and accept his commands. And lustful [and] wicked and *tyrannous men will repent. And then god Xradešahr will send messengers to east and west, and they will go and [bring] the religious with (their) helpers, and those wicked ones [together] with (their) accomplices, before Xradešahr,

Apparatus

1-3 S. 4 S. '[pr]'nd or [(s)d'nd ?] [(nd)'nd, [(en)'nd not possible. 24 (x)[wɔ'y 'c h'm'g], S. 25-27 S. 37 [dw](w) dwɔ'n pɔɔ, S.

[yzd n'ynd ? 'wš nm'c br'nd

Br

- (50) 'wš dynwr gw'nd kw [yzd]
 ['w]m'n xwd'y 'grt pszg ty[s]
 ['o] h'n (o)[y] dr(w)nd[n] (pd) 'mh
 [qyrd] pyš tw gw(')m ['w]š'n
 5 x[rd]yšhr yzd pswx 'wh
 dyy'd kw mn wynyyd 'wd š'd
 (55) bwyd * 'n'y ky pd 'šmh
 wn't h'd h'nt'n d'dys(t)[n]
 qwn'n ŵ 'ng'm xw'h'n b[yo]
 10 hrw cy 'šmh q'myyd p[yš]
 mn gwptn h'n 'n d'nym ** **
 (60) ghyš'n 'pryn qwnd 'wš[n]
 dyl wyw'synyd 'wš'n 'w
 dšn 'rg 'ystynyd ** ŵ (')[b]g
 15 yzd'n pd š'dyḥ phryzynd **
 'wd dwsqyrdg'n'n 'z dy(n)[wr'n]
 (65) wc'ryd 'wš'n 'w xwy 'rg
 'ystynyd 'wš'n npryn qwnd '[wd]
 'wh gwyd kw m' drw'xyz (ŵ m)[']
 20 h'm'spyz bw'd (cy) [h'n]
 wn'h 'yg 'šmh kyrd (')wt(')[n]
 (70) z'wryq 'xš'd qyr[d 'wd]
 h'nt'n ('w) [myrd'n pwsr qyrd ?]
 [? 'wd 'w hy'r'n]

B v / O r * 'br d'dyst'n * / * 'wd wc'ryšn *

B v

- (75) ('yg) dynwr'n ky 'c dšn
 ['](')rg ['y]stynd 'wh gwy[d]
 [kw] dryst 'wry(d) 'šm(h) ky
 ('prydg 'yg) zrw'n (pdyš) q[lyrd ?]
 5 cy swyg ŵ tyšng bwd hym ['wd]
 'šmh xw'r ŵ b'r d'd * b[r]hng
 bwd hym * 'wt'n pymwxt hym
 (80) xyndg bwd hym 'wt'n dryst
 (q)lyrd hym * bstg bwd hym
 10 ['w]š'n wš'd hym * wrdg bwd
 hym 'wt'n bwwxt hym * 'wd
 [']wzdh ŵ q'rd(')g bwd hym
 (85) 'wt'n 'w qdg hrwpt hym *
 (')[ygyš] 'wyš[n] 'y [dy]nwr'n hy'rñ
 15 (zwp'r) nm'c br'nd š gw'nd
 kw xwd'wn tw yzd ŵ 'nwšg hy
 'wt 'z 'wd 'wrzgw ny trwyd *
 (90) 'wd swyg ŵ tyšng ny bwy 'wt
 [d]rd [ŵ] dn'h 'br ny rsyd * ky
 20 [bwd k] 'mh 'yd 'sp's
 [p]d tw qyrd * 'wš'n xrdyšhr
 ['wh] (g)wy(d) kw h'n cy 'šmh

and they will pay him homage.

50 And the religious will say to him, ' [O god and] our lord ! if it please thee, we shall tell thee something of that which the sinners have [done] to us '. And god Xradేశāhr will answer them so, ' Look on me and rejoice. Besides, whoever may have harmed you, him I shall bring to justice for you and seek *account (from him). But everything which you wish to tell me, that I know '.

60 Then he blesses them and calms their hearts and sets them on the right side, and with the gods they will be in bliss. And the evil-doers he separates from the religious and sets them on the left side and curses them and speaks thus, ' May you not arise whole and not be wholly bright, for
70 [that] sin which you have committed, and you caused unjust distress, [and] that you have [done to the Son of Men ?] . . . [And to the helpers]

On the judgement / and the separation

of the religious who stand on the right side he speaks thus, ' Welcome, you who have been [made] blessed of the Father of Greatness thereby, for I was hungry and thirsty [and] you gave me food. I was naked and you
80 clothed me. I was ill and you cured me. I was bound and you loosed me. I was a captive and you set me free. And I was an exile and a wanderer and you gathered me to (your) house(s) '. [Then] those helpers of the religious will bow low [to him] and say to him, ' Lord, thou art god and
90 immortal, and greed and desire do not overcome thee, and thou dost not hunger or thirst, and pain and *disease do not afflict thee. When [was it that] we did thee this service ? ' And Xradేశāhr says to them [so], ' That

48 'wš nm'c br'nd, reverse imprint on B r, S. 49 f. [yrd 'w]m'n, S. 62 (')[δ']g S. 67 (w m)['], S. 69 (')nt(')[n], S. 73-76 beginnings, S. 86 (')[ygyš], S. 92 k', reverse imprint on C r, S.

- (95) ['w d](ynwr'n) qyrd * h'nt'n mn
 ['sp'](s) [k](y)rd * 'wt'n

C r

- whvšt'w p'd'syn dy(y)''[n]
 ['w]yš'n wzrg š'dyh
 [dyy']d **
 (100) ['wd] dwdy 'w 'wyš'n [dw]šky[rdg]'n'n
 5 ky 'c xwy ''rg 'ystynd [']wh
 gwyd kw 'šmh dwšqyrdg'n'n
 tncyy w ''zq'm * 'n'g kwnyšn
 'wd gyh hš'r bwd hyyd (*)
 (105) 'wt'n 'n 'eyš gylg'y hym
 10 oy swyg w tyšng bwd hym 'w[d]
 'šmh xw'r 'wd b'r ny d'[d]
 'wd brhng bwd hym 'wt'n n(y)
 pymwwxt hym ** w xyndg bwd hym
 (110) 'wt'n dryst ny qyrd hy(m) [* w]
 15 wrdg w 'wzdyh bwd hym 'wt'n
 pd qdg ny pdyrypt hym ** wš
 dwšqyrdg'n'n 'wh gw'n(d)
 kw'n'n yzd w xwd'y kyy bwd k'
 (115) tw 'yd'wn dwjbwrđ b[wd hy]
 20 'wm'n ny bwwxt hy * 'wš['n]
 xrdyšhr gwy(d) kwt'n h'n c[y]
 (dyn)wr'n 'nng'r (d')št hy[nd ?]
 h'nt(')n pd mn w[n]st ['wt'n]
 (120) 'n 'eyš gylg['y b]w[d hym]

C v / D r * *dw bun wzrg* * / * ('y) š'bwłrg'n *

O v

- 'wd wn'hg'r hyy(d) * oy
 d[y](n)wr'n (z')wryq dwšmyn b[wd]
 hyyd * 'w(t')n 'xš'd kyrd [hynd]
 'wt'n ny 'mwrzyd hynd * 'w[d pd]
 (125) 5 (yz)d'n wn'hg'r [w] pwrđg hyyd
 [gh]y prystg'n 'br 'wyš'n
 [dw]šqyrdg'n'n gwm'r(yd) 'wšn
 [g]yr'nd w 'w dwšwx '(bg)[n'nd]
 (130) 10 [']wd k' xrdyšhr yz[d] 'w šhr
 phryz'd * 'yg rwo m'h 'wd
 s'r hnds'nd ** w ''z w 'wrzwg
 nz'r rs'd ** w drd 'wd dn'h (w)
 [...] w dwšy('ryy) 'wd nyxrwt
 (135) 15 cn'nd '[wd w]n'h ny qwn'nd w
 w'd 'b w 'dwr 'ndr šhr tz'[nd]
 ('w)d w'r'n (nrm) w'r'd 'wd
 [dix](t) w gy'w (')wd b'r w 'wrwr
 [] rwy'nd * 'wd [pd] šhr
 (140) 20 [] 'wd w(šy)d'xw bw'd * 'wd
 [m]rdwhm'n d(y)n nywš'nd * w hrw

- which you did [to] the religious, that [service] you did for me. And I shall give you paradise as reward'. He will [give] them great joy.
- 100 [And] again to those evil-doers who stand on the left side he speaks thus, 'You evil-doers were *materialistic and greedy, evil-doing and *acquisitive, and I complain about you, for I was hungry and thirsty and you did not give (me) food, and I was naked and you did not clothe me,
- 110 and I was ill and you did not cure me, [and] I was a captive and an exile and you did not receive me in (your) house(s)'. And the evil-doers will say to him thus, 'Our god and lord, when was it that thou wast so distressed and we did not save thee?' And Xradešahr says to them, 'You, (by) those (things) which the religious have *recounted—there(by) you have
- 120 harmed me [and] I had reason to complain of [you].

The two great principles, / of the Śābuhraġān

- And you are sinners, for you have been deceitful enemies of the religious, and you have distressed (them) and had no mercy on them. And [towards] the gods you are sinful and guilty'. Then he appoints angels over those evil-doers, and they will seize them and cast them into hell.
- 130 And when god Xradešahr will care for the world, then will day, month and year come to an end, and *weakness will befall Greed and Lust, and Pain and *Disease and . . . and Famine and Torment will tremble and will not (be able to) sin (any more). And wind, water and fire will run (free) in the world, and rain will fall softly [and the trees] and grass and
- 140 fruit and plants will grow . . . , and [in the] world will be . . . and confident, and mankind will listen to the Religion, and all . . . and benevolent



[(r)st w hwg'm w rw'npry
[] dwš'rmýh
[r](wč')nd * w k(')

D r

- (145) tr d(h)[m]y'n 'wd 'stwd('n)
(gy'g) wdyr'nd 'wš'n [w]yn['nd]
['ygy]š'n xwyš twhm w n'p
['y wd]rd hynd 'y'd qwn'nd * w
5 (gw)'nd (k)w w['y] (')wyš('n ky) pd h'n
(150) 'w'm ('y) bzg mwrđ 'wd (w)ny (b)[wd]
(h)yn(d ky)bycwš'n sr 'z h'y['n]
['w](l) [hn]'ryh 'wš'n 'yn š'dy[h]
neyhyh (ky) nwn 'mh 'ndr phryzw(m)
10 hnẏt 'mđyšnyy 'y zyndk[r]

(155)

[155-158 blank]

- 15 ('')yđ 'hr'myšn ('y x)[rdyšhr]
(160) [. . .] xrdyšhr yzd []
(z)myg []'d ky (.)[]
mr[dw](h)m'n 'wš[]
'wd xwd 'wl (')[w]
20 xwyš g'h 'hr'[m'd * 'wd w'd]
(165) [']b w 'dwr '['c]
[z](m)ygy (')wl ['hr'm'd ? 'wd]
(p)d š('d)yh (p)[]
w'd 'b w (')[dwr]

D v / E r * dā bwn 'y * / * š'bwħrg'n ***D v**

- tz'n ** 'yg zmyg 'wd 'sm'n
(170) (h'mqyš)wr pršqyrd zm'(n)
(b)[w'd] w 'c hm'g šhr (m)[wrdg]
'bn'm'nd 'wd dynwr 'w [whyšt]
5 'hr'm'nd w dd '[w]d drxt (')[wd]
mwrw ('y) prwr * w d'm 'yg 'byg w
(175) pr['y](st)r 'y zmyg 'c šhr zyh('nd)
[w 'w dw]š[w x š]w'nd **
'wd (p)[s w]'d 'b 'wd 'dw(r)'c
10 [h]'n 'yrdwm zmyg ky h'n m'nbyd
'wd w'd'hr'm yzd 'br
(180) 'ystynd 'bysyh'd * w h'n š[h]r
'y nwg w bnyst'n 'y dyw'n ['y]
[nwg]šhr'pwr yzd dysyd * h'n(c)
15 ['w why]št'w hs'cyh'd w
[sxt] (q)yryh'd * 'yg 'wr[myzd ?]
(185) [m]'h yzd []
[] (h')mqyš(wr) nyy['m]
[] rwšnyh 'wd xwšn ['y]
20 [yzd'n] h'mqyšwr []

and soul-loving ... love ... will *shine. And when they will pass by a cemetery and a place of ossuaries and will see them, [then] they will remember their own family and relatives who have passed away, and
 150 they will say, 'Alas (for) those who in that age of sin died and were lost. But who may raise up their heads from their resting-places and teach them this joy in which we now find ourselves?'

Finished, the coming of the Life-giver.

There comes, the ascension of X[radešahr].

160 ... god Xradešahr will ... earth, who ... mankind ... and will himself rise up to ... his own place. [And wind,] water and fire [will rise up ? from] the earth [and] in joy ... wind, water and [fire will cease ?]

The two principles, of / the Šābuhragān

170 running. Then of the cosmos of earths and heavens [it will be] the time of Renovation and from the whole world they will cause [the dead] to go out, and raise the religious up to [Paradise], and animals and trees and winged birds and water creatures and reptiles of the earth will *disappear from the world and go [to hell]. [Then] wind, water and fire will be removed from [that] lowest earth, on which that house-lord and the
 180 wind-raising god are standing. And that New World and the prison of the demons, which the New-World-creating god forms, will be fixed [to] Paradise and made [*fast] ... Then O(h)rmezd ... (moon) god ... sheath (?) of the cosmos ... Splendour of the [gods] ... cosmos...

145 'Auch 'stw[ā]('n) möglich. Finales n ornamental sehr gross geschrieben', S. 161-168 S.
 169 ʒ'n, reverse imprint on E r. 170-174 beginnings, S. 171 (m)[wrdg], S. 175 zyā('nd), S.

- (190) []wn 'wrm[yzd]
[h'] (mq)[yšwr]
.....
.....

E r

- wpr wdeyd ** **
['] (wd) k' h'n rwšnyh 'wd xwšn
(195) ['y yz] d'n 'hr'myd ghy zmyg
'wd (') sm'n h'm(qyšwr 'o
5 'sm'n 'y 'brdwm ẁ (d') zmyg
'y 'yrdwm (h)m'g šhr [nyš](m)
gyr'd ẁ 'c nyy'(m) ẁ wyn'r(yš)n
(200) sw(st b)w'd ** **
ghy dwdy myhryzd 'c rh ['y]
10 xwrxšyd 'w h'mqyšwr (ny . . .)d
'wd xrwḥ xw'nyh'd 'wd yzd
ky pd 'sm'n 'sm'n ẁ zmy(g)
(205) zmyg m'nbyd wysbyd zndbyd (ẁ)
dhybyd p'hrghbyd ẁ ny[xrwst'r]
15 hynd ẁ šhr wyn'rd d'[rynd 'wd]
'z 'wd 'hrmyn ẁ dyw'(n) ['wd]
pryg'n nyxrwwhynd (')wyš'(n) ['wd]
(210) wysp'n 'zd bw'd kw ''(z) ['wd]
'h[r]myn (ẁ) dyw'n (')wd (pr)[yg'n ẁ]
20 x(yš)m'n mzm'n ẁ ['s]ryš(t'r)['n]
(d)r (m)[](.)c []
[h](m)ys
(215) []('w)
[](hm)[]

E v / F r * 'br hmbhyšn * / * 'y h'mqyšwr *

E v

- ps h'n m'nbyd yzd ky
'br [h](')n 'yrdwm zmyg 'ys[tyd]
'wd zm[y]g'n wyn'rd d'ry[d ẁ]
(220) h'n w'd'hr'm yzd 'yš 'b'g
5 ky w'd 'b 'wd 'dwr 'wl
'hr'myd * ẁ h'n wysbyd yzd
'yg 'br 'yn zmyg 'ystyd ** ẁ
[h']n 'zdh'g 'y mzm'ndr (')b[r]g
(225) (k)yšwr nyr'pt d'ryd * 'o
10 hy'r'n hmys 'w whyšt'w
prnm'nd ** ghy zmyg hrw 'br
h'n eh'r nyr'myšn bn 'y
dyw'n yk 'br yk prwd hmbh'nd
(230)
15 ['wd sr]ygr qyrb 'y 'whrmyzd
[m'] (d 'c r)h 'y xwrxšyd p(yd')g
[b](w'd) ẁ '[w] 'sm'n'n nyyš'd
['w](d) h'n yzd 'y dhybyd ky 'c
(235) (')br hrw 'sm'n 'ystyd * ẁ

190 O(h)rmezd . . . [cosmos] . . . snow melts.

And when that Splendour [of the] gods rises up, then [darkness] will enclose the cosmos of earths and heavens from the highest heaven
200 and to the lowest earth and it will come loose from (its) sheath and fastening.

Then again Mihryazd will *go down from the chariot [of the] sun to the cosmos and a call will resound and the gods who in the different heavens and earths are lord of the house, of the village, of the tribe and of the land, border-guard and (demon-)tormentor, and (who) hold the world in order, [and] torment Az (Greed) and Ahramen and the demons
210 [and] witches—to them [and] all (the universe) it will become known that Az [and] Ahramen and the demons and witches [and] demons of wrath, Mazan demons and arch-demons . . . with . . .

On the collapse / of the cosmos

Then that house-lord god, who stands on the lowest earth and holds
220 the earths in order, [and] that wind-raising god who (is) with him, who raises up wind, water and fire, and that village-lord god who stands on this earth, and (who) keeps that gigantic dragon cast down in the northern clime, together with (their) helpers, (all) proceed to Paradise. Then the earths will all, one upon the other, collapse down onto those four (lower) layers, the prison of the demons.

231 [And] the female form of [the mother] of Ohrmezd will appear from the chariot of the sun and look upon the heavens. And that god, lord of the land, who stands above all heavens and holds the hands of those [five]

- gods, . . . and that [other ?] god who [stands] between . . . south (?) . . .
 241 together with those five gods who first, with their own Splendour had
 been seized by Az and Ahramen [and the male and] female demons . . .
 Paradise . . . and those five gods who [first ? far from ?] Paradise and the
 gods had been struck down by Az and Ahramen and the male and female
 250 demons—they too in Paradise will again become as whole and like (they
 were at) their first creation (by) Ohrmezdby, when they had not yet been
 struck down by Az and the demons,—and also that world-bearing [god]
 who keeps the earths and heavens (well) ordered,—they will (all) ascend
 to Paradise. Then the ten heavens and the one revolving circle of the
 260 zodiac, with climes, thrones, houses and villages, tribes and lands, regions
 [and borders], guards and gates, months, days and [double hours], and the
 four (lower) layers, prison [of the demons], and the four (upper) earths,
 with . . .

On the fierceness [of] / the great fire

- thrones (?) and climes, mountains and valleys and excavated canals . . . and
 hell, with Az and Lust, Ahramen and the male and [female] demons,
 270 [demons of wrath,] Mazan demons and arch-fiends . . . (when they are all)
 arranged and squeezed therein, they will all collapse. And those three
 poisonous dark ditches and the conflagrations which have been made
 around the cosmos will be let loose down upon them. And that raging fire
 which now guards and *walls and is stationed around the cosmos, that will
 280 go burning in north and east, south and west, and (in the) height and
 depth, [breadth ?] and length (of the cosmos). [And] the cosmos of earths

241 (*hmys*), S. 242 f. [*ky*], *r(w)[šny](h iō x)[wšn]*, S. 246 (*nx*)[*wt*], S. 249 *h'nz 'ndr*
whyšh[*w*], S. 250 (*h'ws'r*), S. 254 (*q)yšw(rw'r)[yzd]*, S. 255–263 ends, S. 266–268 beginnings,
 reverse imprint on G r. 270 S. 280–287 beginnings, S.

- (285) 20 ['ndr (h')n (s)[w]c(yš)n ''wn [sw]c'nd
c'(w)n [m](wm) pd 'dwr ǃ ['']z 'wd
['wrzwg 'hrm]yn [ǃ dy](w)'n xyšm'n
m[] t'r'n 'wd
(illegible traces)
[hz'r 'wd]

G r

- (290) ch'r sd šst 'wd hšt s'[r]
['y]'rd'nd 'wd wrd'nd 'wd 'xš'dy[y]
[gwm]'y'nd * ǃ h'n xwr 'wd prdwz
'yg 'wy rwšnyh 'wd xwšn 'y
5 yzd'n 'y pd zmyg 'wd 'sm'n
h'mqyšwr ǃ ''z 'wd dyw'n zd
(295) 'wd prdxt m'nd * h'n pd 'wy
'yb ('c)yš b' 'wzyh'[d 'wd]
p'q bw'd ǃ 'w xwr 'wd m'(h)
10 'hr'm'd * 'wd pd cyhr ['y]
'whrmzydb yzd bw'd * ǃ ('c)
(300) xwr ǃ m'h hmys 'w whyšt'[w]
'hr'm'nd * ǃ 'whrmzydb y '[c]
'brg p'dgws ǃ rwšnšh[ryzd]
15 'c xwr's'n * ǃ nwg(š)hr['p](wr)
yzd 'c 'yrg * ǃ myhryzd ('c)
(305) xwrnw'r p'dgws * 'ymyš'[n]
pdyšt'n 'c xwyš'n (ǃ h)[y'r'n]
hmys 'br h'n dysm'n ['y]
20 whyšt'w 'y nwg (p)[y](r'm)wn 'w[y]
'yb 'y[s](t')[nd ǃ ? 'w] ('')(yb)
(310) nyyš'nd * ǃ ('wy)š'n[c dyn](wr'n)
ky 'ndr whyšt'[w hynd pd]
[g']hrwšn nšyy'n[d *]

G v / H r * 'br rw'n'n * / [* 'y dw]šqyrdg'n'[n] *

G v

- (ps) hndmñ 'y (yzd)'n ''y'nd 'wd
[pyr'mwn] 'wy ''yb 'yst'[nd]
(315) ['wd dwsqyrd]g'n'n 'ndr ''y[b]
['y'rd'nd] 'wd wrd'nd 'wd
5 prbys'nd ǃ 'wyš'n dynwr'n
h'n ('')yb ''wn ny wyz'y'd
[c]'wn nwn c 'yn 'dwr xwr 'wd
(320) [m']h (n)y wyz'y'd *
[']wd h'n 'y dwsqyrdg'n k' 'ndr
10 [']wy ''yb 'y['rd]'nd ǃ wrd'nd
'yg 'wl nyyš'nd 'wd dynwr'n
'šn's'nd 'wš'n pywh''n
(325) 'wh gw'nd kwt'n nyw dybg 'br
[']mh hyb byh * 'wm'n
15 ['hyn](z)yš[n] 'wd z'yg 'w dst dyy[d]
'wm'n 'c 'yn sweyšn bwzy(d)
['](w)m'n (ny) [p]rm'd kw 'yn''wn

and heavens will burn in the conflagration like wax in fire. And Az and [Lust], Ahramen and the demons, demons of wrath . . . dark and . . . (2 lines missing) . . . [one thousand] four hundred and sixth-eight years
 290 they will be tormented and writhe and suffer distress. And the power and *energy of that Splendour of the gods which has remained in the cosmos of earths and heavens and struck down and *exhausted by Az and the demons will go out from it (the cosmos) in that conflagration [and] be purified and go up to the sun and moon and become a god
 300 in the form of Ohrmezdby, and together with sun and moon will go up to Paradise. And Ohrmezdby from the northern region, and Rošnšahr[yazd] (the Light World god) from the east, and the New-World-[creating] god from the south, and Mihr[yazd from] the western region, their (respective) stations, together with their own (people) and [helpers], will stand on that structure of the New Paradise, around that conflagration, and will
 310 look [into] the conflagration. And those [religious also] who [are] in Paradise will sit [on] thrones of light.

On the souls / [of the] evil-doers

Then, in the presence of the gods, they will come and stand [around] that conflagration. [And the evil-doers] in the conflagration [will be tormented] and writhe and suffer, and that conflagration does not harm those religious,
 320 just as now too this fire, (namely) sun and moon, does not harm (people). And when those evil-doers are tormented and writhe in that conflagration, then they will look up and recognize the religious and will say to them beseechingly, ' May your good fortune befall us. Give us a life-line into our hands to pull us up, and save us from this burning. We did not think

- (330) [] w̃ 'stpt 'b[r] 'mh r(sy)
[b]ycwm'n 'g(r) d'nyst hy 'wm'n
20 (e)y gwpyh[s](t h)'nym('n w)'br
qyrd [hy **] '[mh?]yc dyn 'wd
[p](d)yryp(t hy) 'wm'n ''z
(335) [ny]r'pt hy w̃ 'šmh
[hy]('r bwd hyym (')[wd]

H r

- ['(x)š'dyh []
[](m) ** **
['wd dynwr'n ']wh gw'nd kw
(340) 'šmh (dwš)[q](yr)[d](g)'nh'n m'
5 dr'[y](y)d * [cym]'n h'(n) 'y'd bwd
(qw) 'nd(r) [šhr ?] ''zg'm w̃ 'w[rz](w)g
pyys (b)[wd] hyyd * 'wd 'st(m)[b](g)
'n'n[](s)t (hyy)d * ['wt'n]
(345) rw'n [r'y ny] mynyd w̃ (')[w 'm'h]
10 dwšmy[ny'd bwd hyd] * 'wt'n '[e]
(š)hr ('w šhr xwyhyd w̃ mw[rzyd]
[h](w)m 'wt'n w'br ny qyr(d)[kw]
[yz]d'(n q'm)yšng(r) hwm 'w(t)'[n]
(350) [xw](d)yc ny prm['d kw ? 'yn] (d)w]w(')[ryy]
15 [']br ('m')[h] rs'd [w̃ ? 'mh]
[](d)y(n)[.] d'r'd [b]yc 'gr
'šmh '[e] 'mh (x)[r]d w̃ (d')ny(š)[n]
(')y yzd'n (p)[dyry]p(t h)[y] * 'wd (k)[']
(355) rw'n pryy (b)[w]d h(yd) * (w̃) pd yzd'[n]
20 pnd r(pt) hy[d 'wd] (h)'mpn[d]
(')wd hy'r (b)[wd hyd 'ygyt'n]
tn ''z 'wd 'wr[zwg ny z'd ?]
(h)'(d) * w̃ t'y 'prg '[wd]
(360) [ny] (wrwwyd ?) * 'yg rw[n j'y'd'n 'w]

H v / J r * (dw bwn)['y *] / [* š'](bwhr)g('n *)

H v

- dwj(w')ryh ny md[h'd * nwn]
ny 'w 'mh pywh(yy)d['wd m']
dr'yyd w̃ m' (ywbyd)[]
cy 'ync ('y nwn [']mh 'w 'yn
(365) 5 hndmn 'y yzd'n m[d h]yym * h'n
ny ('šmh dwšq[y]r[d]g'n'n r'y
[m]d hyym * byc 'wyš'n r'y
[hndym'n ? m](d) hyym ky [h'n šhr 'y
[qhwn ? 'ndrw]n 'w dynw(r'n) rwn xwb
(370) 10 [b](wd) hynd 'wd pdys'y 'šmh
[dw]šqyrdg'n'n h'nš'(n ny d)[yd ?]
[d]y(n) w̃ qyrdg'n t'w'n bwd ('dy(d)[n]
(')wd pdyryptn w̃ ''z 'wd 'wrzw(g)
[pr]('mwx(t)[n 'wd] dynwr'n h'm[pnd]
(375) 15 [w̃ ? pr](m)yn (sp)w(r b)wdn * 'wd '[yd]
r'y 'w gr'n (d)[w]w](r)yh (m)[d]

330 that it would befall us so . . . and harshly ; but if we had known, we would have believed that which was said to us, we would have accepted the religion and . . . and we would have cast down Az [and . . .] and to you we have been . . . helpers. And . . . suffering . . . ' [And the religious] will
 340 speak thus. ' Do not prate, you evil-doers, [for] we remember that in the [world] you were greedy and lustful, and you have [been] oppressive . . . [and you did not] consider the soul, and [to us you have been] inimical and have pursued and persecuted us from land to land, and you did not believe that we are the fulfillers of the wishes of the gods. And you
 350 yourselves did not consider [that, " This] misfortune may befall us and hold [us ?] . . . ' . But if you had accepted the wisdom and knowledge of the gods from us, and had been soul-loving, and had gone in the path of the gods and had been travelling-companions and helpers (to us), then [your] bodies [would not have borne ?] Az and Lust, and [you would
 360 not have] *adhered to robbers, thieves and . . . Then (your) souls

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would not have come [eternally to] misfortune. [Now] let you not beseech us, [and do not] prate and complain . . . For this, that now we have come to this, into the presence of the gods—we have not come for (the sake of) you evil-doers, but we have come . . . for those who [in that old ?] world
 370 were well-disposed towards the religious, and because of you evil-doers they did not [see] that, (namely that) it was possible (for them) to enter the religion and to accept the (necessary) deeds, and to cast off Az and Lust and to be [travelling-]companions of the religious, and completely [? happy]. And [there]fore they have come to grave misfortune, and . . .

- (380) 20 [h](ynd * w̃) [](g šy)[](h) 'ndr
 ['wy] ('yb 'y['](rd)y[nd] 'wd wrdynd
 ('wd 'xš)'d(yh) wd[']rynd * nwn ('mh)
 [](yšn) [](h)m(b'ry)m
 []('z) w̃ 'wrzwwg (. . .)
 [](c) 'wd dw[](.)[]
 []('mh 'wy . . .)
 []('b'g 'šm[h])

J r

- (385) []m * '(w)[d] ('b'g ('h)[r]m[y]n
 ['wd] dyw('n p(d) bn 'y j'yd'n bst
 (ny) bw'd b(y)c 'šmh 'yd
 dwjw('r)(y)h w'ryyd * cyt'n 'c
 5 'z ('wd ['wr]zwwg w̃ xwyš kwnyšn
 (390) ('b)r md * ['](w)t'n 'z 'yd 'xš(')(dy)[(h)
 c(')wn bwz('m k' 'c ('ndr)[yzd'n ?]
 d'dys[t]('n) wcr 'yd ('wd)[ps]
 wys(p r)w'n ky 'ndr (t)[n pd 'z w̃]
 10 'wrzw(g) z'yh('d) w̃ 'z (w̃ 'w)[rzwg]
 (395) [z'](yn'd) 'wš ny nyr'm'd w̃ tn(p)[rst]
 'wd 'zg'm bw'd 'wd 'hrmyn(k)[n ?]
 d'r'd * h'n 'b'g 'hrmyn ['wd]
 [dy]w'n pd bn 'y j'yd]('n bs[t]
 15 [b](w)'d ** (w̃ h'n) ky y(z)[d'](n) q(')[m]
 (400) qwn'd ['wd dynwr'n h'impnd '(w)[d]
 hy'r b[w'](d)['wd 'wy](e) ky []
 [p]dyš xwb [](. . . .)[]
 ['b'g yzd[n pd] (w)hyš(t)
 20 [](b)w'(d) [](r)[]
 (405) [dw](šq)yrđg'(n')[n 'wd pswx]
 ['w] (d)wšqyr(d)[g'n'n 'ndr]
 [sw](e)yšn gr'n ['wd pšym'n]
 [bw'nd 'wd] ('x)š'd b(w)[nd ** **]

J v / (* d)xc bun [wzrg ? *]/

J v

- (410) ('wd)[h'n rw]n('n)[n 'b'ryg'n]
 ky ('n)[d](r) tn * '(')[z] ('w)[d] ('wr)[zwwg]
 z'y'nd w̃ d' [z]myg ('w)d ['sm'n]
 'ystyd x(r)d 'w[d] d'(nyšn 'y)
 5 (r)w'ncynyh ny pd(yr)[']nd '(w)d '(w)
 [dyn](')wryh ny (')[dyh'nd **]('wd nyo)
 (415) [dwšqy](r)[d](g'n) bw(')[nd] byc pd
 [hrg 'wd] (q)'ryz'r rw(')[nd] ('wd 'z
 ['wd 'w](r)zwwg (q)'m q[w](n')[n]d ('wd)
 10 ['w dwšqy](rdg'n')[n p]r(ys)t[']nd w̃ pd
 [dynwr'n](e) xwb w̃ xwš (bx)[š'nd]
 (420) ['wd] (pdys'y 'y)'z 'w[d] ('wrz)wg w̃
 [.]'wy 'wd xrg w̃ m[w](s)[t](br)yh
 []('b'g) nwr('n)[n ?]
 15 [](. . .)[](.) w̃ (.)[](ny) b(w')[nd]

in [that] conflagration they are tormented and writhe and suffer distress.
 380 Now we fill . . . Az and Lust . . . and . . . we . . . with you . . . And he will
 not be bound in the eternal prison with Ahramen [and] the demons. But
 390 you, rejoice (at) this misfortune, for it has come upon you from Az and
 Lust and your own actions! And how should we save you from this
 torment, when this (is) a judgement from within the justice [of the gods?].
 And [then] every soul which shall be born in a body with Az and Lust,
 and bear Az and Lust and not cast them off, and become self-indulgent
 and greedy, and keep [the creatures of] Ahramen, he shall be bound with
 Ahramen [and] the demons in the eternal prison. And he who shall do
 400 the will of the gods [and] be a travelling-companion and helper [of the
 religious, and he] too who [is] well-disposed to them . . . shall be . . . with
 the gods in Paradise . . . evil-doers and (their) answer to the evil-doers in
 the grievous burning, and they will repent and be distressed.

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410 And those other souls which shall bear Az and Lust in the body, and
 so long as earth and heaven stand shall not accept the wisdom and know-
 ledge of Soul-gathering and not enter into the religious community, and
 shall not become wicked, but shall behave in (the exaction of) tribute
 and in battle, and shall do the will of Az and Lust, and serve the evil-
 doers, and shall also bestow on the religious good and pleasant (things),
 420 and according to Az and Lust and . . . and tribute and tyranny . . . with
 the . . . and shall not be . . . with . . . you . . . righteous (?) . . . (remainder
 illegible).

(425)	[	](. . .) pd[	]	'b'g
	[	]qy (. . .)[	]	('wy) '(šm)['h]
	[	](d . . .)[	]	('rd)['w'n ?]
		[427-432 illegible]		

NOTES

4. 'The speakers are the false prophets who will appear at this time' (Boyce, *Reader*, z 1, note).

5. *pyysgr*. Ghilain (art. cit., 540) translates this *hapax* appropriately 'mandataire', i.e. 'exécuteur des préceptes', or rather 'one holding a mandate, carrying out instructions'. On *payēs*, v. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 64, n. 1: its use with *kun-* is exemplified in *Mir. Man.*, I, 202, l. 1 (= *Reader*, y 53, l. 5) *cyš'n k'm 'wōd pyys qwōd* 'denn ihren Willen und (ihre) Weisung erfüllt er'. Boyce's translation (z 1, n., and *Word-list*,¹⁴ 77) 'we are the gods' teachers' (unfortunately ambiguous) appears to rest on a misunderstanding.

5 f. For (. . . m . . .), Sundermann writes: 'Was ich lesen kann, sieht wie *y*(1-2m2-3) aus.' Initial *y-* in MP is almost only found in 'learned' words (the only known verb being *ywb-*, v. 363 below), and **wym°* has already passed to *gwm°* in the MP verbs known. An initial *z-* is, according to S., impossible, so **z'myhyd* 'be led', an otherwise unattested passive to *z'pt*, *z'n-* is excluded. S. then suggests: Vielleicht einfach (*w* '')[*š*](*m*)[*h*], und 6 Ende [*royd* * *w*].

9. *dymor* 'religious, devout; a religious man' (*Word-list*, 38), lit. 'bearer of the religion', is outside this text only met in M 2 R II 24 f. (*Mir. Man.*, II, 303 = *Reader*, h 4) *dymor hym hš'gyrd 'y m'ny prystg* 'Ein Gläubiger bin ich, ein Schüler Manis, des Gesandten'. Here too it seems to have the general meaning of '(relapsing) Manichaean', but see note to 45.

17. See *Reader*, z 2, n. 'the function of bringing enlightenment to Adam is usually assigned to Jesus, whereas the sending of gnosis to his descendants through the prophets is the work of the Great Nous. The identity of the god Xradēsahr is therefore uncertain'. But to 21 Sundermann writes 'bei enger Schreibung könnte *w* (*m*)[*yrd'n*] o.ä. dastehen, was man eigentlich erwarten sollte, da der Gott der Welt des Nous (Jesus der Glanz) alle Offenbarungen an die Menschheit inspiriert hat'.

18. There is no space for Boyce's reconstruction of **c* before *axost*, nor for *'wōd *myrd* after *naxwyr*.

A v / B r. This heading, correctly restored already by Müller, op. cit., 11, '[Das Kommen] des Menschensohns', is wrongly combined, *Reader*, 78, with that of B v / C r to give a non-existent title 'Concerning the Judgement by the Son of Man'. This unhappy juxtaposition occurs already in F. C. Burkitt's *Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge, 1925, 89.

32 and 205. *m'nbyd wysbyd zndbyd 'wōd dhybyd p'hrgbyd*, see Ghilain, art. cit., 542 f., for other occurrences. These are the five sons of the Living Spirit, Mihr Yazd, identified by A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, New York, 1932, 296 ff., esp. 308, as Atlas, Adamas of Light, King of Glory, King of Honour, and Keeper of Splendour, in that order. He also, 307, n. 35, gives

¹⁴ Mary Boyce, *A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (with a reverse index by Ronald Zwanziger), *Acta Iranica*, 9a, Teheran and Liège, 1977.

the Avestan origin of the first four terms, from the titles *nmānō.paiti-*, *wīspaiti-*, *zantupaiti-*, *daījhpaiti-*: as Schaeder had already stated, however (R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, Leipzig, 1926, 282 f.), the hierarchical nature of these offices was irrelevant to Mani's conception. E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, Berlin, 1933, 508 [where there is a confusing error: l. 31, for 'Landesherrn', read 'Stammesherrn']-511, demonstrate that the last two titles are to be reversed: the King of Honour is *p'hr̥gbyd* and the Splenditenens *dhybyd*. Sundermann, in his important contribution, 'The five sons of the Manichaean god Mithra', to the Seminario su 'Specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra', Rome, 1978 (papers to be published by U. Bianchi), returned to Jackson's ordering, but see now n. 234 ff. below.

34. [ny]xrwst'r has been continuously reproduced as xrwst'r since Müller's original error, op. cit., 24, leading Boyce, *Reader*, z 3, n., to write of this form as a *hapax*. In fact there is plainly space for two letters before x- at the beginning of the line and the appearance of ny[in 206 in precisely the same position in the series of 'offices' makes it practically certain that we have two occurrences of the same word *nyxrwst'r*. For the rest, Ghilain's etymological connexion (art. cit., 542) with Avestan *xraod-* 'ängstigen' (*AirWb.* 533) is convincing, although it involves the recognition of two partly homonymous verbs, *naxrwhyd*, **naxroh-* 'tadeln,¹⁵ reproach' (*Word-list*, 64) < OP **ni-xraud-*, Av. *xraos-*, and **nyxrwst*, *nyxroh-* < **ni-xraud-* 'torment'. While 209 *nyxrwwhynd* could, if somewhat weakly, be translated 'they reproach Az, etc.', the verbal noun 134 *nyxrwst*, denoting a personified evil, must be something stronger than mere 'Reproach, Rebuke', which hardly merits demonisation! The two verbs (brought together in *Word-list*, 64, 66) should thus be kept apart, and *xrwst'r* (*Word-list*, 99) be deleted. By the same token, the inscriptional Pahlavi form *nhlwsty* in Kartir's (Kirdēr) inscription at the 'Kaaba-i Zardusht' must, considering the context, also be 'torment', not merely 'reproach': KKZ 13 f. 'LHšnm puhly / MHYTN 'Pm nhlwsty HWHd 'Dm ŠPYL klty HWHd 'those [heretics] I punished (*puhl zad*), and I tormented them until I made them better'. Here too we find the primary participle, in contrast to the secondary *naxrōhid* for 'reproach'.

Ghilain, art. cit., 543, assumes that *dyw'n* [ny]xrwst'r is the same as the *bnybyd* 'prison warder' mentioned in a fuller list of the creations of Mihr Yazd, M 7984 (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R I 34 = *Reader*, y 7), and he in turn is identified by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Man. Dogmatik*, 514 f., with the Call-God, sixth son of Mihr Yazd, called in Parthian Xrōštag. At first I had doubts about this identification as there is no obvious reason why especially Xrōštag should merit the title 'demon-tormentor', when all the sons are said to torment in 209. But I have to bow not only to the conviction of Boyce and Sundermann but also to the unavoidable 'wd / w after *p'hr̥gbyd*.

37. In the Müller-Salemann reading [. . .]w dyw'n pyš 'wy the demons seemed out of place. Boyce's reconstruction (*Reader*, z 3) **wd hrw* would require too much space unless one assumed [w hr]w, but the abbreviation is very seldom found at the beginning of a line. Moreover *hrw*, though it often precedes an -'n plural in Parthian, rarely does so in MP. Sundermann's new reading [dw]w dwō'n pδš 'wy is far more convincing, though pδš can hardly be anything other than a mistake for pyš.

¹⁵ W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973, 129 (where 'Frās.3.Sg.' is an error for 'Pt.', i.e. participle), and text line 1719.

40. *mrđyhn*'n. The form *mrđyhn* occurs in M 882 a, 1/4 and, very probably, M 4168, 2/2, published recently by Sundermann ('Überreste manichäischer Yimki-Homilien', *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, II (*Acta Iranica*, 5), 300-1). Ghilain's proposed interpretation (art. cit., 544) of **mrđyh-*, or possibly **mrzyh-*, is multiply impossible: (1) the Pahlavi present stem *marzih-* is not (with Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, II, 147, repeated *Manual of Pchlevi*, II, 127) from Av. *marəz-* 'touch', but is a ghost-word needing a long footnote to lay it properly;¹⁶ (2) the MP verb *marz-*, either a loan from Parthian or a 'learned' form, means only 'copulate', and is intransitive, allowing no 'passive' in *-ih-*; (3) an 'authentic Persian' form **marđih-* would long since have become **māđih-* in Manichaean MP, cf. *hyl-*: Parthian *hyrz-*. It seems better to consider the word as a nominal compound < **martah/θana-* or **zart.y.h/θana-*. Of OP roots containing a *θ*, a putative **aθ*, Av. **as*, Skr. *as* 'eat', as in Av. *kahrkāsa-* 'vulture', lit. 'chicken-eater', offers an interpretation as **marti-yāθana-* (formed like Av. *ātrə.vazana-*, *zaoθrə.barana-*, etc.). Although the reduction of *-iyā-* to **-ē/-* would require explanation (but not NP *kargās*), such an old word for 'man-eater' could easily be generalized to mean 'monster, tyrant' or the like, from which an adjective in *-g'n* would give 'tyrannous, oppressive'.

45. Sundermann writes: 'Ich würde übersetzen "die Frommen mit (ihren) Helfern", um es ganz deutlich zu machen, dass hier von den beiden Gemeinschaften der manichäischen Kirche, den Electi und den Auditores, die Rede ist. Erst in den Zeilen 73-96 wird m. A. n. ganz deutlich, dass beim jüngsten Gericht zwischen drei, nicht zwei Gruppen von Menschen zu unterscheiden ist: 1. den Electi (*dynw'r'n*), die weder als Angeklagte noch als Ankläger vor dem Richtstuhl Christi erscheinen müssen, sondern sogleich zu den Göttern ins Neue Lichtparadies erhoben werden (Zeilen 49 ff.), 2. den Auditores (*hy'r'n* 'y *dynw'r'n*), den 'Schafen' zur Rechten Christi, die um der Dienste willen, die sie den Electi geleistet haben, gerechtfertigt aus dem Gericht hervorgehen und unter der Herrschaft Christi auf dieser verklärten Welt bis zur Vernichtung der Welt leben werden, bzw. auch ins Paradies eingehen (aus Zeilen 97 ff. folgt zwar nur, dass sie das Paradies und "grosse Freude" zum Lohn erhalten; ausführlicher sind aber die koptischen Homilien: *Manichäische Homilien*, I, ed. H. J. Polotsky, Stuttgart, 1934, 39), 3. den übrigen, ungläubigen Weltkindern, den 'Böcken' zur Linken, die in die Hölle geworfen werden (Zeilen 100 ff.). Dies ist die aus den *Homilien* bereits bekannte Auffassung, vgl. S. 38, 12 ff.'

¹⁶ Its only occurrence is in the *Kärnūmag* (ed. Antia, 12). Nyberg's interpretation of this astrological passage, pieced together, is 'faute de mieux' (*Manual*, II, 163, s.v. **pat-kust*): **dō-āpdān* *ōpast* u *stārak* *Ohurmazd apāc* (ō) *bāliet āmat apī-š hac Vahrām u Anāhīt* **pat-kust*. *Haftōdīring* u *Sagr aztar marzihēnd* u ō *Ohurmazd hayyārēh dahēnd* 'The constellation Aquarius has set and the planet Jupiter returned to (its) culmination point, and it has joined side by side with Mars and Venus. The constellations Ursa Major and Leo are in conjunction and give assistance to Jupiter'. Ignoring the extravagant coinings **dō-āpdān* ('Aquarius' is well attested as *dōh*) and **pat-kust*, it need only be observed that constellations, fixed stars, cannot conceivably 'be in conjunction' to show the impossibility of this reading. Henning amended boldly and necessarily to make passable 'popular astrological' sense of the passage, thus: *grw[h]cyhr* 'u *pat* [L] *W st'lt* (Y) 'whrmzgd *L'WHL* (L) *b'lt* *Y'TWNt* [Pā MN] *w'h'm* *W* 'n'hyt *PWN kust* (Y) *kptwng* (BYN) *šgl* 'hl *mō yhynd* *W* 'L *whrmzgd* *hgyb'lyh* *YHBWNd*, i.e. *Gōzihr* ō *pat* u *stārag* ō *Ohurmazd abāz* (ō) *bāliet āmad*. *Wahrām* u *Anāhīt*, *pat kust* (t) *Haftōdīring*, (andar) *Sagr aztar marz jahēnd* u ō *Ohurmazd ayārēh dahēnd*. 'The Dragon has come into (its) defection and the planet Jupiter back to (its) exaltation [in Cancer]. Mars and Venus, in the direction of the Great Bear [i.e. in the northern hemisphere], are (jahēnd) within the term (marz) of the sign Leo and give support to Jupiter [in neighbouring Cancer]. For andar *fastar*, jah- as an astrological term, see my 'Zoroastrian astrology in the *Bundahishn*', *BSOAS*, xxv, 3, 1964, 514-15, with n. 22.

49 f. With *kw* **yzd* 'wm'n *xwd'y*, cf. 114 *kw*m'n *yzd* w *xwd'y*.

57. 'ng'm, reading certain. See Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 485.

66. *npryn*, the expected MP spelling (as in Sundermann, *KPT*, 129, text l. 1434), is certain. The only dot present marks the *r*. Müller's misreading, with -f-, has survived in the *Reader*, z 6, and *Word-list*, 61.

67. *drw'xyz* (omitted from the *Word-list*) < **druwa-āhaiza*-, probably 'having a whole (healthy) arising', cf. MP *ryst'hyz* 'resurrection' (lit. 'arising of the dead') and *mord'h/xyz* 'raiser of the dead'. The positive *drw*- does not occur in MP (only superlative *dryst*), so the compound must be an old inherited Zoroastrian term for the blessed at the Resurrection.

67-71. The restored text differs necessarily from that given by Boyce, *Reader*, z 6. The lacuna in 71 has 'a wholly tentative restoration by Dr. Sundermann, which would fit the space and the faint traces'.

76. Restoration and translation doubtful. In such a passive formation one would expect an auxiliary in concord with 'smh, i.e. *q[yrđ hyd]*, but Sundermann indicates only *q[3-5]*. The more natural interpretation of *pdys*, as governing the relative *ky* 'by whom', founders on the reading ('*prydg* . . .). With **q[wnym]*, i.e. 'through/by whom I make . . .', it gives no sense, and replacing it with a noun, e.g. '*pryn*', makes matters no better. With *q[yrđ]* a noun would obviate the necessity of *pdys*, and more likely appear simply as **ky zrw'n 'pryn qyrđ* 'who praised Z.', cf. 60 *ghys'n 'pryn qwnd*.

85. *hrwpt* is transcribed, *Word-list*, 47, as **hruft*, its present *hrwb*- as *hrub*-, following approximately Henning, 'Verbum', *ZII*, 9, 1933, 184, *hrōβ*-, *hruft* < **uz + rup*. The meaning there given, 'öffnen', was later corrected by Henning to 'sammeln', *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, Berlin, 1937, 79, sub 649. The impossibility of deriving **hr*° < **uz-r*° is shown by the development of **uz-raw*- to MP 'zrw-', see Henning, *BSOAS*, xxviii, 2, 1965, 246, n. 29. This makes Gershevitch's suggestion (*TPS*, 1968, 9, n. 1) that *hrwpt* is < **ham-rup*- practically certain. The transcription would then be *harruftan*, *harrōb*-.

88. Sundermann notes: 'Ich habe den Eindruck, dass die zum Richter gesprochenen Worte ("du bist Gott und unsterblich, leidest nicht Hunger und Durst", usw.) die doketische Christusauffassung der Manichäer unterstreichen sollen. Dies spricht m. A. n. für Identifizierung des *xrđysšr* (*yzd*) mit Jesus dem Glanz' (see note to 17).

91. *dn'h*, occurring only in hendiadys with *drđ* 'pain', is no clearer etymologically than it was when Henning (*BSOAS*, xi, 4, 1946, 725, n. 1) offered the meaning 'tooth-ache'—'*dann*- from *dant*-? + Persian *āh*'. But OIr. -*nt*- does not normally become Man. MP -*nn*- (this development being restricted to OIr. -*nd*-), and there is no obvious reason why a word for tooth-ache should be generalized to mean all aches. One could as well think of a suitably alliterative word for 'sickness, disease' in general. Old Iranians could have described plagues and epidemics as **zana-āsa*-, OP **danāda*- 'consuming the people (γένος)'; cf. Sanskrit lexicon *janāśana*- 'man-eater, wolf', and note 40, *mrđyhnng'n*, above.

96. ['*sp*'](s), cf. *Man. Homilien*, 38.11, [*nš'mše nēi* 'damit habt ihr] mir gedient'.

103. *tnoyy*. With the translation 'grieving for the body, concerned with material things (?)' (*Word-list*, 87), Boyce clearly posits a compound with the MP verbal stem *cy*- [čay-] 'mourn, grieve, be troubled' (Henning, 'Verbum', 181, the meaning corrected *apud* Ghilain, 'Index de termes en moyen-iranien', *Le Muséon*, L, 1937, 375 'se plaindre, gémir'). The semantic development thus

suggested seems, however, unlikely: to 'mourn' the body is not to 'indulge' it. Sundermann writes on the other hand: '*incry* "grieving for the body" kann m. A. n. auch ganz wörtlich verstanden werden'. He refers to his *KPT*, text 26, where one finds, 1754 ff., 'wenn ich den leiblicher (*ns'hyn*—also gestorbenen) Sohn beweine (*gryym*), [ich] töte den seelischer'. The sin of lamenting the dead, however, seems far too specialized to merit so prominent a mention. It seems preferable to think again of an old inherited word **tanu-čaya-* 'choosing the body/self', although the root of *čayc-*, Av. **kay*, *či*, is in MP only attested in the stem form *čīn-* (**wizīn-*, etc.), as in *rw'ncyn* lit. 'soul-gathering, -selecting'. (This is similar to Henning's original view, 'Verbum', 182, although that was partly based on a misconception of the meaning of MP *čay-*.)

104. *gyh hš'r* is plainly a compound with an otherwise unknown element, probably a present stem *hš'r* < **ham-šāra-*. *gyh* < Av. *gaēdā-* 'property, esp. flocks' requires, in this context, a word meaning 'to acquire, amass, hoard', or the like. Perhaps the otherwise unknown root **šar* is to be found in Kurdish, Northern *va šārtin*, *šēr-*, Central *šārdin(awa)* 'to hide', and the noun *hašār* 'hiding-place, ambush'. In that case /gēh-haššār/ would be a 'property-hoarding', i.e. an acquisitive, miserly person.

115. *dujwōrd* 'distressed' is connected with *buōrd* 'patient'; cf. also Av. *dušberatše* '(übel zu tragen =) zu erleiden' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 758, *ZAirWb.* 172).

118. *'nng'r /angār/*. (A transcription **/anangār/* is theoretically possible, but such a form would be inexplicable as a negative of *angār* if this was originally **hankāra-*.) Boyce, *Reader*, z 10, n., follows Salemann (*MSt.* 54, s.v. *'ng'r*) in reading *ku-tān ... angār dāšt *hēnd*, but offers three equally impossible translations (ignoring *hēnd*). The *Word-list*, 13, gives 'reckoning (?)', in line with Pahlavi *hng'lk* 'reckoning', NP *angār kardan* 'suppose, imagine', *angāra kardan* 'estimate, reckon'.

'n(n)g'r kyrd/kwōn- occurs twice elsewhere: (1) with *pd*, but doubtfully, in M 20 II R (= *Reader*, du 3) ... *wynyd 'wōd 'ng[r] qwnyd pd 'yn dyn ywjdhr wywq 'y š'h* 'see ye ... and *think of this holy religion, the bride of the king', (2) without a preposition, in the unpublished M 3 R ii 6-11 (for which I have to thank Sundermann) *prystg 'y 'c wzrgy(y) wysp zm'n dws'(r)m 'b- 'm'h (x)w'hyd * 'wōš 'nng'r ny ky(rd) hwōm pd p(r)hyn dws'rm bycyš ...* '... the apostle, who from (his) greatness (at) all times wishes love upon us, and he has not ... us (*u-š angār nē kird hom*) with (*pad*) (his) *loving love, but he ...'. In this regrettably fragmentary context, if we translate 'has not thought of, considered us' there would seem to be a glaring contradiction, on account of the negative. The difficulty is perhaps to be circumvented by taking *angār kird* 'reckon' in the sense of 'judge'.

Neither of these passages helps with our text, however. A better clue seems to be the secondary meaning of NP *angāra* 'a narrative, especially a repeated and tedious one', cf. *Burhān-i qāṭi*: *sarguzašt bāšad, va yād-i guzasthā kardan-rā nīz gūyand*. Xradēšahr is referring to the catalogue of sufferings which the *dēnucarān* recalled (l. 51 ff.) but were actually dissuaded from (tediously) recounting.

121, 125. *wn'hg'r*. The *Reader*, z 10, following Salemann, has both times, wrongly, *wn'hg'r* (with 'final' *h*). The *Word-list*, 92, on the other hand has *wn'hgr* (and *-gryy*) [*wināhgar*, *-garī*], forms which do not occur.

C v / D r, D v / E r. There is some confusion in Boyce's note *Reader*, 76 f., about this heading. *Šābuhragān* appears on M 432 recto, not verso. On *Dō bun*

wuzurg see Henning, 'The doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani', *A.M.*, N.S. III, 1952, 2, 210, n. 10.

125. The [w] is concealed by 'y' in mirror-writing (from 149). The following word is apparently *pwrdg*, < Avestan *-parata-*, **par*, rather than the **'pwrdg* previously read (see Henning, *ZII*, 9, 193, l. 16 f.), which then drops from the Manichaean MP vocabulary (*Word-list*, 14). Neither Henning's **ā-prta-*, nor his later and more likely **apa-prta-* (*NGGW*, 1932, 220, fn.) is needed: B. Sogdian *'prtk* /*εpte*/ is also from the simplex,¹⁷ as also, now clearly, NP *purda*.¹⁸

134. *nyxrust*, v. s.v. 34 *nyxrust*'r above.

135. *cn'nd*. Boyce's translation, *Reader*, z 11, n., follows Henning's, 'Verbum', 171, l. 21. But there is no need to introduce a hypothetical subject 'surviving humanity' or to assume a unique exception from the total intransitiveness of *čann-* 'tremble, quake, shake'.

136. *tz'[nd]*. There is ample room for *-nd* at the end of the line, against the previous restoration with *-d* (Müller to Boyce, *Reader*, 79, where misprinted *tāzād* in z 11, n.).

137. (*nrm*). Sundermann writes: 'Bei gedehnter Schreibung erscheint mir eine Lesung *w'r'n* (*nrm*) nicht ganz ausgeschlossen'. Though so uncertain, this seems better than Boyce's (unmarked) reconstruction *w'r'n pd zm'n w'r'd* (*Reader*, z 11), evidently taken as 'rain will fall in due time' (see *Word-list*, 104 s.v. *zm'n*): such an adverbial phrase has no clear purpose here.

142. *hug'm* and *rw'npry* are both 'new' words to Manichaean MP, though Inscriptional Pahlavi has *hwk'mky* /*hugāmag*/ (v. Gignoux, *Glossaire*, 24) and Manichaean Sogdian *fryrw'n* (see Henning, *BBB*, 77, n. 3). Both meaning and etymology are fairly obvious.

145. *d(h)[m]y'n*, Sundermann's reading, appears fully legible in M 825 I V 4 (*KPT*, 96, l. 1855). The confirmation of the next word as *'stwd('n)* largely justifies Henning's interpretation of the passage in 'A farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatāran', *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 516 (and overrides Boyce's note to *Reader*, z 12). Sundermann's conjectural translation (*KPT*, 121) 'eine Folter oder Strafe' must also go by the board. In this context *dahmayān* can only be < **daxma-dāna-*, i.e. a 'graveyard', lit. 'grave-container', an older word than Pahlavi *dhmkst'n*. 'Grave' occurs both as *dhmq* (*Hymn-cycles*) and *daxmg* (*Mir. Man.*, III), i.e. hitherto only in Parthian texts. K. Hoffmann offers a more convincing etymology than Bartholomae's (*AirWb*. 676, < *√dag* 'burn'): < **dafma-* < IE **dhmbh-mo-*, as Gk. *τάφος* etc. (*KZ*, 79, 1965, 238).

'stwd'n, only here in Manichaean texts, is known in Pahlavi as *'stwd'n* or *'stwdk'n*. The *-k-* is an indication of its status as a 'learned word', preserving the *-ō-* of an Avestan **astō.dāna-*, beside the more natural Pahlavi **haz(z)ān* < **azdāna-*, Sgd. *γzd'n-* 'tomb' (see Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1945, 479).

150 f. (*w*)*ny* (*b*)*[wd]* (*h*)*yn(d)* attests for the first time in isolation the word *wny*, otherwise well known in the combination *wnybwt*, *wnywd(yh)*, see Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 89. Originally < **wanyā-* 'defeated', the meaning was clearly generalized in MP to 'destroyed, lost', whence *wanēbūd*, *wanyūd(ih)* 'perdition'. The word survives in modern Central Kurdish *wun* 'lost' (Northern Kurdish has developed *windā* (*būn*) 'be lost, disappear' as antonym of *paidā* (*kirin*) 'discover, find').

¹⁷ V. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, §§ 170 and 148 (where wrongly 'from *prt-* "to condemn"': read *'prt-* < *√par* "to condemn"').

¹⁸ My 'Vocabulary of the Lahore *Tafsīr*', *Iran and Islam*, a volume in memory of Vladimir Minorsky, Edinburgh, 1971, 416, where 'guilty' suits all contexts better than 'accused'.

151. *(ky)bycwš'n sr.* Henning ('Farewell', 517) 'but who . . . their heads'. *byc* 'but' occurs quite often enclitically: *m'byc* M 9 I V 8 (= *Reader*, ad 7), *'ynbyc* S 10 a 8, *cybyc* M 835 (Henning, *Sogdica*, 36 f., g 20) and unpublished M 210 R 9, *k'nbyc* M 6452 II V i 6 (all references I owe to Sundermann): *kybyc* [kēbiz] 'however, but' of the *Word-list*, 54, appears to rest on Henning's translation 'who, however, with a denarius' of the 'Book of the Giants' fragment M 101 d (*BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 59) 245 *cybyc p'd dyn-r*, i.e. 'who' has dropped out. Here the 'but' introduces a note of despair for those who died unenlightened.

On *k'y'n*, see Henning, 'Farewell', 516-17.

172. *'bn'm'nd* is the first occurrence of the stem *'bn'm-* 'cause to depart' < **apa-nāmaya-*, to (Parthian) *'bnft* 'withdrew, fled'¹⁹ as (Parthian) *frn'm-* 'send forth' to *prnm-*, *prnpt* 'go forth'. The same combination yields the noun *'bn'm* 'excrement' (*KPT*, 114).

[*whyšt*]. There is insufficient space for [*whyšt'w*] as elsewhere in this text (except 403).

173 ff. *dd'wd drxt*, beside the common MP, NP hendiadys *dač v(d) dām* for the animal kingdom, seems to be a wider term for 'fauna and flora'. *drxt* nevertheless seems out of place in what is otherwise an enumeration of the five kinds of *animalia serpentina, natantia, volantia, quadrupedia, bipedia*, v. *Mir. Man.*, I, 183, n. 1. The MP text there (= *Reader*, y 16) has *d'v'y'wd tsb'y'wd prwr'wd zhryn'wd prystrdys* 'biped and quadruped and winged and poisonous and reptile-formed'.

murw'y prwr replaces Boyce's restoration (not so marked, *Reader*, z 13) **d'm'y prwr*.

prystr is Henning's restoration (*BSOAS*, xii, 1, 1947, 11, n. 1; v. also Gershevitch, *GMS*, 246, Add. to 621): the word otherwise only occurs in the compound *prystrdys* (but the only other known MP word with *-str* is *'dvryst* 'ashes').

175. *zyh('nd)*. *zyh* is certain; Müller also originally *zih/////*. **rh'nd* (*Reader*, z 13) rests on Salemann's presentation (*MSt.*, 27, fn.) of Müller's unfortunate second thoughts. Sundermann 'auch M 537 a II R 11 belegt: *(h)'n rzm'h zyh'nd* . . . (*'b'c*) *m'n'nd*', i.e. 'they will *disappear (from) that battle . . . will remain behind'. Although similar in appearance and meaning to *'wzyh-* 'go out' (e.g. in 296), the stem *zyh-* can hardly be a reduced form of it. A more likely etymology is *zih-* < **jāya-*, Av. *jyā*, found also in Khct. *jūy-* 'to disappear, be removed' (Emmerick, *SGS*, 35).

178. *Mānbed yazd = Parmānagēn yazd = Atlas*. See *Reader*, z 3 (with notes) *'wš'ny wzrg zmyg 'yw qyrd 'wd 'br nyr'myšān nys's'd. 'wd 'wz'rm'ngyn yzd 'br m'nbyd qyrd*. 'And he (the Great Builder) made another (fifth) great earth and set it on the (four lower) layers and made the Thoughtful god house-lord over it'; *'wd 'wy wzrg zmyg 'br stwn'n 'wd t'g'n 'wd prysp dw 'br zryyg 'y m'nbyd yzd nys's'd* 'and that (sixth) great earth he set on the columns and arches and the two walls, on the shoulders of the house-lord god'. The 'two walls' are the great 'sheath' wall, v. 186 below, and the *'ny prysp 'zw try xwr's'n 'yrg 'wd xwrnw'r* 'one other wall across east, south and west' which was built on the fifth earth. (Boyce, *Reader*, 62, last note to y 3, seems to imply that a reading *'ny prysp *dw* is possible, i.e. that the 'two walls' may both be on

¹⁹ Boyce mentions that Benveniste's dismissal (*BSOAS*, xxx, 3, 1967 510) of a second Parthian *'bnft* / *apnaft* / 'draw near, approach' cannot be maintained in view of the unpublished text M 44 V 10 *p'd dyft nzd 'w pylg 'bnft* 'approached the altar in happiness'. The same meaning suits M 18 R 12 (= *Reader*, bw 2).

the fifth earth, but **dw* is in fact impossible and, although the initial letter is imperfect, '*yw* certain.)

179. *Wādahrām yazd* 'Wind-raising god' (elliptically for 'wind-water-fire-raising god', v. 221 below) = the 'King of Glory', see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 180, n. 2, = *zndbyd* 'lord of the tribe', see n. 32.

183. *hs'cyh'd* is translated doubtfully (*Reader*, z. 14, n.; *Word-list*, 47) 'be made ready', as if *whyšt'w* were its subject. But *hassāz-* < **han-sak-* is the same as M, B. Sogdian '*ns'c*', '*ns'yt*' 'to fix, dispose', and there is space for two to three letters before [*why*]št'w.

184. [*sxt*] (*g*)*gryh'd* (replacing *Reader*, z 14, **pdryh'd*) is supported by the Parthian M 3703 (= *Reader*, as 2) (*sxt*) *bwynd p'd hm* where, as Boyce notes, 'the subject is shown by the previous verse to be the New Paradise and the Eternal Paradise, now rejoined'. This *sxt* is not otherwise attested in Manichaean MP or Parthian, but is the common Pahlavi, NP word for 'hard, strong, firm': NP *sxt kardan* is both 'harden' and 'make fast, firm'. On its etymology, < OIr. (not merely OP) **ḡaxta-*, as Xwar. *ḡyd*, see Gershevitch, *TPS*, 1964, 13 f., n. 2. In the Parthian text it appears to be a loan from MP, unless the extremely rare initial *ḡ-* before a vowel developed into *s-* in Parthian, just as in MP. If so, this would deal a telling blow to Gershevitch's extraordinary theory (ibid.) of 'chance developments'.

186. *h'mqysur nyy[m]*, or *nyy[š'd]* 'will look'? cf. 196-9 *h'mqysur ... 'c nyy'(m) w wyn'r(yš)n sw(st b)w'd*. This 'sheath' of the cosmos is presumably another name for the great wall, evidently cylindrical in form, described in M 98 I V 12 ff. = *Reader*, y 3: 'And he (the Great Builder) caused a wall (*parisp*) to secure (*ōbāyēnīd*) (the four lower earths, or 'layers'), from the Light Earth east-, south- and westwards, and brought it back (north-, i.e. upwards) to the Light Earth'. It helps to understand Mani's complicated cosmogony if one appreciates that he, at least partly, reduced the three dimensions to two, regarding 'up' equally as 'northwards'. A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, 72-4, made an excellent sketch of Mani's universe and wrote of a 'great securing "wall" (one of the two most important walls) [which] extends far below and around the deposits [lower earths], running upwards to "the Light Earth", which is far above. This rampart serves to protect these four lowest earths against further invasion from the Realm of Darkness beneath, with which they are in such immediate proximity'. Even Mani was probably not aware of the contradiction between 'far below' and 'immediate proximity'.

187. *rwšnyh'w'd xwšn'y[yzd'n]*, also at 194, 242, 292. These two attributes of the gods are almost always mentioned together and, assuming that they form a hendiadys, are here translated conventionally as 'Splendour'. The meaning of *xwšn* is uncertain, and Henning's reasons for translating variously 'taste' and 'beauty' (see Sundermann, *KPT*, 22, n. 32) are not made public. The *Word-list*, 101, with 'goodness, beauty', perhaps follows Schaeder, *Ung. Jahrb.*, 15, 1935, 582, n. 3, who quotes the corresponding Arabic *nūru 'lāh wa fayyibuhu* (for *fibuhu* 'goodness'?) and Syriac (from Greek) *nuhreh wfaibūteh* ('goodness, grace'). In M 1014 R 7 f. (*KPT*, loc. cit.) *xwšn* is qualified by the adjectives *prg'mqyn* 'desirable' and, almost certainly, *br'z'g* 'radiant' (probably written *br'z](g)* for want of space).

194. The new reading replaces *Reader*, z 15, *rwšnyh'y'ndr *šhr'n*.

198. [...](*m*). After the final freeing of the 'light and *lustre, splendour' of the gods the cosmos will be wholly dark Matter, and naturally plunged in 'darkness'. A possible restoration here is thus *nyš'm* (written *nyšm*, or the

like, for reasons of space?). Although occurring only once elsewhere, in Parthian M 6 R II (*Mir. Man.*, III, e 59 = *Reader*, ch 2) its meaning is hardly in doubt, v. Benveniste, *JA*, CCXXX, 1936, 230 f. Sundermann offers a quite different interpretation, based on the restoration [nšy](m), vizh Ohrmezd as subject of 199 *gyr'd*: 'Darauf wird er [wohl der Urmensch, wegen Zeilen 184 f.] den Kosmos von Erde und Himmel vom höchsten Himmel bis zur untersten Erde, (und) [den Sitzplatz] der ganzen Welt ergreifen . . . Sollte "und" nicht zu ergänzen sein, so wäre die unterste Erde selbst der "Sitzplatz" der ganzen Welt'.

199. *nyr'm*, v. 186 above.

The *wyn'ryšn* of the cosmos are mentioned separately among the columns, gates, walls, ditches, etc., which go to support Mani's wedding-cake structure of eight earths, M 7984 R I (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R I 11 = *Reader*, y 11). In the detailed description in M 98 I and 99 I (*Reader*, y 1-6), however, there is no corresponding item. *wyn'ryšn* was evidently a general term for the whole complicated 'arrangement' holding the structure together.

202. Sundermann (*ny2-3*)*d*, for which he suggests an otherwise unattested (*nyw*)[z](*'*)*d* 'fährt hernieder' (cf. Avestan *niwazaiti*). Equally possible, it would seem, would be (*nyr*)[w](*'*)*d*, with the stem met in *nyrwyšn* 'Hinabbewegung' (*KPT*, 129).

222 ff. The third redeeming god *Wisbed yazd* 'village-lord', also called *tskyrb* 'four-formed, square' = the 'Adamas of Light'. His conquest of the *Mazan* or 'gigantic' dragon is described in M 7981 (*Mir. Man.*, I, b I R I 22 ff. = *Reader*, y 14) and M 292 V II (*KPT*, 3.3, ll. 902-13); see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 182, nn. 1-3; Sundermann, *KPT*, 46 ff.

227. *zmyg hrw* 'the earths all', in this case the four upper earths. The four lower *nyr'myšn* 'layers' are by implication also 'earths'; cf. 197 f., where the lowest is called *zmyg 'y' yrdwm*.

231. **srygr qyrò 'y' whrmýzd m'd*, see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 178, n. 5.

234 ff. The new reading provided by Sundermann permits the certain restoration of *hrw* in M 7984 (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R II 13 f. = *Reader*, y 7, end) also: *pyš'w[y ? yzd] ky'c'br (h)[rw] 'sm'n 'ystyd'wd' wyš'n yzd'n sr 'rýd* 'before that [god] who stands above all the heavens and holds the heads of those gods', 'Those gods', in 236, 241 'those five gods', are the Light Elements, the 'sons' of Ohrmezdby, see Jackson, *Researches*, 225 f., nn. 11, 16. Their supporter, as has been shown by Henning, 'A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean cosmogony', *BSOAS*, XII, 2, 1948, 312 (translation) and 317, must be the Splenditenens, who is thus said by St. Augustine and M 7984 to hold their heads, by Theodor bar Konai (see Jackson, *Researches*, 298 f.) their waists, and now by the *Šābuhragān* their hands. That the Splenditenens is thus confirmed as the *dhybyd* was, of course, first noticed by Sundermann (cf. n. 32, end). 237 'that [other ?] god' can only be the King of Honour = *p'hrqbyd* = Sogdian *sm'nāšyð* 'lord of the heavens', who is enthroned in the seventh heaven (see Henning, art. cit., 313, n. 6).

252 f. *'hwnw . . . (ny)* 'not yet', without the -c which it must normally have carried (as in M 3 R 6, Henning, *BSOS*, x, 3, 1942, 949) to give NP *hanūz*.

254. *Kišwarwāryazd* is 'probably the Column of Glory' (*Word-list*, 55; *Reader*, 6, 10, and y 21 = M 7980 I V I, see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, I, 186, n. 3).

258. The following lengthy catalogue is similar to that in M 758c (*Mir. Man.*, I, e II R = *Reader*, y 7) describing the creations of Mihryazd. There the *gyrd 'sm'n* 'circle of the zodiac' is *pd'xt'r'n 'wd 'st'rg'n* 'with constellations and stars'. It is elsewhere described as a 'wheel which causes to revolve', *chr 'yg grdn'g*

(Sundermann, *KPT*, ll. 275–6), cf. M 149 I R i 4–10 'wš dwdy (c)[hr 'yg] / grdyn'g pť dw('z)[dh] / bkr ps'xt hm(b)[dyo] / dw'zdh'n dr'n 'y / 'sm'n'n * * / m'hyg urg 'wt g'w / hmbdyc dr 'y / ' And again he arranged the zodiac in twelve parts, corresponding to the twelve gates of the heavens—the Fish, the Lamb and the Ox corresponding to the ... door(s) ...'. The significance of this causative form *grdyn'g* escapes me, though it is to some extent paralleled by Pahl. *gl'n'k'* /gardānāg/ 'a die' (*Pahlavi texts*, 118, 7). The **wlky'n'y* 'wheel' (*Pahl. Riv.*, 67, 3) quoted by Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 82, however, is more likely to be *wlkyun'* HD /wardyūn-ēw/ 'a wagon'.

262. 'st'ng (r'stw'n) [(w)dw]y[hr](g), see Henning, *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, n. 1.

265–8. It is not absolutely certain whether other words follow 265 *qwp* and 266 *qndg*, but it seems likely that they are stretched to fill the line. 268 [*drwz's'n*] must be greatly compressed. The beginnings of ll. 266–8, missing from the MS., can be clearly seen as mirror-writing between the lines on G r (M 470 I).

271. [hp]šy(rd) ' (com)pressed', as NP *afšurdan*, see Henning, *AION-L*, vi, 1965, 36, n. 2 (revising *ZII*, 9, 181 *'fesseln': *Word-list*, 47, to be amended accordingly).

272. *h'n sh p'rgyn*, cf. M 99 I R 13 (= *Reader*, y 3) 'wd 'br hm zmyg pyr'mwn ch'r prysp 'wd sh p'rgyn kyrd. 'wd pd h'n 'y 'ndrwn p'rgyn dyw'n 'ndr przyd. 'and on the same (sixth) earth he made four walls around and three ditches, and in the innermost ditch he imprisoned the demons'.

277 f. 'wb'ygd [w](d pr)sp(yd), see Henning, *BSOAS*, xii, 1, 45, and my 'The vanguard, lying down', *Sir J. J. Zarthoshti Madressa centenary volume*, Bombay, 1967, 131 f. I prefer now to read *ōbāyēd*, **parispēd*, present tense forms.

280. *b'l'y* 'height', known from Pahlavi *b'l'd*, appears for the first time in a Manichaean text here, though it also occurs in the unpublished M 2883, 2 (S.); see Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', 103, n. 3.

284. Sundermann [1–2](um). The only fitting word seems to be *mum*, Arm. loanword (fifth century) *mom*, NP (> Ar.) *mūm* 'wax', providing the earliest direct occurrence in an Ir. language: OIr. **mauma* < IE **meu(ə)*- 'unreine Flüssigkeit', etc. (Pokorny, 741) ?

288. **hazār ud šahār sad šast ud hašt sār*, see *Reader*, z 17, n. (where '1478' is a misprint for '1468').

291. *zwr 'wd prdwz*. Despite Boyce's disclaimer, *Word-list*, 72, 'misprint for *pdwz*, q.v.', the reading is absolutely certain. It is **pdwz* (Muller's *pad(v)az*, also Andreas, *apud* Müller, 111) which has to disappear from the MP vocabulary for good.

prdwz is seemingly isolated. It can hardly be connected with the *prdwz* 'Abkömmling, Spross' discussed by Sundermann, *KPT*, 48, n. 22, and 131 (although, taking up an earlier suggestion of mine, he asks 'ob die Bedeutungen "effect" und "Abkömmling" wirklich so weit voneinander entfernt sind, dass zwei verschiedene Wörter vorliegen müssen'). If it is < **pari-tauša-*, as seems likely, its nearest cognate is Pahlavi *handōxtan*, *handōz-* 'amass, acquire', to the root of Skr. *tujati* 'urge, thrust', IE *(s)*teu-g* (Pokorny, 1032). A meaning such as 'impulse', thrust, energy' seems to follow.

295. *prdx*, translated *Word-list*, 72, 'overpowered, defeated', is properly 'disposed of, dealt with, executed', see Henning, 'Verbum', 169.

298 f. *pd cyhr 'y whrmzdbz yz dw'd*. Boyce, *Reader*, z 18, n., cites the similar passage in M 7980 (*Mir. Man.*, i, a II R II 9 = *Reader*, y 24), where throughout time, it is said, Ohrmezd collects the redeemed Light in the waxing moon,

pd xwys cyhr yzd 'puryd, and then despatches it up to Paraīse, causing the moon to wane again. Boyce translates (y 24, n.) 'creates that light . . . in his own essence god' and (z 18, n.) 'it will become divine in the nature of the First Man'; cf. further the Parthian verse in M 737 (Boyce, *BSOAS*, XIII, 4, 915 = *Reader*, bp 3) *šwrynd 'w grdm'n rušnyn kw yzd'n pryznd 'w' 'ngwrynd. lhw'r b'myn nzwryn pibg cyhrg 'st'nynd w wyšmrynd* 'They go to the Heaven of Light where the Gods dwell and are at peace. They receive as their Nature the original splendour of the radiant Palace and are joyful' (□□ italics). This concept I find difficult, even after further discussion with Boyce. It seems to me more likely that the newly-liberated light first acquired a 'form, appearance' (meaning of *cyhr*, Parth. *cyhrg*, < Av. *čīdru-*), which was then clothed, as the last text quoted continues, 'They put on the resplendent Garment'.

301 ff. Müller already quoted the corresponding passage of al-Nadīm's *Fihrist al-'ulūm* in the translation of K. Kessler (*Mani*, Berlin, 1889, 40 f.). Following Flügel (*Mani*, Leipzig, 1862, 102), the four gods 'nehmen den grossen Bau wahr', Kessler has them 'betrachten den grossen Neubau, der das neue Paradies ist': both translate *fa-yaqifūna 'alā l-bunyāni l-'aẓīn*, which can as well mean 'and they stand on the great edifice', as now in the translation of Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, New York and London, 1970, II, 797, 'they will stop on the great structure'. This seems to be confirmed by *y[s](t)[nd]* in 309.

312. [] *hrwšn* is clear, where Müller read *m(r)y(w)* [.]. *g'hrwšn* occurs only once elsewhere (*BEB*, 389 = *Reader*, cu 35), as a name for the Bēma (see Boyce, *Reader*, 12). This detail is not in al-Nadīm's account, where (Kessler, 102) 'Hierauf kommen die Wahrhaftigen aus den Paradiesen zu diesem Licht, um sich in ihm niederzusetzen'.

316. **y'rd'nd*, cf. 290, 322.

317. *prbys'nd* (Müller [] *n(r) bys'nd*) is quite clear.

327 f. [*hyn*](*z*;*yš*[*n*], 'a pull up', seems best to fit the context, of the many verbs with stem-final -*z*-. *Reader*, z 22, '*w dšt dyyd*, '*c 'yn swcyšw brzyd*, ignores the lacuna in 328.

334. (*hy*). Sundermann writes: 'Die Schriftzeichen sehen eher wie (*hw*) aus: statt (*hw*) ist aber wohl (*hy*) zu lesen und anzunehmen, dass der scheinbar linke Teil des Buchstabens nur Papierverschmutzung ist'.

335. *ny[r]pt*, cf. 394 f. "*z . . . ny nyr'm'd*. Incidentally, there seems to be no reason to separate MP *nyr'm-*¹ and Parthian *nyr'm-*², as in the *Word-list*, 64 f.: the one Parthian example in context, M 7 I R II (*Mir. Man.*, III, g 163 = *Reader*, az 2) could equally well be 'cause to go down, out' and so 'remove'.

340. **dwšgyrdg'nh'n*. So, with 'intrusive' -*h*-, Sundermann.

342 f. '*w[rz](w)g / pyys*. The second element of the compound could be like /payēs/ 'order, instruction' (see n. 5), so 'instructing to lust', but is more likely to be /pēs/ < Avestan *paēsa(h)-*, known as a loan-word in Armenian *pēs* 'Art und Weise' ('alt und sehr häufig als 2. Glied von adverbialen Compositis', Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 230, no. 541), so 'of the lust kind, lustful'. As present stem (to Pahlavi *pysytn* 'adorn') *pēs-* is also, probably, spelled *pyys-*, Henning, *Sogdica*, 25, no. 20.

344. '*n'n*[' allerdings deutlich genug — letzte *n* nicht final', Sundermann. No satisfactory restoration suggests itself. The only known word with this beginning, '*n'nd* 'they are, were', does not fit. Even a 'double plural' genitive **stmbg/'n'n[c]* leaves insufficient space for the necessary governing noun and a past intransitive verb, such as **[phry](s)t hyyd*.

347. *xwɣhyd* is a new word to Manichaean MP, but is evidently a secondary past participle to the Pahlavi verb *hwystn*, *hwɣh-* 'chase, pursue', identified for the first time by G. Klingenschmitt, *ZDMG, Supplementa* I, 3, 1969, 993–7,²⁰ as probably a causative < **hwaidaya-* of the verb *xwīstan* 'to sweat'. In Pahlavi both intransitive and transitive past stems are written *hwyst* (*xwīst*: **xwēst* ?), so the differentiation in Manichaean MP is understandable.
- 350, 361. *dujw'ryy* is here attested for the first time, cf. Parth. *dyjw'ryft*. The **dušw'ryy* suggested by Henning, *ZII*, 9, 171.24, is properly *dušy'ryy* (l. 134 above): the entry *dušwār* in my *Concise Pahlavi dictionary*, 29, should thus be corrected to [*dušw'l* | (M *dujw'r-*), N ~].
352. For the indistinct traces [.(d)y(n)[.], at first read by Sundermann as [.(p)dy(s)[, neither a present participle in *-ynd* nor a past in *-yst*, from a verb with stem in *-r/d*, offers itself with an appropriate adverbial meaning.
355. *rw'n pryy*, cf. 142 *rw'n pryy*.
- 355 f. Rather than a mixture of subjunctives (**h'd*) and optatives (**hy*), it seems necessary to restore 2 pl. indicative *hyd* in 355, 356 and 357.
358. [*z'd*], cf. 394, 411.
363. (*ywbɣd*). The present stem is also found in MP in *ywbɣnd* M 840 l ii 6 (S.), so *Word-list*, 102, can read [yōb-] c.
371. The weakness of this restoration is that there is no space for the expected *kw* after (d)[yɣd]. For *dyd*, *wyn-* 'see' in the sense of 'understand', cf. M 9 I R 18 f. (*Mir. Man.*, II, 298 = *Reader*, ad 5) '*wd k' gy'n d'nyšn 'yš pd bywr z'yšn pdyš ny wy[nyd]* 'and if the soul does not see (understand) the knowledge which it has (i-š . . . *padš*) through a myriad births, . . .'. Both Henning and Boyce separate *pdyš* wrongly from the relative clause.
375. As an alternative to [*w pr*](m)*yn*, Sundermann suggests [*w hnz*](m)*yn* '*spwr* 'and a perfect community'. *hnzmy* (for the common *hnzmn*) is attested in M 5670 heading.
379. For *w(y)d'r-* in the sense of 'suffer, endure' cf. M 95 R 7 (*Mir. Man.*, II, 319 = *Reader*, be) '*wd j'dg rztrnz . . . 'y . . . bryd 'wd wd'ryd* 'and the portion of trouble . . . which you bear and endure', and in Parthian M 6020 (Henning, 'A grain of mustard', *AION-L*, VI, 1965, 30, ll. 62 f. *tnng ü dyjw'ryft cy wyd'ryd* 'distress and suffering which he undergoes'.
393. *wcr*, occurring again in M 472 II and M 475 II, seems to be the reflex of Avestan *wičira-* 'deciding' (or of a similar noun form **wičira-/i-*), which appears in Pahlavi as *wcyl* 'decision, judgement'.
- 405 ff. Sundermann writes: 'Für die Zeilen 405–419 lassen sich ganz sichere Ergänzungen geben, da ihr Text identisch ist mit Text der Fragmente M 805 a + M 2070 + M 270 b (im Druck)'.
406. [*sw*](c)*yšn* ?, Sundermann.
416. [*hrg*], 421 *xrg*, variant spellings of the same word, see Henning, 'Mittel-iranisch', 41.
421. [.]*wy*. The spelling with ' suggests that there was another similar word *[]*wy* (as with *z'wr*: *zwr*), but no appropriate word suggests itself.
422. *mor*(')[n]. In another context (M 8256 = *fm* 4, see part 2) Sundermann thinks of the Syriac *n'wr* 'machina irrigatoria' (Brockelmann), on whose use as a name for the light-liberating wheel, see Puech, *Le Manichéisme*, 83, n. 348.

[The remaining texts and fragments belonging to the *Šābuhragān* will be

²⁰ Besides the passages he cites, the word appears in *Pahl. Vend.* V, 4 (VIII, 34) in a gloss of Avestan *zraoδaŋ.urwan*: *xrōišn-dād-ō-ruwān*, *kū-šān ruwān az garōdmān xrōslag xwēstag būd hē* 'that their souls would have been pursued (driven) with hue and cry from paradise'.

SPEECH THROUGH MUSIC: THE SINO-TIBETAN GOURD REED-ORGAN

By D. BRADLEY ¹

(PLATES I-II)

Abstract

There is evidence that a particular musical instrument was used by various Sino-Tibetan groups to convey speech, both for courting and for religious purposes. The Proto-Sino-Tibetan etymon for this gourd reed-organ is reconstructible as *s-njan. Its use as a speech surrogate is widely reported, from the earliest sources to the present. It is still used thus by many Tibeto-Burman groups.

Speech Surrogates

The use of music to represent and convey speech information is very widespread in languages of the world. Commonly used are whistling; drums or other percussion instruments such as gongs, cymbals, and so on; wind instruments such as flutes and trumpets; and reed instruments such as jews' harps.² Very frequently a gourd reed-organ is used for speech surrogation in East and South-East Asia, both for Sino-Tibetan and mainland Austro-Thai languages.³

Although elsewhere some segmental information (consonants and vowels) is often encoded in the music, in East and South-East Asia almost exclusively suprasegmental information is used. Most languages in the area are tonal: relative pitch and contour differences are contrastively distinctive within the syllable, just as consonants or vowels are in all languages. The speech surrogates more or less directly encode the tones of the language into music; often the message is first enphrased,⁴ that is, put in longer, more redundant stereotyped poetic phrases to make it less ambiguous. The same style is usually appropriate for singing, so in some cases it is a song, rather than speech, that is conveyed.

Non-tonal or marginally tonal Tibeto-Burman languages often have no speech surrogates; but most Tibeto-Burman languages are tonal. These languages use a wide range of possibilities—all those mentioned above—for encoding the tones into music. One of the most commonly used instruments is the gourd reed-organ.

At present, many Tibeto-Burman groups have various versions of this instrument. Most groups in north-eastern India and western Burma have what is known as the *rotchem*. These groups are in various subfamilies of Tibeto-Burman, especially the Kuki-Chin and Naga. They almost all use some form of speech surrogate, and many use the *rotchem* as such. The Lhôtà Naga, for example, can 'tootle the names of their lady-loves in simple tunes'.⁵ Most

¹ I wish to acknowledge useful comments and references provided by Dr P. Gutman and other colleagues at the Australian National University; of course all shortcomings are my fault.

² For more details, and a survey of the literature, see Stern, 1959, and Sebeok and Umiker-Sebeok, 1977.

³ The genetic linguistic grouping Sino-Tibetan includes Sinitic (Chinese) and Tibeto-Burman; Tibeto-Burman includes among others, Tibetan and Burmese-Lolo; Burmese-Lolo includes Burmese and various Loloish languages such as Nasu, Lisu, Lahu, and Akha. Mainland Austro-Thai includes the Dai (Thai) languages and Miao-Yao, among others.

⁴ Stern, 1959, p. 489.

⁵ Mills, 1922, p. 85.

Burmese-Lolo groups originating from Yunnan use the gourd reed-organ for two purposes: courting and religious ritual ('speaking to God').⁶ Among these groups (in descending order of size) are the Nasu, Lisu, Lahu, and Akha. I have done extensive observation and recording of such musical speech with the Lahu in Thailand.

The Instrument

A hollowed-out bottle gourd has an odd number, most frequently five, of bamboo pipes inserted through it.⁷ Each pipe has a reed inserted in it, within the gourd; reeds and pipes are sealed in with bee resin (see plates 1(a) and (b), Akha gourd reed-organ). Pipes are normally open at top and bottom, and have one finger-hole above the gourd. Some versions have no upper finger-hole in one pipe; others have one or more of the holes below the gourd sealed. The size of the gourd and still more the length of the pipes vary considerably between different groups. Tuning is by means of small rectangular holes near the tops of the pipes; or by bamboo caps or crosspieces at the tops of pipes. The usual arrangement of pipes is shown in plate 1.

The instrument is played while cradled in the right hand, with the thumb and fingers of the left hand in position to cover some of the finger-holes; one finger of the right hand in position to cover one finger-hole; and the right thumb able to cover one or more of the openings at the bottom of the pipes. Air is blown through the elongated end of the gourd, sometimes through a decorative mouthpiece. The instrument can be played with egressive or ingressive air, so no pauses are necessary. It is usually played by blocking the mouthpiece with the tongue to produce intermittent puffs of air, rather than with continuous air, to give a series of separate notes or chords. If the finger-hole in the pipe above the gourd is closed (whether by a finger or permanently)⁸ the reed in that pipe vibrates. If the bottom hole is uncovered, a higher note results; if the bottom hole is covered by the right thumb (or if there is no bottom hole) a lower note results. Thus a maximum of ten notes can be played with a five-pipe instrument with bottom holes and finger-holes on all pipes—five at once. However, chords of one to three notes are more usual. The scales are pentatonic.⁹

The Loloish gourd reed-organ has five pipes as shown in plates 1(a) and (b). The longest pipe is normally the one numbered 2 in plate 1(a); the order of lengths of pipes is usually 2 1 3 4 5. Pipes 1 and 2 are usually named from the finger which is used to cover their upper finger hole: the (left) thumb for pipe 1, and the (left) forefinger for pipe 2. Pipes 3 and 4 vary in names: often pipe 3 is called the 'pure one' and pipe 4 the 'larynx'. Pipe 5, the shortest, is called the 'little one'. Pipes 3 and 4 can be covered by the left ring finger, and pipe 5 by the right forefinger.

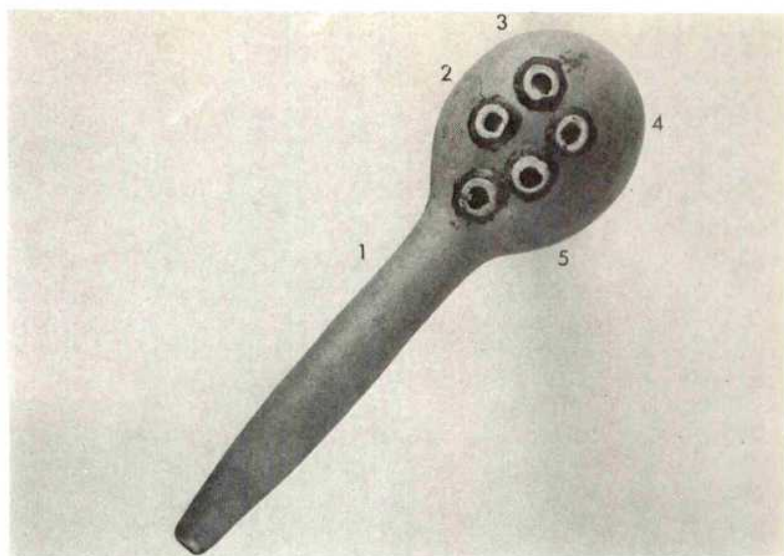
The overall sizes of instruments vary, but a particular group or subgroup will have a fairly consistent style, as to average size and absence of finger-holes or bottom holes in particular pipes. Some groups, such as Banlan Yellow Lahu, use gourds about 5 cm. in diameter and 15 to 20 cm. long, with pipes 10 to 15 cm.

⁶ Translated from Lahu, a Loloish language.

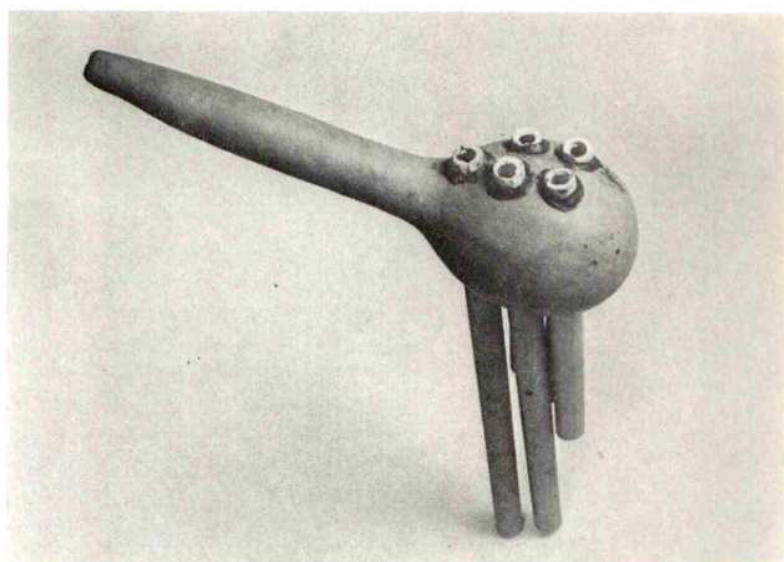
⁷ This gourd reed-organ thus differs from those with an even number of parallel pipes, used by various mainland Austro-Thai groups such as Thai and Meo and usually called [khen].

⁸ When the finger-hole above the gourd in a pipe is permanently closed, that pipe is a drone pipe, which plays every time air passes through.

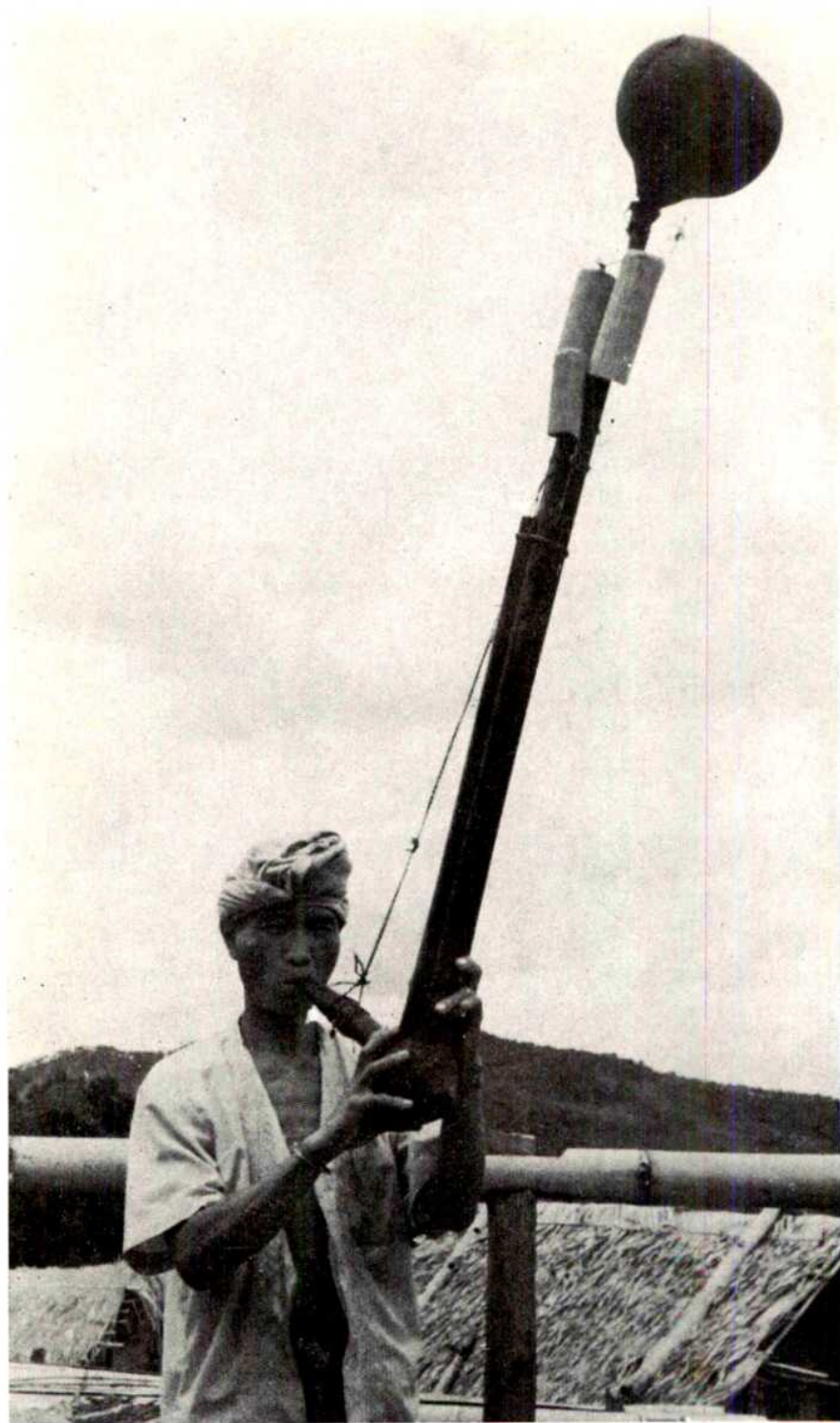
⁹ For more musical details, see Gretel Schwörer, forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, University of Köln, which compares Sino-Tibetan (Lahu) and Austro-Thai (Meo) instruments.



BOTTOM VIEW OF GOURD REED-ORGAN



SIDE AND BOTTOM VIEW OF GOURD REED-ORGAN



LAHU SHEHLEH GOURD REED-ORGAN IN USE

long and about 1 cm. in diameter. Other groups, such as Lahu Shehle, use gourds up to 15 cm. in diameter and 30 cm. long or longer, with some pipes over a metre long and up to 2 cm. or more in diameter (see plate II). Most instruments are intermediate between these sizes; for the Akha gourd reed-organ illustrated, the gourd length is about 25 cm. and the maximum diameter 8 cm.; pipe lengths (1 to 5) are 33, 32, 21, 19, 17 cm. respectively, all with about 1.5 cm. diameter. Though longer, pipe 1 has higher-pitched notes due to a tuning hole. The Lisu instrument is slightly larger than the Akha, and pipe 2 has no finger-hole so it is a drone pipe. The Lahu Shehle secular 'short gourd reed-organ' also has pipe 2 as a drone; it is slightly smaller than the religious 'calling gourd reed-organ' (plate II) which has no drones, but has three or four of the lower holes closed—hence reducing the number of possible notes to six or seven.

History and Distribution

Examples of this instrument, with the gourd cast in bronze, have recently been discovered in Yunnan, China. These reed-organs have seven pipes, arranged similarly to the Akha instrument shown in plates 1(a) and (b). They are associated with the Dian culture of Yunnan, a possibly Tibeto-Burman group of the last few centuries B.C.¹⁰

The Pyu in what is now Burma also used this instrument: 'gourd mouth-organs, large and small, each with a bamboo tongue and sixteen pipes, the longest 4 ft. 8 in.'¹¹ The Pyu were also a Tibeto-Burman group; controlling the Irrawaddy valley from about the second to eighth centuries A.D., when they were conquered by Nanchao. However, the Pyu version, with an even number of pipes, can possibly instead be connected with the Kuki-Chin and Naga *rotchem*, having eight pipes in two clusters of four. The *New Tang History* cryptically suggests a Pyu speech surrogate music accompanying a dance.¹²

For the Nanchao kingdom, a similar instrument, with the same use, is reported in the *Man Shu*:

The young lads and bachelors, in the evenings and nights, roam about the lanes and alleys, blowing on mouth-organs of bottle gourd (壺蘆) . . . Sounds and rhymes all convey words of affection, and serve to address and call each other.¹³

Nanchao was centred in Yunnan from about the eighth to twelfth centuries A.D., and was probably a Tibeto-Burman kingdom with some Thai also present.

The Burmans, who took control from the Pyus in what is now Burma, also have had this instrument for as long as written records are available, from about the twelfth century A.D. At the Lokahteikpan, a small, early Burman temple at Pagan, there are illustrations, and inscriptions there that give a form of ၶၣၤ.¹⁴ In other inscriptions a form ၶၣၤ also occurs.¹⁵ These forms can be

¹⁰ Yunnan Provincial Museum, 1959, II, plate 62, 66; Pirazzoli-t' Serstevens, 1974

¹¹ Luce, 1960, 320.

¹² Twitchett and Christie, 1959, 181: 'five-fold interpretation'. Gutman, 1976, 113, suggests that the so-called 'interlinear Brahmi' of certain Pyu inscriptions is a transcription of the tones for a gourd reed-organ. These Pyu inscriptions are associated with religious ritual, as for the contemporary Lahu example below. For more details of the Pyu version, see Twitchett and Christie, 1959, and the *Tang Histories*.

¹³ Luce, 1962, 78. For evidence that Nanchao was Tibeto-Burman, see Blackmore, 1960.

¹⁴ Ba Shin, 1962. See especially plate 34, also the inscription associated with this picture, 91, 122, 164.

¹⁵ Ba Shin, op. cit., 29; difference attributed to Mon influence.

transliterated as *nhen* and *nhan* respectively. The modern form, ညှင်: instead is transliterated *nyhan*.¹⁶

The Tibetans also are reported to use horns for conveying speech information. However, the form *མྱ་ལྔ་པ་* *sil-snyan* containing the second syllable cognate with the Burmese form above instead means 'cymbal'.¹⁷ As Tibetan went through a non-tonal stage, perhaps the original speech surrogate disappeared with the original tonal system.

The Chinese cognate is even more suggestive. In Karlgren (1957, 251) it is glossed as 'large flute'; earlier forms of the character look like pictures of our gourd reed-organ. On Yin bones,  and  occur; and  also occurs in Chou inscriptions of about 600 B.C. The modern form is . The Archaic reconstruction is *ngjǎn; the Ancient form is ngjǎn.¹⁸ What is most striking about this character is an alternative gloss: 'speech, speak, talk'; can we infer that the Chinese also used this instrument as a speech surrogate?

Granted the cognacy of the three forms cited, the Proto-Sino-Tibetan etymon is *s-njan. The *s prefix is seen in Tibetan, reflected by the 'hanging h' of Burmese, and by the tone in Chinese. Initial *nj is rare; Archaic Chinese keeps it, but Tibetan merges it with *ny*. In Burmese the difference between early inscriptional forms and the modern form may reflect ambivalence; the *e* of the rhyme could be an attempt to reflect the medial *-j-, as seen for 'eight' *မ္ဗေဝ်* *het* from *hjat in the Myazedi inscription.¹⁹ The rhyme is nearly perfect, except that south-eastern Tibeto-Burman languages such as Burmese reflect *aŋ rather than *an—perhaps by irregular assimilation to the initial.

Lahu Speech Surrogates

Among the Lahu, the name of the instrument [noŋ] is regularly cognate with the Burmese form, and thus ultimately derives from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan form suggested above. It is used by all Lahu subgroups for both courting and ritual purposes; naturally there are differences in style between the two types of speech surrogate. In general, a somewhat larger and hence lower-pitched reed-organ is used for religious purposes; a smaller, higher-pitched one is used in courting.²⁰

The courting styles are often relatively ornate, as one aim is to demonstrate virtuosity. The simplest styles just give each tone as one note, with a constant reference note, repeated at frequent intervals, to give the key. Other styles use more complex patterns. In order to convey meaning even in a language with six or seven tones, enphrasing is necessary. Set poetic/singing-style phrases of four or even eight syllables are played, rather than spoken-style one- or two-syllable words. These poetic phrases sometimes contain archaic lexical material, but can also be invented and agreed upon by a group of young people.

The use of this music is simple: boys play to girls from outside the house, attempting to entice them outside; girls play back, but there is less variety

¹⁶ Using the transliteration of Blagden, 1914; *n* for *ny* is fairly frequent in early transcriptions, e.g. *ṇi* for *ny* 'younger brother'.

¹⁷ Jäschke, 1881, 573; a semantic shift within the field of musical instruments. The second syllable may simply be 'musical resonator'.

¹⁸ Karlgren, 1957, 80.

¹⁹ Blagden and Duroiselle, 1919, I, 1, 29; [ŋ] to [n] is of course a phonetically reasonable development.

²⁰ Lewis reports this use also by the closely-related Akha.

and imagination in their music. Unlike the music of young Westerners, the words are not fixed in a 'song', but can be productively recombined using poetic phrases and some normal words. The music is immediately understandable, and youths can sing the words to the music when they hear it. However, the music has the major advantage that the girl's parents, also inside the house, may not know the latest poetic phrases used in courting songs. Thus they will not understand the propositions, or if they do they can choose to interpret the music in a non-suggestive way.

The other use of the Lahu gourd reed-organ is less widely reported, but there are indications that it may be equally old. The Shehleh use a somewhat larger, lower-pitched instrument 'to reach up to God'.²¹ Again, speech is encoded by tones; pitch and contour are represented. For enphrasing, four- or eight-syllable religious poetic couplets are used to represent shorter spoken-style words. As in religious language in most places, there is much archaism, little innovation, and some material that is not interpretable any more, perhaps partly due to stylized garbling. Lahu ritual music has become so hard to understand that some groups no longer connect actual words with the music, but others still do. All say that the music calls God to come and observe the ritual. The Lahu Shehleh, for example, have one tune to call God to watch dancing; one to tell Him to go away after dancing has finished; and one tune to call Him to observe other rituals, which is played while a prayer is intoned. While dancing for religious purposes, various secular instruments are used as accompaniment. Unlike courting music, there is no 'reference note', and only notes representing the tones are played. A sequence of two notes is used to represent some, but not all, contour tones. This simpler style may be more archaic than the elaborate courting styles, which are subject to constant innovation.

Music and Tone Systems

There are various interesting correlations between the dialect of a subgroup of Lahu, and the exact size and characteristics of their gourd reed-organs. For example, the Banlan Yellow Lahu tone system has a relatively high preponderance of higher-pitched tones, lexically more frequent than the lower-pitched tones, as a result of fairly recent changes in the phonetic realizations of some tones. Also, speakers of this dialect tend to use a relatively high-pitched range when speaking. Their instruments are by far the smallest²² and thus highest in pitch. Conversely the Lahu Shehleh tone system has a preponderance of lower-pitched tones, lexically much more frequent than higher-pitched tones—again a result of recent phonetic and phonological changes in this dialect. Speakers tend to use a relatively low-pitched range when speaking. So, the Lahu Shehleh gourd reed-organs are the largest and lowest in pitch. Thus it appears that the instrument is changed in size to reflect the pitch characteristics of the dialect.²³

Another interesting difference is that the more innovative, courting-style Lahu Shehleh 'short gourd reed-organ' has a drone pipe. In fact this dialect has merged the two lexically most frequent tones to one;²⁴ hence again the speech-surrogate instrument follows the characteristics of the speech, giving

²¹ Translated from Lahu.

²² Some Red Lahu girls' instruments are nearly as small.

²³ First noted in Bradley, 1975, 71.

²⁴ For details of this and other tonal developments in Lahu, see Bradley, 1977.

a constant note while the speech repeatedly (albeit not for every syllable) contains the same tone. The more conservative religious instrument does not have a drone pipe; instead it has a more restricted number of possible notes than those used by speakers of other dialects; it is shown in use in plate III.

The fact that some non-level contour tones are represented by sequences of notes, especially in the less innovative religious style, suggests that these tones have had non-level contour as one of their exponents for some time. Conversely other tones represented by single notes that are now non-level in some dialects have probably developed these contours more recently. So musical surrogates can provide independent evidence for an earlier stage of a tonal system, and help to validate hypotheses about the process of tone system development.

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NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

THE INTERCHANGE OF 'AD/'AL IN TARGUM NEOFITI 1¹

These examples from Targum Neofiti 1 should be appended to the note of Jonas C. Greenfield, 'The prepositions 'AD/'AL in Aramaic and Hebrew'².

1. The causal use of עַד in place of the normal עַל.

a. Gen. 3:22 T.N. עַד (in contrast to T.J. עַל):

T.N. וּכְדֹן עַד דִּי לֹא נָטַר מִצֹּתִיהָ דְּאוּרִיתָא וְלֹא קִיִּים סְקוּדָה (M דִּיִּי) הָא גִּיטְרוּד יִתִּיה מִן גִּתָּה דְּעֵדֹן

T.J. וּכְדֹן עַל דְּלֹא נָטַר מִה דְּפִקִּדְתִּיהָ גִּזּוּר עֲלוּהִי וְנִיטְרִידָה מִן גִּתָּה דְּעֵדֹן

b. Gen. 33:4 T.N.-M (interchange within the same marginal plus):

עֲשֹׂה הוּא בְּכִי עַד דְּקִרְקַן שִׁנּוּ (וְיִ) עֲקֵב הוּא בְּכִי עַל שְׁעִיעוֹת צוּאֲרִיהָ

2. The temporal use of עַל in place of the normal עַד.

a. Gen. 32:4 T.N. קִדְם עַל לֹא (in contrast to T.J. קִדְם עַד לֹא):

T.N. קִדְם עַל לֹא יִבְרָא עֲלֵמָא תִּרְקַן אֲלַפִּין דְּשִׁנּוּן בְּרָא אֲוִרִיתָא

T.J. קִדְם עַד לֹא בְּרָא עֲלֵמָא בְּרָא אֲוִרִיתָא

b. Gen. 15:17 T.N.-M עַל דִּי (in contrast to text עַד דִּי):

וְהָא אֲבָרָם חֲזִי: (עַד דִּי תֵּקֵן) עַל דִּי (M עַל דִּי) סַאבְסִלִּין (M/I סַפְסִלִּין) אֲסַתְדֵּרוּ (M אֲתַעְדֵּרוּ) וְכֹרְסוֹן רַמִּי

c. Ex. 9:30 T.N.-M עַל לֹא: אַרְוֹם עַל לֹא יִמְטֹק עֲלֵיכֹן מִחֲזֹתָא לִית אַתָּן

מִתְכַּנְעִין מִן קִדְם (וְיִי אֱלֹהִין)

¹ These abbreviations are employed: T.N. = Targum Neofiti 1; T.J. = Targum Pseudo-Jonathan; M = marginal reading; I = interlinear reading

² BSOAS, XL, 1977, 371 f.

JEROME A. LUND

THE MODERN SOUTH ARABIAN PREFIX-CONJUGATION:

ADDENDUM TO BSOAS, XL, 3, 1977

In BSOAS, XL, 3, 1977, 475-477 I treated critically the historical-comparative interpretation of Modern South Arabian prefix-conjugation forms as suggested by David Cohen.¹ My presentation of Cohen's opinion was, however, somewhat misleading. I find it, therefore, necessary to refer again to that chapter of mine, in order to correct what needs to be corrected and, at the same time, to clarify the points in which my views differ from Cohen's. I shall also use this opportunity of responding to some of Cohen's queries included in his private letter to me of 16 March 1978.

¹ David Cohen, 'La forme verbale à marques personnelles préfixées en sudarabique moderne' IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma 1972), II, 1974, 63-70.

David Cohen's argument can be summarized as follows: (1) In the Modern South Arabian Šheri dialect the verbs may be classified in two groups, 'transitive' and 'intransitive', the former having three formal categories, namely perfect *ketób*, imperfect indicative *ikóteb*, and subjunctive-jussive *iktéb*, while the latter comprises only two forms, perfect *rikeb*, and imperfect indicative = subjunctive-jussive *irkób*. (2) For the evolution of Šheri forms Cohen suggests the following reconstructions, which should account for the different treatments of the 'transitive' and the 'intransitive' verbs:

- (a) **kataba* > **katab* > *ketób*
 **yiktabru* > **yiktabru* > **yiktab* > *ikóteb*
 **yiktab* > *iktéb*
 (b) **rikiba* > **rikba* > **rikb* > *rikeb*
 **yirkabu* > **yirkab* > *irkób*
 **yirkab* > *irkób*

(3) Since the primitive forms which are thus posited for all indicative imperfects are of the type known from Arabic and North-West Semitic, where the indicative is marked by a suffix (-u), the Modern South Arabian imperfect indicative forms of the type *ikóteb* should not be regarded as representing, together with the Ethiopic *yenäggər*, a primitive morphological category of the Akkadian *iparras* type.

David Cohen does not carry the same argument further on to Ethiopic, but he expressly declares his belief that some similar way should be found to explain away the divergence between the Ethiopian *yaqätaš*-forms and the *yaqtul-u* indicatives which he considers to be Common West Semitic. My statement (ibid., 475-6) that the genetic identification of Ethiopic *yaqäbbər* and Modern South Arabian *iqóber* has been questioned by Cohen is, therefore, misleading. What I should have said is that if Cohen's reconstruction of Modern South Arabian were accepted, while in my opinion any such reconstruction is out of the question for Ethiopic, then the *yaqäbbər* - *iqóber* identification must be questioned. My other statement (ibid., 477) that it was Cohen's 'aim to prove the close genealogical relationship of Modern South Arabian with Arabic' should also be corrected. Cohen's aim was clearly to show that the Modern South Arabian imperfect indicative is of the same form as that of Arabic which, in his opinion, represents the Common West Semitic type.

On the other hand, it is not true that the Ethiopic *yaqäbbər* and the Modern South Arabian *ikóteb* imperfects have commonly been regarded as proving 'un rapport spécial entre l'éthiopien et le sudarabique d'une part, et l'akkadien de l'autre' (Cohen, op. cit., 63), that is 'un rapport particulier entre une partie du sémitique méridional et le sémitique oriental' (ibid., 70). The common argument, which is associated with the names of P. Haupt, Chr. Sarauw, B. Landsberger, C. Brockelmann (1951), J. Greenberg, O. Rössler, J. Friedrich, K. Petráček, C. Rabin, S. Moscati, H. J. Polotsky, R. Hetzron, G. Garbini and others, is that the Akkadian present and the South Arabian-Ethiopian imperfect indicative represent a Common Semitic prefix-conjugation form that had been abandoned in the other languages.

Some lexicostatistical studies which I only mentioned incidentally (op. cit., 477, n. 77) without discussion seem to me, like all such exercises, hardly reliable.³ No less critical is Cohen himself, when he says (*Études de linguistique*

³ Compare, e.g., the per cent of cognates in Tigre and Soqotri, which is calculated as 46 per cent by D. Cohen, 32 per cent by M. L. Bender, 21 to 27 per cent by H. C. Fleming, and 34 per cent by A. Murtonen.

sémitique et arabe, 30) about the results of his own lexicostatistical study that so far as the relations of Modern South Arabian with Arabic and Ethiopic are concerned, 'les évaluations obtenues restent d'une interprétation fort délicate'. Whether the interpretation is problematic or the numbers incompatible, Cohen clearly expresses the opinion that the South Arabian and the Ethiopian languages are closely related, a fact that should not have been disregarded in my review.

My criticism of Cohen's hypothesis can be summed up in four points: (1) that he does not take account of any forms other than 3rd m.sg.; (2) that he does not give due consideration to other dialects, mainly Soqotri; (3) that he presents the Arabic indicative morpheme as *-u* instead of *-u ~ -n*...; and (4) that his reconstructions do not take into due consideration the variety of forms.

To my remark that his argumentation is based on the forms of 3rd m.sg. only, David Cohen (in his letter to me) responds asking 'que veut donc dire votre objection...? Est-ce que les autres formes présentent des structures différentes qui s'opposent à l'explication par le phénomène syllabique invoqué?'. Well, the answer is yes. If a difference in syllabic structure between indicative and subjunctive-jussive could develop in 3rd m.sg. forms like **yiktub-u* > **yikubru* and **yiktub* (that remains so), the same cannot be said to have evolved by the same process from the plural **yiktubū(-)*, where both indicative and subjunctive-jussive should accordingly have become *ikóteb(-)*, while in fact there also exists the 3rd m.pl. *yiktób*. So also 2nd f.sg. **tikubū(-)* should have yielded, say, *tekúteb(-)* for both ind. and subj.-juss., but in fact, the 2nd f.sg. of an imperfect *ifóth* is *tefúteh*, while to 3rd m. *ifdél* (3rd f. *tfédél*) there will be found to correspond a 2nd f.sg. *tefdél*. In a number of Šheri verbs (according to the materials collected by the Viennese expedition) the 3rd m.sg. imperfect indicative has the *iktéb/iktób* form, while the corresponding 3rd feminine form is *tekóteb* etc. So from *delóf* 'jump'—3rd sg.m. *idléf*, f. *tedólif*; from *taróf* 'aufrollen'—*iréf*, f. *tefóref*; from *rízah* 'stamp (one's foot)'—*yirzäh*, f. *terizäh*; from *than* 'grind'—*yithán/yithón* (Müller, *Mehri u. Sog.*, III, 148_{1.2}), f. *tefóhen*; from *q(b)or* 'bury'—*iqbór*, f. *teqór*; from *toḥ* 'cook'—*ubáh*, f. *toḥ* (cf. Bittner, *Šhauri*, II, 11, §3a, Anm. 1).

The choice of Šheri, of all Modern South Arabian dialects, as representative of the primitive situation is infelicitous, to say the least. From the Šheri evidence collected by the Viennese expedition there is no way of establishing any classification of the verbs as into (1) a *ketób-yikóteb-yiktéb* group and (2) a *kíteb-yiktób-yiktób* group. Even Bittner, despite his somewhat confusing arrangement, is quite clear in stating that the *yikóteb* imperfect 'kommt... verhältnismäßig nicht allzu häufig vor' (Bittner, *Šhauri*, II, 9–10), and that 'viel häufiger findet sich... *yiktéb*, und zwar promiscue als Subjunktiv und Indikativ' (ibid.); that '*yiktób* kommt als Indikativ-Subjunktiv gerade zu dem intransitiven *kíteb* und zu dem mediae gutturalis *ketéb* nicht besonders oft' (ibid., 11), while 'viel zahlreicher sind *yiktób*-Imperfekte neben *ketób*-Perfekten' (ibid., 12). An examination of the texts will easily prove that Wagner (*Syntax der Mehri-Sprache*, 51) is quite right when he says that 'im Šh[auri] besteht... praktisch kein Unterschied zwischen Indikativ und Subjunktiv, wenn man vom dem... präfigierten *l-* in der 1. Pers.sg. absieht'.

In Johnstone's survey of the Modern South Arabian languages (*AAL*, I, 5, 1975), where a different variety of Šheri seems to be described, the verbs of the *Cə'CoC* type (*kə'tob* 'write', *rə'fos* 'to kick') are presented (13, 17) as having an imperfect indicative *ya'kotab* and a subjunctive *yoktub*, *yorfəs*

(3rd m.pl. *yər'fəs*), but the same distinction is also shown (ibid., 14) as existing in verbs of the 'CeCəC' type, like *ter* 'be broken', whose imperfect indicative is *yəti'or*, while its subjunctive is *yəti'bor*. The fact that in Mehri and Harsusi (MH) the imperfect indicative and the subjunctive of verbs like *teber* (or *tebor*?) 'be broken' are homophonous (*yətibor*) is well explained by Johnstone (ibid., 14, n. 7), by comparison to Šheri and Soqotri, as a case of neutralization due to the free occurrence in MH of anaptyctic vowels wherever two-consonant clusters occur.³

Cohen firmly rejects as irrelevant my remark that 'it should be remembered that the Arabic indicative morpheme is not -u but -u ~ -n.' and that 'no trace of -n... is found in 2nd f.sg. forms, and no -n... representing the indicative morpheme is suffixed to the 3rd [and 2nd] m.pl.'. He says (in his letter) 'je me perds en conjectures sur la signification de cet argument. Même si j'avais soutenu—ce que je n'ai pas fait—que le système sudarabique est un système arabe purement et simplement, croyez-vous que j'aurais eu la moindre peine à vous citer une multitude de dialectes arabes où cet -n n'existe pas?' Cohen goes on to show how in the Arabic of Oman, as in many other dialects, there is no -n in 2nd f.sg. *tkibi* nor in 3rd and 2nd m.pl. forms like *yikibo*, *tkibo*, the same as in Šheri. I believe that the relevance of my remark should be clearly recognized. In Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic there had presumably been morphological marking of the indicative prefix-conjugation forms through the suffixation of -u ~ -n... When the distinction of 'moods' collapses (mostly in connexion with the reduction of final short vowels), there are two possibilities: either the long forms (with -n) or the naked forms (without -n) are adopted (not necessarily for all persons involved). In Hebrew the forms without -n have been generalized (the -n occurring in archaisms only); in Aramaic languages the long forms were mostly generalized (the distinction of moods still operating in the older phases of Aramaic); in Arabic, where the clear morphological distinction between forms marked by -u ~ -n, -a ~ -o and the naked forms is well known from the classical language, Iraqi and some Bedouin dialects are among those where the forms with -n have been generalized when the distinctive marking of 'moods' is left out, while in a 'multitude' of other dialects the short forms were generally adopted. Cohen, however, refers to Šheri 2nd f.sg. *tekteb*: *tektib*, 3rd m.pl. *yikóteb*: *yikéteb*, 2nd m.pl. *tekteb*: *tektéb* as still preserving the primitive opposition between indicative and subjunctive, yet that primitive distinction, in accordance with his view of 'West Semitic', should have been reconstructed as **tikṭubī-n*: **tikṭubī* etc. In languages where the morphological opposition of indicative: non-indicative is said to be still alive and marked by the effects of a reconstructed final short -u on the syllabic structure of the indicative forms, one would not expect an omission of the generally-stronger allomorph -n.

The -n in the 3rd f.pl. belongs to the original personal affirmative which in Ethiopic, as in some other Semitic languages, but not in Modern South Arabian, was (as commonly admitted) changed to -ā under the influence of

³ Compare also Šheri forms from D. H. Müller's texts (*Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*, III = *Sudarabische Expedition*, VII, Wien, 1907): From *gələq/gələq* 'see, look for' (imperfect indicative *yegələq*), there will be found a subjunctive (1st sg.) *legələq* (Bittner, *Šhauri*, III, 68, §34 = Müller, 93₂₂) besides *legələq* (Müller, 113₂₋₃), 1st pl. *negələq* (Müller, 13₁₀₋₁₁), and the imperative forms *gələq* (Bittner, *Šhauri*, III, 68, §34 = Müller, 93₂₁) alongside of *gələq* (Bittner, *Šhauri*, III, 70, §37 = Müller, 94₁₂, and Müller, 47₁₇, 113₇, 116₂). So also from *haləq*/ *haləq* 'lie, cohabit' (imperfect indicative *yehələq*, Müller, 121₁₁) there are the subjunctives 1st sg. *lehələq* (Müller, 121₂), 3rd m.sg. *yehələq* (Müller, 120₁₂), besides *lehələq* (ibid., 121₁), *nehələq* (ibid., 121₃).

analogy to the corresponding 3rd f.pl. *-ā* of the perfect (see also *BSOAS*, XL, 477). ' Dans quelles personnes apparaît en guèze ce *n* qui est présent en šahri ? ' It is true, in Ethiopic *-ā* was presumably substituted for the primitive f.pl.impf. *-n* suffix. Modern South Arabian languages did not take part in this Ethiopian innovation, but neither did these languages take part in the Arabic innovation of changing the perfect affirmative 3rd pl.f. *-ā* to *-na* on the analogy of the imperfect form.

Finally, I am still convinced that in the reconstruction of vowel-shifts the great variety of forms must not be ignored. In the Mehri imperfect indicative one ought not to neglect 3rd and 2nd pl. forms which have *-a-* in alternation with the *-o-* of the 3rd sg. and other persons; how will this *-a-* emerge from an epenthetic *-u-*? In Šheri itself (as reflected in the records of the Viennese expedition) there are verbs with *-é-* before the penultimate radical, in the imperfect indicative as well as in the subjunctive, and there are verbs with *-a-* in the imperfect (like *nfiḥ* 'blow'—*ináfḥ*; *ḥaṣal* 'obtain'—*yehāṣal/yehōṣel*). In a reconstruction that is based mainly on the difference between the evolution of forms with *-u-* and that of forms with *-a-*, a thorough examination of all forms other than *ikóteb*, *iktéb*, or *iktób* may well be relevant.

* * * *

In *BSOAS*, XL, 469, n. 42, I mentioned that Ethiopic *sagwərd* was considered as borrowed from Agaw *səgurtā* by Halévy and Tubiana. In fact, this etymological suggestion by Halévy was carefully quoted, but not adopted, by Tubiana.

GIDEON GOLDENBERG

PRESERVATION OF ORIGINAL ARYAN VOCABULARY IN THE MODERN LANGUAGES

The oldest texts—*R̥gveda* and *Avesta*—of the Indic (Indo-aryan) and Iranian languages, which together form the Aryan family, agree in much of their vocabulary, as well as in much of their grammar and syntax. But a comparison of the later forms of each branch shows similar agreements, especially of vocabulary, which are not recorded in the old texts. To Georg Morgenstierne in his long life as linguist and orientalist we owe more than to any other our knowledge of the languages¹ spoken on either side of the Indic and Iranian border and of the solution of problems arising in their history. The last of his books—apart from the eagerly awaited and nearly completed revised edition of his *Etymological vocabulary of Pashto*—is *An etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group*. Study of this work discloses further instances of the community of Indic and Iranian vocabularies, which are recorded in neither, or in one only, of the two ancient texts. This brief note arising there-

¹ Signs and abbreviations are as in CDIAL with the addition of Iranian and other dialects either not found therein or in a different form: Bg. = Bengali, CDIAL = *Comparative dictionary of the Indo-aryan languages* by R. L. Turner, Dum. = Dūmāski, et al. = and others, EVSh. = *Etymological vocabulary of the Shughni group* by Georg Morgenstierne, GJ. = Gujarāṭī, Hi. = Hindi, Kash. = Kāshmirī, Khu. = Khufī, Lah. = Lahndā, Mar. = Marāṭhī, Nep. = Nepālī, Orosh. = Oroshorī, Pj. = Panjābī, Pras. = Prasun, Rosh. = Roshani, Sī = Sindhī, Snh. = Sinhalese.

from is an expression, however inadequate, of gratitude for a friendship of over fifty years.

Ir. **a-pakwa-* > Shgh. *abōx* stupid EVSh. 12: Sk. *apakva-* Suśr. > Si. *āko* uncooked (Pras. Gawar. *abok* food < uncooked food prob. ← Ir.) CDIAL 413.

Ir. **awahaya-* > Yazgh. *away-* to place, put EVSh. 21: Sk. (TS., ŚBr. *avasāyayati*, cf. *avasāna-* stopping place RV. > Gj. *asān* courage at a critical time CDIAL 860.

Ir. **upa-wayā-* > Sarik. *baucy-* to veil EVSh. 21: IA. **upc-vayati* > Mar. *ovñē* to thread, cf. Pa. *upavīyati* is woven CDIAL 2237.

Ir. **upa-skar-* > Shgh. *bīšcar-* to scoop up EVSh. 21, **xāš-škar-* > Sar. *paščor-* to fill with water EVSh. 64: IA. **skar-* > Mar. *kha-a-inē* to scrape, poke, and with various enlargements Lah. *kharolnā*, Pj. *kharacī ā*, Mar. *kharadñē* CDIAL 13645.

Ir. **dramana-* wormwood > **dramna-* > Shgh. *cūdṁ*, Ish. *ḍrēm* (→ Brah. *dranna*) EVSh. 22: IA. **dramana-* > Pk. *damanaya-*, Hi. *daruṇē*, et al. CDIAL 6620 (Kt. *drum* and Kal. *drāṇu* ← Ir. **dramna-* CDIAL 14631).

Ir. **drunā-* f. > Shgh. *can* f. bow EVSh. 23: Sk. *drunā-* bow-string (lex. only) > Dm. *drun* bow, Bhal. *ḍḷuṇo* string of balance, et al. CDIAL 6636, 14634.

Ir. **traxra-* (< **taxra-*) > Par. *tarku* bitter, Pers. *talx* Shgh. *ciš* prob. < Ir. **tarxša-*) EVSh. 24: Sk. *takra-* buttermilk > Kho. *trck* bitter, rancid, et al. CDIAL 5617.

Ir. **kartyā-* knife > Shgh. *čād* sword, Psht. *čārō* EVSh. 25 IA. **kertyā-* > Sh. *kašī* scissors, Nep. *kaciya* sickle CDIAL 2866.

Ir. **kārṭi-* > Pahlavi *kārt* large knife, Bal. *kārē*: IA. **kārṭi-* > Gy. *kat* shears, Si. *kāṭi* large knife, Bhal. *kāṭi*, et al. CDIAL 3069, 14382.

Ir. **kātā-* pit > Shgh. *čāg-* in *čāgdāl* pit of the stomach EVSh. 25: IA. *kartā-* pit RV. > Or. *kāta* heap of coins in a stake, but if this, with RV. *kāṭā-*, belongs to the much larger group with guttural + *a* + retroflex, it may be of Dravidian origin CDIAL 2851.

Ir. **kāmaya-* > Shgh. *čēmō-* to agree, Wkh. *kəmay-*, et al. EVSh. 26: Sk. *kāmāyatē* loves RV., **utkāmāyatē* > Mar. *ukāvnē* to love CDIAL 1719.

Ir. **kaṅka-* curved, bent > Pers. *kank* humpbacked, Shgh. *čung*, f. *čang* curved, bent, et al. EVSh. 26: IA. **kaṅka-* in Sk. *kaṅkara-* vile, *kaṅkāla-* poor, miserable > Si. *kaṅgararī* desolate, Pj. *kaṅglā* beggar, Mar. *kāḱālā* cruel, et al. CDIAL 2602, 2604.

Ir. **krdu-* > Shgh. *čūrō* crooked, Yazgh. *kīd*, Pers. *kal* EVSh. 27: IA. *krdhū-* crooked RV. > poss. Pk. *kuḍhiya-* blunt (or part of a large group—guttural + *u* + reflexive for 'defective') CDIAL 3261.

Ir. **dāti-* striking > Shgh. *šād* fighting, Ish. *dād* EVSh. 20: Sk. *dhātī-* assault lex. (< **dhātī-* ?) > Pk. *dhātī-*, Pj. *dhār*, et al. CDIAL 3772.

Ir. **fra-yaugana-* > Shgh. *firiyn* willow-band fastening yoke to plough-beam EVSh. 33: Sk. *yōjana-* team RV. CDIAL 10530; *prayukta-* yoked > Si. *potu* pair CDIAL 8739.

Ir. **dānā-* parched grain > Shgh. *šūn*, Yaghn. *don* EVSh. 31: Sk. *dhānā-* RV. > Kho. *dan*, Pj. *dhānā*, et al. CDIAL 6777.

Ir. **yūkā-* louse > Khu. *jūg* plant-lice EVSh. 39: Sk. *yāḱā-* louse > Pk. *jūā*, Gy. *juw*, Si. *jūā*, et al. CDIAL 10512.

Ir. **fiya-* wooden shovel (**fiya-* ?) > Shgh. *fay*, Sar. *fi*, et al. EVSh. 34: Sk. *sphyā-* flat piece of wood for stirring AV. > Kho. *phī* wooden spade, Kash. *phyuh* snow-scoop, et al. CDIAL 13839.

Ir. **nišwāpaya-* (or **niš-hwāpaya-*) > Shgh. *nišāb-* to rock to sleep, Rosh.

nižeb-, Orosh. *nižōb-* EVSh. 31: Sk. *niśvapayati* rocks to sleep RV., *niśupta-* asleep > Bg. *niśut* sound asleep CDIAL 7468.

Ir. **naya-*, pret. **nīta-* to churn > Shgh. *nay-*, *nīd-* EVSh. 32, Khot. *nīyaka* fat, *et al.* Bailey, TPS 1955, 60: Sk. *nīta-* butter > Kt. *nīwā* buttermilk, Kal. *nir*, *nīu* (stem *nīl-*) CDIAL 7545, *nētra-* string of churning stick CDIAL 7588.

Ir. **parivay-* > Sar. *parivay-* to veil, Sogd. *prw'y* to wrap EVSh. 60: Sk. *parivayati* interweaves BhP. (*pāryuta-* set with ŚBr.) > Kash. *pirun* to string (beads), Hi. *pironā* to plait CDIAL 7869.

Ir. **us-fan-* and **us-fān-* in Rosh. *sifan-* to rise, Shgh. *sifān-* EVSh. 72: IA. **utphānati* > Pj. *upphannā* to swell, *et al.*, IA. **utphāṇayati* > Mar. *uphannē* to winnow CDIAL 1836.

Ir. **skavāna-* > Shgh. *sikūnd* pitchfork, Rosh. *sikūn* EVSh. 73: Sk. *danta-skavāna-* picking (the teeth) ĀpDh. (cf. *skānti* picks, pokes ŚBr., *cōṣkūyātē* collects RV., *skūyātē* is poked MaitrŚ.); Mar. *khavṇē* to scrape or scoop, *khavṇā* a large scraper CDIAL 13646-7.

Ir. **būra-* (< *bhrūra-*) > Shgh. *vūr* brown, Yaghn. *vur*, Mj. *vūr* EVSh. 85: IA. **bhrūra-* > Si. *bhūro* brown, *et al.* CDIAL 9690.

Av. *vaēti-* willow > Shgh. *wēd* EVSh. 87: IA. **vēti-* > Paś. *wei* and other Dardic forms, Dog. *bī* CDIAL 12097.

Ir. **skṛntati*, **skṛšta-* in Shgh. *šičiṣd* cuts, pret. *šičušt* *et al.* EVSh. 100: IA. **skṛt-* in **ut-skartati*, **ut-skṛtta-* > Si. *ukhaṭanu* to engrave, Pk. *ukkhutta-* cut CDIAL 1896.

Ir. **srūtā-* > Yid. *šad* ladder, Psht. *šəl* EVSh. 101: Sk. *śrūtī-* entrance RV. > Pk. *sii-* ladder, Ash. *istrī*, Wg. *čī*, *čīf* CDIAL 12703; IA. **śrūtā-* > Sh. *ciç* f. CDIAL 12704.

Ir. **sruvā-* horn (beside Av. *srū-*) in Khu. Rosh. *šāw*, *šow*, Sar. *šew* EVSh. 104: IA. **sruvā-* in Pras. *ičū*, Tor. *šō*.

Ir. **uš-haušati*, **uš-hušta-* > Shgh. pres. *ziyūšd* dries up, pret. *ziyāšt* EVSh. 109: IA. **ut-śušta-* > Pras. *išti* dry wood CDIAL 1855 (cf. IA. **ut-śuška-* > *ucchuška-* withered Kathās., Pras. *uškūyō* dry, Kho. *usukik* to wither, dry up (of milk). Cf. *ucchuṣyati* dries up ChUp., Pa. *ussussati* CDIAL 1854.

Ir. **snaiga-* snow > Shgh. *šiniš*, *et al.* EVSh. 110: IA. *snēha-* > Pk. *snēha-* snow, hoarfrost, mist CDIAL 13802.

Ir. **gari-* mountain, stone > Av. *gairi* mountain, Shgh. *šir* stone, Psht. *gar* EVSh. 110: IA. *giri-* mountain, stone RV. > Pras. *gire* rock, Sh. *giri* stone, Snh. *gira* rock, *gala* rock, mountain.

B. L. TURNER

REVIEWS

HAIM B. ROSÉN: *Contemporary Hebrew* (Trends in Linguistics. State-of-the-Art Reports, 11). 249 pp. The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1977. £19.80.

The publishing history of this important work seems to be fairly complicated: it was commissioned by Professor Werner Winter of Kiel University and appears as No. 11 in the series indicated above, but no information is vouchsafed anywhere about the ten volumes presumably preceding the present one. Professor Rosén's foreword is dated Jerusalem, May 1971 (*sic*); no item appearing in the extensive bibliography was published later than 1970, and the book—printed in Hungary—bears the Hague date of 1977, although it was issued only in early 1978, almost seven years after the foreword was penned, an intolerable delay and no doubt a severe irritation to the author. As the bulk of the book must have been written in 1969–70, the first serious reviews of such a weighty treatise will appear fully ten years later! A century ago Disraeli could be confident that a book completed in October would be out well before Christmas¹, and orientalists in the second half of the nineteenth century considered three to six months the usual time to see a complex manuscript through the entire publishing process.

I approached the study of the volume under review with the keenest and most pleasurable anticipation. Not only did I know Rosén as one of the most acute and gifted linguists, but our joint teacher, H. J. Polotsky, had described this book to me as truly significant (and H.J.P. is not given to unwarranted hyperbole). In the event, my expectation turned out not to have been pitched too high, and the early promise of browsing in a proof-set was entirely fulfilled by long and detailed study of the finished product—though, perhaps, in somewhat unexpected ways.

The present review sets out to do three things:

- (1) to show Rosén's extraordinary ability, acumen, originality, and spark; his faculty to see and to evaluate well-known phenomena with a completely fresh eye and in a new and genuinely illuminating manner. Rosén is plainly a linguist of the highest attainments, one who actually *knows* languages and whose experience is buttressed by proper command and first-hand control (*rara avis* indeed these days);
- (2) to invite attention to the expression (in the present case in English) of his thoughts and to find out to what extent his ideas and their linguistic representation are well matched; indeed, whether 'the mould into which the material facts' of contemporary Hebrew are cast by Rosén helps us to arrive

at an adequate description of the working mechanism of this language (p. 5);

- (3) to present a few of the many important and stimulating recognitions embodied by Rosén in his descriptive sketch of Israeli Hebrew; and to ask whether some of the mould, the framework, the terminology do not, perhaps, exhibit at times so high a degree of complexity, theoretical refinement, and even opaqueness of substance and form as to vitiate—or at any rate to impede—the very purposes they are meant to serve.

Apart from one or two generalities to be discussed presently, I propose to exemplify these three major facets by examining the book in its proper sequence and adverting to some of the half dozen or so notes and queries penned along the margins of each page in the course of a lengthy perusal.

The absence of an index in a work which appears to cry out for one is highly disturbing; it makes subsequent consultation and referring back to concepts as well as examples both annoying and onerous. Oddly enough, Rosén himself (p. 51) complains, rightly, about this omission in E. Rubinstein's *Ha-ceruf ha-pooliy* (I am using throughout Rosén's mode of transcribing CH = Contemporary Hebrew).

The bibliography is exceptionally valuable but marred by an inordinate large number of printing mistakes (in contrast to the main body of the book which has very few) and faulty references (the *a*'s and *b*'s frequently do not tally with the indications provided elsewhere).

The punctuation throughout is highly idiosyncratic and differs markedly from the commonly accepted modes current in English. Particularly disturbing examples will be found on pp. 5, 42, 175, 193, 205, 257, etc.

The foreword refers to the help given by Mrs Sarah Munster 'who located . . . all flaws of English expression; those that remain . . . '—an odd logical lapse for one as highly trained in linguistics and philosophy as Rosén is. The number of plain 'mistakes' which Mrs Munster overlooked is quite small (e.g. 'immersed', p. 55; 'penult stress became to be considered', p. 79; 'the gerund might be well disposed (instead of "might well be disposed" or "set") to embark', p. 106; 'uncourteous', p. 133; 'it might be well applicable', p. 135, instead of 'might well be applicable'; there are several errors of a similar kind on pp. 152, 164, 175, etc.; 'the suggestion . . . has been largely met with approval' (p. 170); 'the recognizance (instead of 'recognition') of the importance of this . . . is based on H. J. Polotsky's teaching', p. 181, etc.).

Mrs Munster must, however, be absolved from all blame for the rather more disturbing and less easily corrected general flaws and blemishes in the sphere of syntax and style. It is obviously impossible to cite here large numbers of examples of well-nigh totally opaque constructions or of sentences of such excessively Teutonic length and doubtful constructibility that they constitute a severe

¹ Robert Blake, *Disraeli*, London, 1966, p. 143.

barrier to comprehension and intelligibility. Two instances, chosen entirely at random, must suffice:

'While the new descriptive movement never aimed at "handing down rulings on language", without its lovingly probing into every functional distinction, however subtle, emerging in the new system, neither language education of native speakers nor scientifically devised teaching of Hebrew as a second language would ever have become possible' (p. 42).

or

'What has proved more fruitful and stimulating to subsequent research than any other result arrived at in the book, is the distinction established between governed object and ungoverned adverbial complement... both marked by the presence of a preposition which, however, is variable in the latter case, and invariable in the former, so that the constituent structure of, e.g., (*hastamaš be-*) + *sefer* "I used + a book" would be as shown, while three constituents would be present in *kalavi be-sefer* "I wrote in a book", due to the substitutability of the preposition *be-* in the latter by, e.g., 'al-"on"' (pp. 46-7).

I should wish to stress, most emphatically, that I am not concerned here with stylistic felicity as such but purely and simply with syntactical acceptability and ready comprehension. And it is in this sphere that, in the reviewer's opinion, Rosén has not been well served by the peculiar linguistic medium employed in this volume. Most sentences would benefit from radical re-casting and shortening. Quite often the terminological and syntactical complexities are such that only after translation into plain language does the genuine importance of Rosén's thought emerge. I apologize both to the author and to the reader for dwelling on this seemingly external aspect, but it is, in fact, crucial and profoundly relevant to the understanding of a book that eminently deserves to be understood and appreciated. If the present reviewer has misconstrued things embodied in this essay, then it is assuredly in part on account of his obtuseness, but some of the blame has to be attributed to a measure of opacity in the formulation of Rosén's ideas.

If the mould or framework, created to describe the linguistic phenomena of Contemporary Hebrew, has to be *that* complicated (at times even obfuscated), either in substance or in expression, then the whole purpose of descriptive analysis is rendered questionable. True, Rosén is a pioneer engaged in a pioneering endeavour of great subtlety, but I remain convinced that the language of scholarship need be neither arcane nor abstruse. H. J. Polotsky, whom both Rosén and the reviewer revere as their master, has set an example of how scholarly rigour can be combined with felicitousness of language.

The contents of the book are briefly as follows:

Chapter 1 is concerned with the nomenclature and identity of Contemporary Hebrew;

ch. 2 provides an account of the study of CH, deals with the historical background, and surveys the unique revival phenomenon. Phonology is the subject of ch. 3, while the next section, on content and lexicon, embodies a fine study of the absorption of the inherited lexicon, Westernized semantic elements, Israeli Hebrew content structure, and etymological consciousness. This part alone makes it abundantly clear that even students of Biblical Hebrew cannot afford to persist in their self-imposed seclusion (just as the obverse is true) and must venture upon unfamiliar pastures.

Chapter 5 is concerned with parts of speech, while word-formation and compounding is the subject of ch. 6. Inflectional and syntactical categories make up ch. 7 and 8, respectively. Throughout the book there is an uninterrupted flow of ideas, an almost uncanny ability to look upon CH from the outside as well as the inside virtually simultaneously, and a degree of linguistic expertise that places Professor Rosén in a class on his own.

The chapter on the name and identity of CH is, perhaps, a little overlong and makes heavy weather of a subject that need not cause excessive worry; it certainly has its longueurs. There is just a suspicion of (quite unnecessary) defensiveness when the author avers that 'the use of the native designation *'ivrit* in any of the European languages would place Israeli Hebrew among the non-European native speech forms that do not rank as languages of civilization within the European cultural conscience' (p. 16).² Alas, whatever the name it may be given, CH remains the hermetic medium of communication of a linguistically closed society which employs English or French or German when it wishes to emphasize its openness to the world. The very fact that Rosén's book is published in English is eloquent testimony to the use of certain preferred languages within the community of scholars who represent the 'European cultural consciousness' to which he refers.

It seems to me that Rosén is absolutely right in claiming (p. 25): 'maybe there will never be another living language as fascinating for the linguist as Israeli Hebrew because of the striking disparateness of its genealogical and its typological relatives'. Similarly sound sense is dispensed by Rosén in his treatment of the lacunae in the phonemic system (pp. 25-6), in his characterization of the 'genuinely Semitic' ideal of Hebrew aspired to by orthoepists and purists alike 'in the shape of a Brockelmann-style Arabo-centric proto-language' (no disrespect towards Brockelmann is intended—certainly not by the reviewer), and in the tacit approval accorded to Bergsträsser's dictum, 60 years ago, that 'Hebraisch, das in Wirklichkeit eine europäische Sprache in durchsichtiger hebraischer Verkleidung ist, mit gemeineuropäischen Zügen und einzelsprachlichen Besonderheiten...' (*Einführung*, 47). It might be added at this point that not

² Presumably 'consciousness' rather than 'conscience'. On p. 17, note 4, read 'millennia'; on p. 19 'conceptual' (which Rosén plainly does *not* mean) should be 'conceptual'.

everything Bergstrasser said or prophesied in that context has come to pass (Rosén, p. 32).

There are many details of substance, of expression, even of spelling (how can a fine classical scholar like Rosén spell 'analyse' as 'analyze'!—p. 54 *et passim*) in the two great opening chapters where one might be tempted to argue with Rosén, but dwelling on such minutiae here might tend to obscure the great merit of *Ha-Ivrit šelanu* and its successors which, over the past 25 years, have placed the study of CH on a secure scholarly basis—despite much argument and, indeed, vituperation by some. Rosén's stature as a great pioneer in this area is unassailable.

daxak (p. 59) is 'pressed' rather than 'pushed' (which is *daxaf*—good examples, incidentally, of the biradical root bases in which the third acted as a modifier); 'significant' (p. 58) should, I think, be 'significant' in terms of English phonemic nomenclature. I was surprised to learn of such 'faulty' markers of 'un-Hebrewness' as *fantomma* or *fornografya* (which have not come my way) when there exist plenty of genuine ones (pp. 60–1). Rosén is, of course, right in saying that *p* and *f* are 'an allophonic pair in Biblical Hebrew, while they are two distinct phonemes in Israeli Hebrew' (p. 64); but I wonder whether he would accept the rider that 'while *p* and *f* are distinct phonemes in CH, they yet function as an allophonic pair as well' (notwithstanding a few relatively rare cases like *hitzaver* 'to become friends' versus *hitzaber* 'to be joined together').

There are some profoundly interesting and highly suggestive passages on the loss of quantitative distinctions and of laryngeal articulations, on the emergence of morpho-phonemic alternations and of new diphthongs. The same is true of boundary phenomena and suprasegmentals, but at the word 'zeroification' (p. 66) I balk absolutely. Throughout the book Rosén shows a particular penchant for sub-standard forms; recourse to them is generally very illuminating, but in a few instances this particular enthusiasm produces doubtful or trivial results.

As to prominence or stress (pp. 70–1), everyone would accept the distinction between *racu* 'they ran' and *racú* 'they wanted' or *afu* 'they flew' and *afú* 'they baked'; but the difference between *dofek* 'pulse' and *dofek* 'knocking' or *yeled* 'child' and *yeled* 'will bring forth' is of an altogether disparate order. We are not so much concerned here with 'sub-phonemic effects typical of [not 'for', incidentally] stress prominence' but with totally different vowel *quality* and patterning—and that applies to both vowels in both syllables.* I do not imagine for a moment that Rosén has failed to notice so elementary a point, but I am puzzled as to what made him adopt that particular treatment. I was interested to learn that forms like *šamartem* (p. 76) are no longer considered (at any rate by Rosén) as sub-standard. The summary of the pertinent stress

features of CH is of great value, but it is, unhappily, almost entirely untouched by the principles of Occam's razor.

Turning to § 3.7.5, I may perhaps be allowed to say that in the first sentence the concessive clause cannot occupy the position it does; that 'correspondingly' should read 'corresponding'; that 'medium' should in both cases be altered to 'medial'; that in the second line of the second paragraph we should read 'nominal forms *present* ...'; and that in footnote 74 the translation of *γλαυκός* is, of course, 'gleaming' rather than 'gleaning'.

Throughout the book the significance of the theoretical introductions to each section remains all too frequently obscure until study of the examples adduced allows us to guess at the intended meaning and to make an attempt at reformulation.

Turning to the lexicon, Rosén is, of course, right in saying that 'the Bible is still the primary point of departure for word meanings' (p. 83); but I cannotathom the precise significance of the following statement (even with the gloss placed on it by the subsequent quotation drawn from *Tor-Sinai*):

'Exactly what part of the Hebrew Bible played an important enough role to be included in the lexicon of traditional Jewish learning, alongside rabbinical literature, has not yet been thoroughly examined'.

I would venture to differ from the view (*ibid.*) that 'there is no point in establishing, by way of research, the meaning of a Biblical Hebrew word and contrasting the latter to its current lexical value'. I should have thought this was a legitimate and highly profitable scholarly pursuit, for in this way we may be able to explore genuine semasiological developments, or leaps in that evolution encouraged by traditional learning, or the arbitrary hand of innovators, purists, etc. To say that 'not infrequently the difference is between the *scientific truth* (reviewer's italics) and exegetical tradition, and not a result of linguistic history' appears to overlook that exegetical tradition is part of a different level of linguistic history and that scientific truth is itself an eminently variable property.

Rosén has some very valuable things to say on the impact of Bible translations, on extra-Jewish traditions in the evolution of modern Hebrew notions, on the shift of semantic centre and spurious semantic change, on calques and loan-translations, etc. Each one of these subjects would deserve comment and detailed annotation, but the heavy marginalia entered in my *Handexemplar* cannot readily be translated into brief critical notes suitable even for so generously proportioned a review. Incidentally, the influence of Hebrew and certain Jewish diaspora languages on Rosén's English may be discerned in his use of 'already'; there is an amusing example on p. 91.

R. makes some very interesting observations on the *qatil* pattern, such as *gamis* 'flexible', *xadir* 'penetrable', *xazic* 'washable', but he is concerned that this pattern is derivable only from the basic stem. A form like *kavil* 'admissible' from the *Pi'el* meets with justified objec-

* What, incidentally, is a 'nonphonemic syllable' (p. 74)? It seems to me that several things have gone awry in this second paragraph on p. 74.

tion' (p. 93). Could it be that the linguistic rebel of 1955 has joined the establishment and has become a normative grammarian when his notions of evolutionary propriety are offended? Is he no longer the mere observer of a language evolving haphazardly and ignorantly?

That a second defect of the *savir* 'fragile' pattern should lie in its failure to 'answer to the affixal nature of the *-able* formations by a similarly affixal process' (p. 93) seems to me a little far-fetched and to overstate the relevance of translational equivalents or models. After all, the Hebrew/Aramaic *bar-*, *ben-*, *bat-*, *bne-*, *bnot-* forms, which supplement the *qatil* pattern (*bar-tikun* 'repairable', *ben-tmula* 'mortal', etc.), have a respectable antiquity which long precedes any European models.⁴ Even Rosén's cautiously worded question as to whether in CH *bar*-formations the *Anklang* to German *-bar* (as in *trag-bar* 'portable') might have been 'a supporting factor' appears to me a case of *lucus a non lucendo*.

In instances where Arabic phonemes foreign to Hebrew are replaced by Hebrew ones, such as *dura* 'maize' (Arabic ذرة), I wonder whether the approximation is not graphic rather than phonetic? (p. 95).

On p. 110 (and in several other places) Rosén refers to the late Churchill versus Churchill is late. I realize, of course, in which context this ubiquitous example is adduced, but in English it will not work in this form. 'Late' can be used of the relatively recently dead only and then the title must be prefixed: thus 'the late Mr. Churchill' or 'the late King George VI', but not 'the late Napoleon' or 'the late Victoria'.

In the most stimulating discussion on verboids and extrapositional transformations (pp. 97-113) I would argue that *ha-xavera šeli šma tamar* 'my girl-friend is called Tamar' differs marginally from *šem ha-xavera šeli tamar*, for the extraposition does add an 'extra' dimension to the first phrase. In the sentence *mila zo peruša baaya*, rendered by Rosén as 'this word means "problem"', (p. 110), one may also detect the meaning 'the explanation of this word is problematic'. I find it equally hard to see why the sentence *mkor ha-yarden ba-zermon* 'the source of the Jordan is in the Hermon' is acceptable, but *ha-yarden mkoro ba-zermon* would have 'the nonsense interpretation': 'the river Jordan has its source in the Hermon'. In what way does the latter phrase fail to give either syntactic or semantic satisfaction?

The sub-standard variants *Tamar haya la susim* or even *Tamar haya la 'et ha-susim* 'Tamar had (the) horses', in which the 'no longer concord-motivating pl. *susim* has acquired the status of a direct object' (p. 113), were a surprise to me. The expression *šapat laazov* 'one minds leaving' (p. 114) is not even marked as slang; I suppose it is not always easy to be sure about the line of demarcation between standard and sub-standard modes of speech. The phrase *kar li' lacet* I would not render as 'es ist mir kalt hinauszugehen' but rather as 'zu kalt' ... (footnote 98).

⁴ *bar-kayma* (p. 94) is surely 'enduring' and not 'maintainable'.

The present volume's long gestation period in the press has made it impossible for Rosén to consult, apropos of his important observations on the adjective, D. J. Kamhi's 'The term *to'ar* in Hebrew and its status as a grammatical category' in *BSOAS* 1971/2 or the same scholar's 'The gentilitial adjective in Hebrew' in *JRAS* 1971/1. Incidentally, is *dafdefet* really 'atlas' (p. 121) and not 'loose-leaf notebook'?

Rosén states that 'the radical has come to replace the root in all of the formational processes in Israeli Hebrew' (p. 123). In support of this view (and it is, of course, one that makes good linguistic sense) he adduces *m-s-d* 'institution' (root *ysd*) and *misud* 'he institutionalized' or *minua* 'motorization' (root *nuv*) which is not confused with the root *mn* 'to impede'. Yet I am still wondering whether this mode of contemplating things does not open up an unnecessarily wide gulf between theory and commonsense? The theoretical justification, which is not in dispute, is essentially based on a few fairly exceptional instances, while the notion of the root surely remains consciously the basis of the formational process. Indeed, forms like *misud* or *minua* are strongly root-bound, even though they are historically fictitious roots.

When Rosén refers to the Aramaic origin of such compounding bases as *rav-*, *zad-*, *lat-* (p. 125), it is only fair to mention that *rav-* at any rate is here used in its Hebrew meaning 'multi-' rather than in the Aramaic sense of 'great'. *-ut* and *-iy* are described (p. 127) as semantically void derivational suffixes, but are there not some partial exceptions in the case of *-iy*? Expressions like *mahul kalbit* 'dog-like quality' or *akkanut dubbit* 'bear-like stubbornness' suggest a little more than mere 'transformational value'.

Rosén tells us that his classification of the adjective into strong and weak classes has certain pregnant consequences for the formation of adverbs (pp. 133-4). Thus *kataav yafe* 'he wrote beautifully' is clear to me, but does anyone really say *kataav kacac* 'he wrote briefly' rather than *bekicur*? I was under the impression that instead of *kataav barur* 'he wrote clearly' one used the fem. plur. for adverbialization in the 'strong category', i.e. *kataav berurot*, and the fem. sing. for the 'weak class', i.e. *kataav zoššit* 'he wrote freely'—or is this merely the echo of a past age unknown to CH?

I am also puzzled why in 'loose compounds' (pp. 150-1) *azut-panim* 'impertinence' should be accepted, while *oz-panim* is characterized as a 'nonsense expression'. I have certainly heard the latter used both in the sense of 'cheek' as well as 'daring', and this understanding is corroborated in Even-Shoshan's dictionary.

Part of the difficulties encountered in studying this highly important book is connected with Rosén-inspired coinages of words, terms, compound formations, unhyphenated negative nouns, or idiosyncratically employed usages. Some of these are transparent enough (such as 'widespreadness' on p. 35), while others are pretty opaque (such as 'determination-opposite' in footnote 105). Altogether Rosén manifests a keen attachment to

bahwurihi (الاضافة غير الحقيقية) combinations (see anon) and other unfamiliar modes of expression in English: 'analysability' (p. 99), 'retrograde' (p. 155, instead of 'retrogressive'), 'determined' (ibid., which is pre-empted for different semantic contexts), 'de-individualization', 'undetermination' (p. 156), 'preindividualized' (p. 161), 'undeterminating' and 'indeterminating' (p. 162), 'determination-deixis characterized' (p. 163), 'complex categorial purport' (p. 165), 'omissibility' (p. 169), 'appurtenance' (p. 174), 'appurtenantive' (p. 175), 'admissivity' (p. 193), 'mutual inderivability' (p. 217), etc., etc.

'Determinateness is the mark of non-predicativity' (p. 157)—exemplified by: *ha-menahel ašem* 'the director is guilty', *ha-ašem menahel* 'he who is guilty is director'; but would a well-formed sentence, such as *ha-ašem hu ha-menahel* 'the guilty one is the director', not run counter to Rosén's rule? I am not quite clear what the 'analogous results', referred to in connexion with the copula *hu* (p. 158), signify in that context.

Rosén introduces a most interesting discussion on the 'obligatory determination of oronymics ... and hydronymics' in contrast to the 'obligatory non-determination of toponymics' (p. 161). Yet toponymics like *ha-galil*, *ha-šaron*, *ha-negev* appear to infringe Rosén's 'principle'. Would it not be more economical to say that toponymics may take the definite article with the general exception of the names of towns and countries?

I am greatly taken with Rosén's disquisition on the article *partituf* in CH, such as *mi-yeirot Bialik* 'works by Bialik' (pp. 162-3). Particularly striking, if a trifle contrived, is his example *'az kiblu mi-bne-mišpaxo mi-bne-mišpaxo 'et kol-ha-rxus* 'then members of his family (mi- art. part.) received from the (mi-prep.) members of her family the entire property'.

The use of the article (definite or indefinite) in connexion with various types of 'school' in English is a little more complicated than Rosén allows for. But his reflections on number in CH are again greatly illuminating (pp. 164 ff.). It is not so much that these observations are invariably new, but they are stimulatingly and intelligently focused. I had not known that the Aramaic or pseudo-Aramaic plural suffix *-in* tends not to require plural concord; thus apparently *ha-modi'in ha-co'i'y* 'military intelligence' (footnote 152).

Of very considerable syntactical import is the section on case where I find myself in basic agreement with Rosén's cogently argued position. Meanwhile he may have seen some relevant works on English which may not have been readily available when the bibliography was concluded in 1970, such as F. R. Palmer's *A linguistic study of the English verb* (particularly the section on phrasal verbs) and Cowie & Mackin's *Verbs with Prepositions and Particles* (Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English). While *be-*, *le-*, etc., can generally (though not invariably) be substituted, the direct object marker *'et* can not. Yet how would one approach an example like this:

'ani mevaker 'et yoxanan 'I toricize Yohanan'; *'ani mevaker be-zejfa* 'I visit Haifa' (*be-* with places);

'ani mevaker 'ecel yoxanan 'I visit Yohanan' (*'ecel* with persons).

I was surprised to learn (p. 173) that a complete inventory of CH verbs 'with their case governments' had not yet been attempted—at any rate by 1970. What an ideal subject for an enterprising Ph.D. student of genuine ability! However, the study of phrasal verbs in CH, an increasingly important area, is essentially a matter for the lexicon rather than the grammar. In this respect the situation differs somewhat from the modalities of case in its traditional sense.

The constraints on the use of adjectives as constructs (already referred to above) are interestingly set out (pp. 174 ff.). I am wondering, however, whether there is not a difference between *yeled ršir iflaa* 'a quick-witted child' (not 'quick of apprehension', thus at least thrice, though *tafas* can, of course, connote both 'apprehend' and 'comprehend') and *ha-yeled mahir be-tfutar* 'the child is quick of comprehension'; in the latter case one would probably expect the sentence to have continuation, say *šel zukey-ša-matematika* 'the child is quick in his comprehension of the laws of mathematics'.

On p. 187, in the discussion of aspect or tense, I have some difficulty with the example *ha-seret haya kvar nigmar*. 'the movie picture would already be over'. My problem is concerned with the full stop after *nigmar* and with the translation. In my (no doubt imperfect) understanding the sentence must continue (in contrast with *ha-seret kvar nigmar* 'the movie is over') with something like *keše-niznu ha-šotrim* 'the movie was already finished when the policemen entered'.

I feel a little unsympathetic towards Rosén's search for a suitable terminology for the CH tenses (pp. 195 ff.). I should have thought the indigenous terms were entirely adequate; and if there is any objection to their adoption by the international world of scholarship, then one must hope that something may be devised that is purely externally descriptive in terms of form rather than notion. I fear that the term 'appeal' for the name of 'a binary verbal category, one of whose terms is the imperative' (p. 198) leaves me equally cold. But I was interested to learn (p. 199) of the existence of such 'in part sub-standard' analogical innovations as *šan* 'sleep!', *pol* 'fall!', *škar* (for *šcar*) 'he down!', *kmes* (for *hikanes*) 'come in!'. With the exception of *škar*, these had not come my way; *kmes* is particularly surprising, as in 'ordinary' Hebrew it can only mean 'assemble!', and the alleged innovation thus interferes with a live form in a closely neighbouring structural and semantic register.

The anecdotal corroboration which Professor Rosén seeks for the distribution of imperative forms (footnote 185) suggests that he is more of a VIP than even I had imagined, for the Israeli switchboard operators who say to him *tamim bevakša* manage only a meagre *take* when addressing me.

The reference on p. 203 should read Lev. 8:7 and not Gen. 8:6.

The chapter on inflexional categories concludes on this thought-provoking note:

'... an Israeli Hebrew dictionary should list the verbal as well as the nominal entries according to the stems and not by the root which, however traditional in Arabic and later in Semitic lexicography, is no longer a useful practice'.

With regard to nouns this has, of course, long been done (even in such traditional works as Gesenius' dictionary), but in the case of verbs one might well advocate selective listing according to stems, where appropriate.

The section on syntactical categories is relatively brief (and at times neither easy to follow nor to digest), largely no doubt because a great deal of syntactic material is included in other parts of the book. In CH it must be even more difficult than elsewhere to decide what is sub-standard syntax and what is not. I was struck by the sentence (footnote 212) *li'ot lo ra'iti 'oto, 'aval dibarti 'ilo ba-telefon* 'I did not actually [my translation] see him, but I talked to him on the phone'. However, it is hard enough to give a coherent and satisfying description of standard-type Hebrew sentences, let alone indulge in the byways of substandard speech, even though it is undoubtedly true that the latter may make a contribution to the elucidation of more elevated discourse.

I must conclude. I would have failed in my duty as a reviewer, had I given the impression in these desultory notes and comments that Rosén's book as a whole was other than highly significant. The space devoted to this work is amply justified by the major contribution it makes to Hebrew studies and indeed to linguistic contemplation in general.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

ALEXANDER SCHRIBER (ed.): *Ignaz Goldziher: Tagebuch*. 342 pp., 17 plates. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. £23.

When I first heard of the impending publication of Goldziher's diary, I was scarcely able to assuage my keen and impatient anticipation. After all, I had been brought up on Goldziher's extensive private library which was acquired by the incipient Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1923 and was catalogued by my late teacher, D. H. Baneth¹ (vividly described in G. Scholem's remarkable *Von Berlin nach Jerusalem*, Frankfurt, 1977, 206-7). I had always been conscious of Nöldeke's admiration for the 'geniale Zug, den Goldziher und Wellhausen hatten' (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *ZDMG*, 1931, 281) and of the unique position which Goldziher occupied in Islamic studies. Moreover, I had known, as a close fellow-student, Goldziher *redivivus*, the late and greatly lamented S. M. Stern who, by general consent, was made in the image of I. G. by

dint of precociousness, brilliance, background, interests, and scholarly bent, trend, and publications. To those who are apt to lament the passing of the age of Goldziher or Stern one might, perhaps, recall the names of Goitein and van Ess, Kister, or Wansbrough.

The diary was begun on Goldziher's fortieth birthday in 1890 and starts with a summary, of some 125 pages, of his life up to that point. Thereafter it takes us in small instalments, penned at irregular intervals, to the year 1919, within two years of Goldziher's death. It peters out with the sudden death from influenza of his young, gifted, and much loved Egyptologist daughter-in-law. This was a deeply traumatic event in Goldziher's life which broke his spirit and had a much more decisive impact on him than the suicide of his son Miksa Adolf (1880-1900) which is only briefly recorded (p. 228) in fairly opaque terms and never referred to again.

Professor Scheiber, the editor, was a pupil of Bernhard Heller, one of Goldziher's most faithful disciples. When Goldziher's son Karl died in 1965, the diary came into Scheiber's possession. Until then its contents had only been known to Goldziher's wife and son. It is plain from express references that Goldziher wanted the diary to be studied by his sons; and the fact that it was composed in German rather than Hungarian (despite the fact, transparent throughout, that he was a conscious Hungarian patriot) suggests very strongly, in addition to more oblique evidence, that the author himself hoped that his reflections would eventually be published. Earlier publication was certainly precluded by the law of libel, for some of those roughly handled in these pages proved to be of remarkable longevity.

It must have been an agonizing decision for Scheiber (though he is extremely reticent on the subject) whether to publish the diary in full, warts and all, or whether to use extracts, or even to write a biography of Goldziher with copious quotations from the diary. The present reviewer must confess that he now wishes the last course had been adopted. Scheiber speaks, with remarkable understatement, of Goldziher's passionate and often malicious judgement (p. 9) of men who were not only fine scholars but also 'unanfechtbar' in human terms. In fact, Goldziher exhibits a quite astonishing vocabulary of invective and vituperation which, in its tedious repetitiveness, will come as a great shock to many Goldziher admirers. Some two thirds of the total extent of the diary are filled with complaints, attacks, self-pity, and no small measure of vainglory. One reader at least, though fascinated by the all too few passages on scholarship, friendships among orientlists, orientalist congresses, journeys to the orient, and Islamic publications, now wishes he had remained in the pre-diary state of *jāhiliyya*. The impact of the human disappointment, upon studying this wellnigh unrelieved flow of obloquy, was overwhelming and traumatic.

Of course, the hatred ('Hass' is a recurrent theme, particularly on p. 163) and the many unedifying manifestations of the use of language not normally associated with scholars or scholarship have to be understood within the

¹ Cf. my article in the D. H. Baneth memorial volume, 'D. H. Baneth and philological precociousness', which also refers extensively to Goldziher's astounding gifts.

context of Goldziher's unusual career. He had his first book, entitled *Sichat Jiczchak* (plate 1), published when he was twelve, a quite respectable work of scholarship on the origin, etc., of prayer. At the age of thirteen, on his *Bar-Mitsvah*, he insisted, against the Jewish authorities, on preaching a one-hour long sermon from the pulpit of his synagogue (pp. 22-3); later that day he engaged in a long Talmudic disquisition, and during his toast to teachers and guests, the same evening, he was so moved by his own eloquence that he broke down in tears.

He attended Budapest University from the age of sixteen and shone in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian—and indeed in everything else he touched. He published translations from Turkish into Hungarian (the late J. Schacht used to tease his students by drawing their attention to a fine Portuguese translation of this work—in the unlikely event that anyone failed to understand Hungarian). His first teacher was Vambéry, and whatever the latter's scholarly and personal defects may have been, it is hard to imagine that they could have deserved the sustained vilification to which he is subjected throughout the diary.

The Hungarian Government sent the precocious scholar to study in Berlin where he was not impressed by Rodiger but moderately stimulated by Wetzstein. He lived in the house of A. Berliner, the Targumic scholar (who curiously fails to be annotated by the editor). From there he went to Leipzig to study under Fleischer who became his real mentor and where he found able fellow students. He gained his doctorate there before proceeding to Leiden where he met de Goeje (later also Snouck who became particularly close to him). Leipzig and Leiden are rays of hope and brief periods of happiness in an otherwise almost unrelieved recital of gloom.

1873-4 (*adate* 23-4) was spent in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo, and that year produces some of the finest passages in the entire work. He is deliciously happy in Syria; considers Jerusalem as 'eine der unangenehmsten Erinnerungen meines Lebens in meiner Seele' (p. 66); at first tolerates and later loves Cairo where he becomes the first non-Muslim student at Al-Azhar. His attainments in Arabic and Islamic studies had reached a remarkable peak so early in his career.

He became a Privatdozent at Budapest University in his early twenties, was a full, though still unpaid, Professor at 45, but had to wait till the age of 55 before he received a chair and paid appointment at his university. Subsequently he became Dean of the Faculty and President of his section of the Hungarian Academy (he had been elected a corresponding member when he was 28). Most European academies made him an honorary member, and many universities conferred on him honorary doctorates (he reckoned he had accumulated twenty such honours—pp. 293, 295). But he still felt neglected and slighted in his own country—quite without reason as far as one can judge.

The central—and in its dire mental and psychological consequences by far the most fateful—circumstance in his life was the fact

that he held no paid appointment at his university from the age of 25 to 55. Those thirty years he served as secretary of the Jewish community of Budapest. No doubt this was an office uncongenial to a scholar of Goldziher's importance; and it was, moreover, a chore which took him away, for several hours each day (apart from generous vacations), from his Muslim pursuits; yet he found the time to produce publications not only of a quality but also of a quantity that must be the envy of every full-time university teacher. Furthermore, he was able to attend orientalist congresses and take time off to give lectures throughout the scholarly world.

It would appear, therefore, that the much maligned leaders of the Jewish community did show very reasonable consideration to their internationally famous secretary; and they must also have remunerated his services very adequately, for otherwise he could scarcely have undertaken such long and expensive journeys or, most importantly, have been in a position to refuse the many offers of prestigious chairs made to him at frequent intervals. It is a curious phenomenon to observe how the Budapest Jewish authorities, who came to Goldziher's aid when the university was unable or unwilling to offer him a properly remunerated post, became increasingly the butt of his passionate contempt and indeed hatred. While he liked Jewish learning, he came to detest those who dispensed it and developed a pathological loathing for the representatives of Budapest Jewry. He himself is cast in the role of a *heautontimorumenos* throughout the diary which is, unhappily, permeated by this plethora of tedious and repetitive invective (pp. 167-8 are a small and not untypical example of this *genre*).

I have already referred to the wellnigh inexplicable fact that he perished in this misery and turned down many distinguished positions abroad: director of the Cairo Khedivial Library in succession to the Coptologist L. Stern (p. 77); a chair at Prague University (p. 112); chairs at Breslau and Halle, the latter the orphaned *Lehrstuhl* of his late friend August Müller (p. 165); the chair of Arabic at Cambridge in succession to Robertson Smith (at a salary of £700 p.a.—p. 172) then Königsberg (p. 233), Heidelberg (p. 29C), and the most gratifying offer of all: the succession at Strassburg to the great Noldke (p. 249) whom Goldziher rightly revered. The reasons for his refusals are not easy to fathom: he speaks generally of his duty to stay in Hungary and, on one occasion, he refers to his obligations towards his deceased sister's children; but at the operative times they were either adolescents or grown up. And if money in support of those obligations was the crucial factor, one would imagine that these senior university positions would have produced an income readily comparable with that of the detested job of *Gemeinde-sekretär* or mere *shammes* ('synagogue servant' or vergers) in Goldziher's own invariable description.

And when he was finally released from his serfdom and slavery (again his own words), his soul had been too deeply affected: the bugbears of the past continue to be conjured

up and are now joined by new ones, especially students ('ein so verkommenes Gesindel von Horern'—p. 294). It is hard to imagine what exactly they had done to deserve those epithets.

It is with pleasure and relief that one turns away from G.'s bruised psyche and rejoices in the purple passages dealing with his own writings, with visits by Muslims from all over the Islamic world to see the master and to pay homage to the greatest living *islamisant*, and with his relations with his colleagues. Those relations appear to have been almost uniformly friendly (with the notable exception of D. H. Müller at Vienna who is to him invariably 'der schlimmste polnische Jude', p. 151), and none of the prickliness confided to his diary and practised in Hungary seems to have crossed the frontiers of the k.k. Empire. His friendships with Fleischer, August Müller, Snouck, and Carlo Landberg were particularly close. The last-named (1848–1924) offered him almost yearly hospitality at his magnificent 'Schloss'. But he also saw Noldeke and de Goeje regularly, liked Kautzsch and Robertson Smith, admired Wellhausen, met Hommel and Glaser, kept aloof from Sachau, and described, with considerable prescience, my future teacher Torczyner as *genial* (p. 294). No adjective could characterize more accurately and tellingly this brilliant and wayward scholar.

Before the first world war, in an era without passports and with cheap and convenient rail connections, there was, in fact, a good deal of coming and going among orientalists, and Goldziher enjoyed those occasions to the full. As a good Hungarian patriot he saw to it, at Aberdeen and Leiden, that he was not bracketed with the Austrians. His polyglot talents came to the fore in trans-European travel, and his oriental appearance and linguistic versatility made it possible for him to pass as an Arab or a Turk. When his university salary was raised, he thought it appropriate to call on the Minister of Education in person to express his gratitude (p. 295), a custom which Mr Mark Carlisle would probably not like to see emulated in this country.

The editing of the diary is not entirely faultless. There are a few oddities of Arabic and of Arabic transcriptions (pp. 92 and 194 are cases in point) and a not inconsiderable number of errors in German. One might have been inclined to attribute the latter to inadvertences and *lapsus calami* in the original, but two mistakes on p. 15 (for which we possess Goldziher's own testimony in plate 9) put us on our guard against such a general assumption. I would here only mention some curious constructions and solecisms on pp. 52, 54, 57, 60, 65, 66, 93, 114, 118, 121, 154, 264.

The annotation (pp. 315–27) of most personal names referred to in the diary is very helpful and indeed essential. There are a few minor errors (such as note 198 about Sir M. E. Grant Duff whose dates are 1829–1906 and who was not 'Ministerpräsident' but Governor of Madras; or note 493 about Torczyner who was never a Professor in Berlin but 'Dozent' at the 'Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums'); and in a number of cases the annotation is not attached to the first mention

of a name (such as M. Hartmann who first appears on p. 172 but is not annotated until his third mention on p. 261; or van Berchem, p. 186, and Mommsen, p. 50, etc.); Glaser appears in two annotations (notes 201 and 270). More serious is the occasional omission of any annotation: I have already referred to A. Berliner and to the well-known Coptic scholar, L. Stern, who is neither annotated nor indexed (pp. 66, 77); the same applies to Graf August von Platen (1796–1835), the poet (p. 205); to Friedrich Rosen (1856–1935), German diplomat and orientalist (p. 261), to Cornelius van Dyck (pp. 56, 216)—only his son appears in the index; or to the biblical scholars K. H. Graf and W. Vatke who are neither annotated nor given any initials in the index.

That index leaves much to be desired. Far too many individuals appear without their initials; in some cases different men with identical names have been conflated; not all references are correct: MacDonald is not mentioned on p. 233 but on p. 232; Lambert likewise occurs on p. 232 and not on p. 233; quite a few names have been omitted altogether; Robertson Smith should not be listed as 'Smith, W. R.'; Hanna Löffler appears also on p. 103, Buhari (though provided with other diacritics) should read Buhārī or Bukhari or Buchari, and pp. 206 and 210 should be added to his index entries, etc., etc.

It is a great inconvenience that personal names only are listed in the index; place names and titles of Arabic treatises, particularly Goldziher's own works, cannot be looked up. One searches in vain for Al-Azhar or similarly central entries.

As a curiosity in the literature relevant to Goldziher one might mention Rosa Katz, *Philologische Frühbegabung*, Groningen, 1957, especially pp. 21 ff. (cf. also the reference in footnote 1 above).

Despite my misgivings about this volume and its unwelcome revelations, I ought to say that I have studied it with fascination. It has sent me back to browsing in Goldziher's other writings where scholarship is uncontaminated by personal spleen and unmixed with manifestations of passionate and plainly unfair judgements which are apt to undermine one's faith in the detachment and (indeed in Goldziher's case) in the majesty of the highest realms of learning.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

SYLVIA POWELS: *Der Kalender der Samaritaner anhand des Kitāb hisāb as-sinīn und anderer Handschriften*.

(Studia Samaritana Bd. III.) xvii, 388 pp. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977. DM 98.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century European scholars made contact with the remnants of the Samaritan sect. Already at that time they were desirous of getting acquainted with the Samaritan calendar and chronology in order to learn the principles underlying it. This subject was of interest not

only for a better understanding of this oldest Jewish sect, but was supposed to shed some light on the age and development of the Jewish calendar as well. However, their efforts met with difficulties, because knowledge of the computing of the calendar and acquaintance with the astronomical tables used for this end were the privilege of only a very small circle of priests and learned scribes, and were kept as a secret in the priestly family. To this day, twice a year, in the months of Av (c. August) and Shevat (c. February), about seven weeks prior to the festivals of the Seventh Month (i.e., the Jewish New Year) and Passover, a half-year calendar is issued by the high priest to the community. Each male member is obliged to buy a copy and to offer in exchange a contribution of a fixed sum (half a shekel). It is for this reason that the calendar itself is called *Terumah* (contribution).

The first person who succeeded in publishing a calendar was J. Sosliger, who published two in 1598. Since that time other scholars followed suit, e.g., M. Gaster, who issued a calendar for a full year (1910/11) in 1925-28, and E. Robertson, whose publication 'The Astronomical Tables and Calendar of the Samaritans' (*BJRL*, 1939) is the most important contribution in this field. A valuable survey of the history of this research is given by the authoress, S. Powels, in her introduction to her book on the calendar of the Samaritans based on the *Kiṭāb hisāb as-sinīn* and other MSS. (pp. 17-22).

The *Kiṭāb hisāb as-sinīn* (KS) edited here is not merely a Samaritan calendar, as, e.g., the one published by M. Gaster (*Studies and Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 581-599), but a booklet comprising three parts, viz.:

1. An introduction by the priest El'azar 'Abd al-Mu'in b. Šadaqa al-Lāwī ('Abd al-Mu'in is the Arabic translation of the Hebrew name El'azar), who calculated this calendar for the year 1964/65 (pp. 1-21). In this introduction El'azar makes an attempt to provide the user of the calendar with explanations as to the arrangement of the tables, the basic knowledge concerning the Samaritan religious year, including their festivals and the weekly pericopes read on the Sabbaths. In addition, he lists the names of the months of the Muslim lunar and the Christian (Julian and Gregorian) solar year. He concludes this part with the enumeration of the Samaritan accents used in the reading of the Pentateuch.

2. The tables of a calendar for a full Samaritan year corresponding to the year 1964/65 CE, one table for each month (pp. 23-48).

3. A *Priyyut* (liturgical poem) on the True Reckoning (of the calendar) (pp. 49-54).

The authoress defines the aim of her book as an attempt to summarize and supplement the previous work done in this field of research 'so as to be a useful tool for the student of Samaritanism and chronology alike, to give a comprehensive description of the Samaritan calendar, define its place in the systems of the oriental and occidental calendar, and, last not least, to promote the understanding of the difficult Samaritan-Hebrew text and terminology' (p. v).

The original MS. of the KS is written in the Samaritan script, but out of technical considerations it had to be transliterated into Hebrew characters (p. 10). Its editing constitutes an important step in the advancement of our knowledge of the Samaritan calendar. Together with a translation into German and ample annotations it forms the main part of the present book (pp. 145-239). To this the authoress added two prefatory chapters, the first containing, *inter alia*, an enumeration of additional MSS. of the Samaritan calendar and astronomical tables (pp. 3-7). The second chapter comprises a detailed account of the Samaritan calendar, its origin, explanation of the calculation of its time elements, such as hours, etc., the Samaritan festivals and the division of the Samaritan Pentateuch into its weekly portions. All along many comparisons and parallels with the Jewish calendar are adduced (pp. 25-143).

In an appendix another calendar MS. (Cod. 858 of the Gaster Collection) is edited, translated and annotated (pp. 301-38).

A bibliographical list is added, divided into two sections: (a) *Quellenliteratur* (source literature, pp. 341-3); (b) *Sekundärliteratur* (secondary literature, pp. 343-7), followed by a very useful alphabetical list of calendrical and astronomical terms occurring in the book, first those in German, then in Hebrew and last in Arabic (pp. 351-78).

From this description of the contents it is evident that the authoress invested much thought and hard work in order to present the student of Samaritanism with a monograph on a subject which until now has not been accorded such a comprehensive treatment. Notwithstanding the importance of the publication, or rather because of it, the reviewer would like to voice some critical remarks.

On p. 8 the authoress remarks: 'The introduction is in almost pure Hebrew, whereas the poem is composed in a mixture of the written Samaritan-Hebrew-Arabic language'. However, a closer scrutiny reveals that in the introductory part different linguistic layers may be discerned, viz. the Hebrew of part I (the page numbers are those of the MS.) on pp. 1-13, 8; 20, 23-21, 12 the language is mixed with Aramaic and Arabic elements, including many semantic loans from Arabic. In contradistinction the language of pp. 13-20, 22 sounds like modern written Hebrew (an interesting exception is the Aramaic preposition *ܕܡܩܕܡܐ*, 'before you', on p. 14, 2 [p. 155] with which the Samaritan writer is familiar through his prayer-book). The end of p. 21 is in Aramaic, being a quotation from an older work on the Samaritan accents. The explanations in part II, viz. the calendar tables, are again in Samaritan Hebrew. So is the poem in part III; its language, however, is much more difficult than that of the other parts, containing many Aramaic expressions. It bears the caption: 'A Hymn on the Holy True Reckoning by the Rabbān (Highpriest) Pmhas . . .'. Rabbān is translated by Sylvia Powels as 'our teacher', yet we should note that in Samaritan this is no mere common noun, but a title borne only by members of the High Priestly family descended

from Aaron, which died out in 1623/24 CE. From that time on the Samaritan High Priests were called Levite priests (הכהן הלוי), being descended from Uzziel, a younger son of Kohath. Therefore, we must date the composition of the appended hymn before that year. But as there existed several High Priests called Pinhas the Rabbân (see Cowley, xeviii), the exact date remains uncertain.

On p. 27 the authoress cites a passage from the Tolidah on the origin of the Samaritan calendar from a MS. (Sam. 36 Shunnar Katalog Nr. 307) extant in the Free University of Berlin. According to her own statement the text of this MS. is inferior to those published by Neubauer and Bowman quoted by her in footnotes 1 and 2 on p. 27. Yet, she did not make use of the better MSS. to correct the faulty reading of MS Sam. 36, e.g., in the second line of the passage we read:

ירשנו אתו אדני הווכיר פינחס מן אבותיו הטוקרים

Powells translates: 'Mein Herr der untadelige Finhas hat ihn uns von seinen untadeligen Vätern ... *vererbt*', viz. she parses the verb ירשנו as a perfect of Pi'el, third person, masculine singular with the accusative suffix of the first person plural = 'he (= F.) transmitted it to us,' which is not convincing. The Pi'el of ירש is not found in the SP. (Only once in the MT Deut. 28:42 [ירש], but the SP

reads there Hif'il (יריש)). We should rather add in the text the preposition מן, viz. ירשנו מן אבותיו found in both the Neubauer and Bowman MSS., and translate: 'we inherited it from ...', parsing the form ירשנו as a perfect of Qal, first person plural.

In the same passage 1.5 Powells translates, ... חכמו אתו מן עבר 'Diese wurden über ihn belehrt von Eber, ...' adding in n. 4: Hebrew חכם Pi, and adducing Neubauer: 'il leur fut enseigné'. However, the words should be translated: 'and they got acquainted with it (literally: knew it) from Eber ...', as the verb חכם, denoting in Samaritan Hebrew and Aramaic 'to know' is always used in the Qal, not in the Pi'el.

In the chapter 'The Beginning of the Year' (p. 45), Powells states that the Samaritan year begins in spring, in contradistinction to the Jewish, which starts in autumn. But the Jewish months, designated by proper names since post-exilic times (borrowed from Aecadian through the Aramaic), are enumerated from Nissân, the first month of the Torah, and the Jewish festival of New Year falls in Tishrê, the seventh month of the Torah. In this respect there is no difference between the Jews and the Samaritans, for both are bound by the precepts stated in the text of the Torah. On 56 Powells correctly adduces the Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 1:1 which says that there are four beginnings of the year: the first month (= Nissân) for the counting of the years of the kings and for the order of the pilgrimage festivals, i.e., Passah, Pentecost and Tabernacles (as they are enumerated in this order in the Torah). Furthermore, the intercalated thirteenth month in the Jewish calendar is added before Addâr, the twelfth month, which

is the last of a common Jewish year. On the other hand, the Samaritans start the counting of their Sabbatical (Shemittah) and Jubilee years from the seventh month like the Jews in accordance with Lev. 25: 1-13, binding on both.

In the same chapter (pp. 45-7) Powells tries to explain the biblical month name חדש האביב, not as commonly understood as the month of the ripening of the barley-corn or the month of spring, but as a proper name of the first month. Following E. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, Frankfurt a/M, 1916 (phmo. reprint, Olma, Hildesheim 1969), 74-79, she identifies the Hebrew noun אביב with Epiphi, the name of the eleventh month of the Egyptian calendar. This rather audacious proposal of Mahler's is not convincing and did not find any followers in biblical lexicography.

In n. 65 (149) on הפסח בחצי הליל Powells remarks: 'Um Mitternacht. Bezüglich des Zeitpunktes des Pessachfestes bestehen unterschiedliche Traditionen (cf. Festkalender, Kap. 2)'. There (p. 111) she speaks of the existence of two different traditions, concerning the exact time of the slaughtering of the Passah-sacrifice, viz.: (a) according to Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'ûb (a Samaritan scholar of the seventeenth to eighteenth century) an hour and a half before dusk, (b) according to the KS at midnight. This last tradition Powells deduces from our passage. Yet, this passage does not refer to the sacrifice of Passah-offering, kept yearly throughout the ages in remembrance of the redemption of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, but is a historical observation, relating that at the time of the exodus the Israelites sacrificed the Passah-offering at midnight. After that the text goes on to say:

... על כן צוה ה' בן... 'therefore God ordered us on its behalf... to keep the festival in remembrance of the deliverance of our forefathers... and to slaughter it... at dusk (בין הערבים)'. From that it follows that there is no difference of tradition between Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'ûb and the KS in this matter.

n. 75 (p. 150): After quoting Deut. 16: 1, the KS goes on to say: וימי דן המועד שבועה... (מן 15-21 לחדש הראשון) ... ריום אחד ועשרים לחדש הי' לט המועד השני הוא מועד חג המצות... [and the days of this festival [Passah] are seven [from 15 to 21 of the first month] and on the twenty-first day of the month we shall celebrate the second festival, the pilgrimage feast of Massot [unleavened bread]]. Powells notes here: 'According to Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'ûb the feast of unleavened bread lasts for seven days (cf. Festkalender, Kap. 3)'. There (pp. 113-14) she adduces two different opinions relating to the date of this festival, that of the KS, where it is kept on the twenty-first of the month only in contradistinction to Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'ûb, who gives the date from the 15 to 21 in accordance with Lev. 23: 6. However, these two varying opinions are due to the text of the Pentateuch itself. Ibrâhîm ibn Ya'ûb quotes Lev. 23: 6, whereas the author of the KS, after quoting, almost verbally, Deut. 16: 1a, 2b, goes on paraphrasing vv. 3-8. Therefore, we cannot speak of variant opinions among the

masculine plural'. Yet, this plural form is the rule in the Samaritan tradition. The plural of **סרי** is not found in the Pentateuch and used in Samaritan Hebrew according to the Aramaic form **סריק** (Cf. Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 557: 18

and note there).

n. 114 (p. 153): see remark to n. 107.

n. 130 (p. 158): The text reads **פרשיו ססר ואלה שמות פרשיו**. Powels remarks '*recte* פרשיו' as in KS 16: 21'. But in the present context the word **פרשית** is required, as in KS 13: 11, 17: 7, etc.

n. 136 (p. 158): Powels translates the words **וואלה דבר ואתה דבר** 'und dasselbe (and the same thing)', as if the Hebrew text read **וואלה דבר**, but the words intended here are **וואלה דבר**, the beginning of Ex. 31: 13, which is to be added to the reading of the weekly portion.

n. 137 (p. 159): **קדישים** is translated by Powels 'Heiligungen (holinesses)' and explained 'doxologies'. But the intention here is a reference to Lev. 19: 2, beginning in the SP with the word **קדישים** (MT **קדשים**), which is to be added to the reading of the weekly portion.

n. 154 (p. 162): At the end of the list, enumerating the weekly portions of the Book of Deuteronomy together with the verses, added to each portion, we read: **תורה ונברך יתה**. Powels explains: 'A benediction on the Torah'. However, the word **תורה** here is the beginning of Deut. 33: 4, to be added to the weekly portion, and **נברך יתה** (we shall bless Him) refers to the blessing **ולית יתה נברך** (we shall bless Him), as there is none like Him, i.e., God, the giver of the Torah.

n. 156 (p. 163): **ארשינ** is translated by Powels correctly: 'Our forefathers'. Yet her remark that Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 546: 202, connects Aramaic **ארש** with Hebrew **שרש** is not justified. He suggests tentatively on 484: 152 deriving **ארש** from Aramaic **ריש**, denoting 'in the beginning'.

n. 157 (p. 163): **סחונין סחון עדן** is translated by Powels as 'Deine Gewässer sind wie die Gewässer des Paradieses' (your waters are like the waters of paradise) noting: 'From Aramaic **סחי**, Hebrew **שחן** (to swim). The meaning, **נחל** inherit, given by Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 527: 231-234 certainly does not fit here, as in 11. 4-5 a connection with water is obvious'. However, the above quotation from Ben-Hayyim does not mention the verb **סחי** (to swim) but **סחון** (alongside its synonym **סחל**), denoting 'inherit'. This meaning fits our context very well, as the verse **סחונין סחון עדן** addresses the Torah and should be rendered 'He who inherits you, inherits paradise'. After that the poet goes on, saying that the Torah is the drunk of life from paradise. In addition, the reviewer fails to see how a noun meaning 'Gewässer' could possibly be derived from a verb denoting 'to swim'.

n. 164 (p. 163): Powels explains **השבעים הזקנים** (the seventy elders) as a hint of the Septuagint, which is said to have been trans-

lated by seventy elders. Yet, the author of the KS is referring here to the seventy elders of Israel mentioned in Num. 11: 25 to whom he ascribes the introduction of the Samaritan accents, used in the reading of the Torah.

n. 165 (p. 163): Powels adduces bibliography on the Samaritan reading signs (accents). Add: Z. Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, Jerusalem 1967, part VIII (339-73), Qānūn ibn Dartha fi l-maqrā (The rules of Ibn Dartha [tenth to eleventh century] on the arrangement of the reading [of the Torah]), recensions A, B.

n. 170 (p. 163): **רבו** in the expression **רבו בער רבא** ST to (Gen. 44: 18) should be corrected to **רבי**.

n. 175 (p. 163): **אתמהו** (אתמהו) should be translated 'Verwunderung (astonishment)' and not 'Bewunderung (admiration)'.

n. 176 (p. 163): Powels explains **מכשב** as a noun meaning 'profit, gain', derived from an Arabic root **كسب** 'to win, earn'; but we shall follow the proposal of Z. Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 372-3, na. 1, 2, who parses **מכשב** as an active participle Pa'el from a root **כבש** (assuming a metathesis of the letters **ש/ב**), denoting 'to press, to fix'.

n. 177 (p. 163): Powels takes **מיתב** as a noun from Aramaic **יתב** 'to sit' and translates: 'Sitzung, Siedlung (settlement)', which does not make good sense here. **מיתב** should be parsed as an active participle from **יתב** (to sit in the Pa'el formation), denoting 'arrange, put in order' (Hebrew **מישב**, Arabic **مَرْتَب**). The passage on p. 163, ll. 20-22 concludes the enumeration of the Samaritan accents and is, like the accents themselves, composed in the Aramaic language, which shows their provenance from the time when Aramaic was still the written language of the Samaritans. The text of the passage reads:

מדע מכשב ופם מיתב

ולכל חדה מגין

יתברך מן אמר

ולמדה את בני ישראל שימה בפהם

בגלל אלפן קשטה.

Powels translates: 'Wissen ist Gewinn und der Mund eine Siedlung (dassens). Daher sei jeder einzelne von ihnen, der es gesagt, die Kinder Israel gelehrt und es in ihren Mund gelegt hat, gesegnet, denn er hat sie die Wahrheit gelehrt'.

We, however, propose the following translation (see remarks to n. 176 and beginning of n. 177): 'The mind fixes and the mouth arranges, and (as to, the way being a waw expl.) every one of them (of the accents). Blessed be He who said: "And teach thou it the children of Israel, put it in their mouths" (Deut. 31: 19), for the instruction of the Truth (the Torah)'.

n. 180 (p. 166): The heading of the first Samaritan calendar table **השבועי** designates the seventh month in the Samaritan calendar, called by the same name in the Torah (e.g. Lev. 23: 24). Powels wants to synchronize it with the corresponding Jewish month and states that it 'corresponds to the first month of the civil Jewish calendar **תשרי**'. However, this is not quite true, because the Jews are counting the months, like the Samaritans, according to

the Torah. Therefore the post-exilic name Tishri is always correlated to the seventh month of the Torah and never denotes the number first (see the Levy Dictionary, s.v.; and also: Esth. 3: 7, 13 etc. where **יָרֵךְ** is called the first month and **אָדָר** the twelfth. Thus the above statement should rather say that it: 'corresponds to **תַּשְׁרִי** of the Jewish calendar'. The same criticism applies to ns. 189 (p. 168), 191 (170), 193 (172), 195 (174), 198 (176), 199 (178), 209 (180), 211 (182), 219 (184), 220 (186), 223 (188).

n. 237 (p. 192): On the form **הַתְּחַשֵּׁט** Powels remarks: 'Diese Form wird kaum vom Hebr. **יָשַׁט** (ausstrecken), sondern eher von arabisch **يَسَّ** (vermitteln) abzuleiten sein'. However, **הַתְּחַשֵּׁט** is a hebraicized Aramaic form, an Ittafal (reflexive of Af'el) from **יָשַׁט**, meaning 'to be handed over, presented' (cf. Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, p. 505: 113, where **אֲשַׁטְּנוּ** [Af'el from **יָשַׁט**] is added from the ST as a translation of Hebrew **וַיִּמְצִיאוּ** [Lev. 9: 12] (they handed over); and also Cowley, Glossary, s.v., where [pace Cowley] the reflexive form should be parsed as Ittafal and not Ethpa'al).

n. 244 (p. 193): On **מֶלֶךְ (הַרְגִּיזִים)** Powels comments: '**עַל** im Sinne von **מֶלֶךְ**'. Yet, **מֶלֶךְ** should be understood verbally, viz. 'in front of,' as in Deut. 11: 30 (SP), etc.

n. 245 (p. 193): **בִּדְקָטִים** is explained by Powels from Greek **ἑτάκτες** (Empfänger, Bettler) and translated 'Damit es (the offering) angenommen wird'. However, **דְּקָטִים** (or **דִּיקָטִים**) is the name of a spot on Hargerzim, occurring also in the Samaritan Liturgy (cf. Cowley, Glossary, liv).

n. 264 (p. 194): Powels states correctly that **הִלָּן** is a Hebrew word, meaning that one, adding '**הִלָּן** scheint **kaum** von **לָן** (sich abwenden) abzuleiten zu sein, obwohl diese Form bei den Samaritanern vorkommt (cf. Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 499: 76, 77)'. This remark on Ben-Hayyim is not to the point as he does not discuss there the possibility of connecting **הִלָּן** with **לָן**.

n. 268 (p. 194): Powels parses **אֲתוֹתָר** as an Ethpa'al from **יָתַר** (= ubrigbleiben), but it should rather be parsed as Ittafal (refl. von Af'el **אֲתוֹרָה**). The first letter of **אֲתוֹתָר** being Alef, and not He, shows that the form should be regarded as Aramaic, not Hebrew (cf. supra remark to n. 237).

p. 197 (52: 19): **וְדוֹר רַמָּן** translated by Powels: 'Das Kennzeichen des Zyklus' should rather be rendered: 'The cycle of 247 (years)', explained in the following half-verse as the result of counting thirteen times the nineteen-year cycle, the letters **רַמָּן** denoting the number 247. Therefore, n. 293 (197) stating that the numbers 13 and 19 refer to the following text should be corrected to say: 'To the preceding half-verse of the line'.

n. 294 (p. 197): Here **סִבְיָה** is translated: 'Periode', but should rather be understood in its usual sense, viz. 'around'.

n. 295 (p. 197): Powels remarks on the form **שָׁנִי**: '**recte** **שְׁנֹתָי**'. Yet, **שָׁנִי** is found in Lev. 25: 52.

n. 307 (p. 198): To the verse **כִּי רִאשָׁתָּהּ הַתּוֹרָה** Powels remarks: '**לִיב** **וְאַחֲרָהּ לִיב**'

sich auf die Anzahl der Wochenabschnitte... and translates accordingly (p. 264): '... denn vom Beginn der Torah bis zu ihrem Ende sind es 32 (Abschnitte)...'. This translation is not convincing on two grounds: First, the Hebrew equivalent for 'vom' = **מִן** is lacking here; second, the number of the weekly portions of the Torah is not 32 but according to Powels herself (p. 134) either 46 or 51, depending on whether the year be a common or a leap-year. The word-by-word translation of the verse is: 'For the beginning of the Torah and its end (are) **לִיב**', meaning that the Torah begins with the letter **ב** (from **בְּרֵאשִׁית**) and ends with the letter **ל** (from **לִשְׁנוֹת כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל**). Cf. S.

Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, Leiden, 1977, 476, n. 654.

n. 317 (p. 199): On the words **תַּנִּים יוֹמָה הָאֵלֶּיךָ** Powels remarks: 'Buch, cf. Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 533: 2 **תַּנִּין**, **שָׂרָה**, **סִפֵּר**, and translates them as 'O, das hebraische Buch der Tage'. Yet, the word referred to by Ben-Hayyim is **תַּנִּין** (Hebrew **שָׂרָה**), an abstract noun translating the Bible word **סִפֵּר** (Ex.

9: 16), and not **תַּנִּים**, which is part of the fixed expression **תַּנִּים יוֹמָה**, meaning: may you repeat (relive) the (this) day. **תַּנִּים** is Qal, active participle plural of Aramaic **תַּנִּי** (Hebrew **שָׂנָה**) to repeat, do a second time. This formula expresses a wish like 'many happy returns of the day'. **תַּנִּים** is a fossilized form and may, therefore, be used to address a single person, too. The phrase **תַּנִּים יוֹמָה** occurs very frequently in the Samaritan liturgy. Cf. Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, Glossary, **תַּנִּין**, s.v. **תַּנִּין**, who translates **תַּנִּים** (may you be) celebrating again; Ben-Hayyim, LOT II, 2, pp. 241, 330, 346. We, therefore, should translate here: '(May you be) repeating this lay, O Hebrew (Samaritan)'.

In the Appendix Powels edited another calendar, viz. HS Gaster 85f (Or 10714 = HSD) for the year 1908, where in addition to the Samaritan festivals the Jewish ones are mentioned. On p. 331, n. 23, Powels states: '... Das Wochenfest der Juden fällt wie das der Samaritaner in den 3. Monat (**סִינִין**). Darnach erscheint es unverstänlich, weshalb es hier bereits im 2. Monat angesetzt ist. Der Verfasser der HSD scheint zu glauben, der Festkalender der Samaritaner müsse sich von dem der Juden unterscheiden, worauf auch die anderen Erwähnungen jüdischer Feiertage schliessen lassen...'. In fact, the author of the HSD is absolutely right, as there exists a decisive difference between the Samaritan and the Jewish calendars, concerning the rules for the seven intercalated years in the nineteen-year cycle. In the Jewish calendar they are fixed, viz. year 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17 and 19, the mnemotechnic words being **גִּדְּיָה אֲדָרִי**, whereas in the Samaritan calendar they are intercalated according to **נֶסֶח** (in the KS, p. 53, year 8, 13, 15, and 18 are mentioned, but the first three of the intercalated years are lacking). From here it follows that the Jewish and Samaritan festivals, although based on the same dates in the Torah, do not necessarily fall together, owing to differences in their inter-

calation systems. The year 1908 was the year 5687/8 of Creation in the Jewish calendar, the year 5688 being the sixth year in a cycle of nineteen, i.e., a leap year. Therefore, the Jewish festivals in that year antedated those of the Samaritans for about a month. The same criticism holds true of ns. 51, 56, 68, 78, 83 (334-336).

Page 333, n. 46: In the calendar we read (p. 307): *ה'קס"ח ה'משכנה*... Powels translates correctly: 'Der Ewige verhäng sein Hailigtum', and sees here a reference to Ex. 24: 15-16. Yet, the intended reference is to a special, very decisive event in the Samaritan history, viz. to the year 260 after their entry into the Holy Land, when Eh b. Jafni usurped the priesthood from Uzzi. At that time God concealed His Holy Tabernacle, which Bezalel had made (cf. Tolidah, ed. Bowman, column 11a and all the other Samaritan chronicles). This event was the end of the Rahuta (the Era of the Divine Favour) and the beginning of the Fanuta (the Era of the Divine Disfavour), lasting to this day.

And finally a remark concerning the division of the bibliography into two sections. The guiding principle is obvious, namely, to provide the reader from the outset with the needed information on the character of the book to which he is referred, whether it comprises an original text, its translation or merely a study of a problem. But in many cases this division does not work, e.g., under sources, i.e., texts, we find the book of J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia, p. 312 (cf. 342), where no original text is cited. The book appears for a second time, and now correctly, under the heading 'Secondary Literature' (p. 346) with the addition: Second imprint (Nachdruck), New York, 1968. In the same section we find Bowman, J., *Transcript of the Original Text of the Samaritan Chronicle Tolidah*, Leeds, 1954, which clearly belongs to the first section. So does Adler, E./M. Seligsohn, *Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine*; Ben-Hayyim, Z., *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*. Although the volumes of this work contain comprehensive introductions, they are basically editions of Samaritan MSS., translated into Hebrew and amply annotated. Therefore, they belong rather in the category of texts. These few examples may suffice to illustrate the general methodological problem involved, and to advocate warmly the return to an undivided bibliography.

Our present survey touches upon a number of points open to discussion. Nevertheless, our critical remarks are not intended to denigrate the merit of the publication, which should be greeted as a valuable contribution in the field of Samaritan research.

A. LOEWENSTAMM

Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978.
DM 32.

In the Syrian Orthodox Church the periodic consecration of the Myron on Holy Thursday by the Patriarch has become a ceremony of great solemnity. Strothmann here publishes a total of 26 hymns drawn from liturgical manuscripts containing this rite (no single manuscript contains all 26). After a short introduction, text and facing German translation are given, and the volume is completed by an index of biblical references and a Syriac word index.

Strothmann uses as his basis six Berlin manuscripts originating from Tur 'Abdin, dating, with one exception (tenth/eleventh century) from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries; reference has also been made to four further manuscripts, only one of which (Paris syr. 154) is early (A.D. 1001). The text printed is evidently an eclectic one, though no statement of the procedure followed by the editor is ever given, and the translation takes no account of variant readings (which at times give a considerably different sense). Curiously no mention is made of the existence of a number of other early manuscripts containing this rite, most of which are to be found in the British Library: Add. 14503 (tenth/eleventh century), 12145 (tenth century), 14507 (tenth/eleventh century), 14519 (eleventh/twelfth century), 14695 (eleventh/twelfth century), 14697 (twelfth century), 14696 (thirteenth century). An examination of the contents of these suggests that the service underwent considerable development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that the pieces printed by Strothmann are likely to differ both in age and in provenance; only the later British Library manuscripts, Add. 14695-7, contain substantially the same texts as those in some of Strothmann's manuscripts. While this is not the place for a detailed study, it may be helpful here to summarize the relationship between Strothmann's edition and these manuscripts: Strothmann's I is found in Add. 12145, 14507, 14519, 14695-7; II-XV in Add. 14695-7; XVI in Add. 14695, 14697; XVII in Add. 14695-7; XVIII in Add. 12145 and 14519; XIX in Add. 12145; XXII in Add. 14503 (this alone receives passing mention on p. xxiv, where, however, the description of the stanzas which it contains is not quite correct). In most cases the number and arrangement of the stanzas varies. The older manuscripts in particular contain a considerable number of pieces not represented in Strothmann's edition, while those that are found there are sometimes of considerable textual interest.

It would seem clear from all this that a wider basis than that provided by Strothmann is necessary before a proper study of this particular rite is possible (Vat. Syr. 61, the Pontifical of Michael the Syrian, will also be relevant in this connection). One further point should be raised: on p. xi it is stated that only the Patriarch can consecrate the Myron; while this is true today, it was not always so, and in the older canonical texts, up to and including Barhebraeus' *Nomocanon*, metropolitan bishops also have authority to perform the rite. This

WEBNER STROTHMANN (ed. and tr.):
Syrische Hymnen zur Myron-Weihe.
(Göttinger Orientforschungen. I.
Reihe: Syriaca, Bd. 16.) xxv, 145 pp.

is a point of some importance in connection with the question of which manuscripts actually contain the rite.

S. P. BROOK

EDWARD W. SAID: *Orientalism*. xi, 368 pp. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978. £8.95.

The scope of this book is nothing like as extensive as its title suggests. The author explains that it is limited to 'the Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam' (p. 17), and that he regards 'modern Orientalism' as beginning in 'the last third of the eighteenth century' with Jones, Anquetil-Duperron and the French invasion of Egypt (p. 22). In fact, his concern is still more restricted. Islam apart from the Arabs receives very little attention and the Arabs are those of Arabia, Egypt, and the Fertile Crescent; Arabic studies in relation to the Maghrib are virtually ignored. He does not seem to realize the implications of these limitations. He admits that his discussion of British and French 'domination and systematic interest' in the Eastern Mediterranean 'does not do justice to . . . the important contributions to Orientalism of Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, and Portugal' (p. 17). This is all very well but in the period with which he is concerned Dutch, Belgians, and Scandinavians made much more important contributions to oriental scholarship than did Portuguese. He argued that 'the major steps in Oriental scholarship were first taken in either Britain and (*sic*) France, and then elaborated upon (*sic*) by Germans' (pp. 17-18). Accepting this metaphor, which is presumably choreographic and not architectural, what British or French step did Meninski or Noldeke elaborate? The only example adduced by Said is that Bopp had studied with Silvestre de Saoy. Few orientalsists will be convinced.

Said is a repetitive but obscure writer. I think his principal contention is that orientalsists, influenced by, and themselves influencing, British, French, and American colonialist policies in the East, have accepted and propagated about it certain superficial and sometimes absurd generalizations which reflect and tend to justify European domination. 'Once we begin to think of Orientalism as a kind of Western projection on to and will to govern over the Orient, we will encounter few surprises' (p. 95). It is 'fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided (*sic*) the Orient's difference with its weakness' (p. 204). There were, of course, orientalsists who, like Sir William Muir, had governed Muslim populations; there were others, like the professors at the East India College at Haileybury, who were professionally engaged in teaching prospective administrators, but there were many more who were neither. It is partly because Said distorts his account of orientalism by omitting German scholarship that he is able to make such a claim as he does

with any show of plausibility. In fact, European and American oriental scholarship has always been international. Was Joseph Schacht a product of British or American imperialism? Again, European orientalism did not begin with a sense of power over the East. When the chairs of Arabic were established at Cambridge and Oxford no European state, certainly not England, would have asserted with confidence its superiority over the Ottoman Empire.

The author is rightly contemptuous of the facile generalizations about Muslims, Arabs and Semites sometimes found in the works of writers, even of scholars, who should have known better. But he does not seem aware that such absurd statements are often made about people other than orientals. They are made about the French, the Latin races, the Americans, the Scots, 'North country people', and about past generations. There are stereotyped images of the English Elizabethans and Georgians much commoner than, and quite as ridiculous as, those he deplores. The popular image of the Germans in Britain and France was almost reversed during the nineteenth century without becoming any more accurate. Besides, Said himself is guilty of generalizations quite as absurd as those he condemns. 'Orientalists are neither interested in nor capable of discussing individuals' (p. 154). Several of the Great Moguls have been the subject of biographies which have endeavoured to portray them as individuals. Did not Philby write about King 'Abd al-'Aziz as an individual? It does not occur to Said that the character of much Islamic historiography precludes the kind of treatment he seems to want. It would be extremely difficult to write much about most of the great Islamic rulers, commanders, writers, or thinkers as individuals, apart from the record of their achievements. Besides, some of the orientalsists who have written most sympathetically and appreciatively of Islam, Islamic peoples and Islamic literature are ignored in this book. There is no reference to E. J. W. Gibb; Browne and Nicholson are mentioned once only and quite incidentally; Sir Thomas Arnold is included in the same list but nothing whatever is said about *The Preaching of Islam*, which did so much to discredit one of the most prevalent misconceptions.

Said claims that 'Orientalism assumed an unchanging Orient' (96). He is indignant that oriental cultures were regarded as fossilized and incapable of further development. There is some justification for this but he ignores completely a factor which was, I think, of some importance in this connection, the influence of the classical curriculum on the academic study of oriental languages. When what he regards as 'modern Orientalism' began, higher education meant above all the study of Greek and Latin. 'Is he a gentleman, Wellington?' the Prince Regent is alleged to have asked, 'I mean, has he any Greek?' But Greek and Latin did not mean the entire corpus of works written in those languages; it meant the writings of certain authors only. A student could defend the use of a word or locution he had found in Demosthenes or

Cicero, but not in Libanius or Boethius. The lexicon of both languages was thus determined and could be completely recorded; words which did not occur in the surviving works of specified authors were not acceptable Greek or Latin words. It was natural for scholars who had been trained in this way to make similar assumptions when they wrote dictionaries and grammars of oriental languages, the more so because so many of the oriental lexicographers and grammarians had made comparable assumptions.

Like many writers who are sympathetic to modern Arab political and social aspirations, Said is prone to antedate their origin. Cromer, for example, is berated for 'total opposition to Egyptian nationalism. Free native institutions, the absence of foreign occupation, a self-sustaining national sovereignty: these unsurprising demands were consistently rejected by Cromer' (p. 37). Certainly, there is ample evidence that many Egyptians wanted the British to leave, which is 'unsurprising', but when was Cromer confronted with a serious demand for 'free native institutions'? What does the author suppose would have happened had he attempted to make the Egyptian government responsible to a parliament freely elected by universal adult suffrage?

The book is marred by imprecision of language and sometimes by inaccuracy. Palestine and Egypt are called British 'colonies' (p. 25), and there is a reference to Egypt's 'annexations by England' (p. 36). We are told that 'with the growth' of the Royal Asiatic Society and comparable organizations in France, Germany, and the United States, 'went also an increase, all across Europe, in the number of professorships in Oriental studies' (p. 43). In Britain it was not until the foundation of the School of Oriental Studies over 90 years later that there was a substantial increase in the number of university teaching posts in oriental subjects. The author believes that Muslim armies conquered 'Turkey' after Egypt and before North Africa (p. 59). Philby, of all people, is held to fill 'the role of colonial authority . . . with the house of Saud' (p. 246). Said refers to books and journals in Arabic 'and doubtless in Japanese, various Indian dialects, and other Oriental languages' (p. 322). Are there no Indian languages, but only dialects? If so, of what language are they dialects? If Hindi and Bengali are dialects of Sanskrit, what are Tamil and Telugu? It is disconcerting, to say the least, to find two very well-known lines by Goethe translated 'God is the Orient! God is the Occident!' (p. 167), and Gérard de Nerval's 'mer d'Ionie' becoming 'the Ionian sky' (p. 182). No doubt this is mere carelessness, and perhaps not the author's carelessness, but what can we make of his reference to Dacier's *Tableau historique de l'érudition française*? The preface is said to be 'addressed to the king' (p. 126) and the notes give the date of publication as 1810 (p. 336, n. 14). No book published in Paris in 1810 would have been 'addressed to the king', which would presumably have meant the emigré Louis XVIII. In fact it was 'présenté à Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi', that is to say, Napoleon, Emperor of the

French and King of Italy. Moreover, the title of the 1810 edition was *Rapport historique sur les progrès de l'histoire et de la littérature ancienne depuis 1789*; the title Said quotes belongs to an edition published in 1862 with additional notes bringing the information up-to-date. Again, when criticizing *The Cambridge History of Islam* he quotes a sentence about the Caliph Ma'mūn's decision to remain at Merv after the capture of Baghdad by his army (p. 303). He objects that the reader 'will believe that the Abbasids including Harun al-Rashid, were an incorrigibly dull and murderous lot, as they sat sulking in Merv' (p. 303). But if the reader has read the narrative with any attention he will know that Ma'mūn's army did not capture Baghdad until 4 years after Harūn's death. An attack on scholarship carries no weight if it is itself so unscholarly.

In comparing Gérard de Nerval and Chateaubriand as travellers in the East he quotes in translation a passage by Michel Butor which, he says, 'puts it beautifully'. The passage quoted begins as follows: 'To Nerval's eyes, Chateaubriand's journey remains a voyage along the surface, while his own is calculated, utilizing annex centers, lobbies of ellipses englobing the principal centers; this allows him to place in evidence, by parallax, all the dimensions of the snare harbored by the normal centers' (p. 183). If Said considers this beautiful, we know what to expect. It almost seems as if the author wished to avenge on their language the wrongs, real and alleged, done to the Arabs by the English and Americans. Not only do we encounter words like 'virtuosic' (p. 170), 'scriptively' (p. 175), 'mentalist' (p. 254), and 'diminishment' (p. 257), but there are many phrases and sentences which are unintelligible or absurd. 'Philology problematizes—itself, its practitioner, the present' (p. 132). This must mean that philology makes itself into a problem, something, then, which it would not be if it did not itself make itself into one. I do not see where this is supposed to get us. What are 'serene Apollonian fictions asserted by vision' (p. 240)? Is the allusion to Apollo or to Apollonius of Tyana? What is 'intimate estrangement' (p. 248)? Whatever it is, it is something in consequence of which the Westerner 'regrasps the Orient's essence'. On occasions the style collapses into what is factually nonsense. 'Thus for Renan Semitic is a phenomenon of arrested development in comparison with the mature languages and cultures of the Indo-European group, and even with the other Semitic Oriental languages' (p. 145). The implication is that Renan believed that there was a language called Semitic which belonged to the Oriental subdivision of a group of languages also called Semitic. He did not.

The last section of the book, entitled 'The Latest Phase', is more readable but at times the author completely loses his balance. He cites some of the more disgusting anti-Arab propaganda as though it were the work of 'orientalists'. One might as well blame academic teachers of German literature and philosophy in Britain for the story that the

Imperial German army marched through Belgium with babies impaled on its bayonets. He quotes a passage from an essay in which Bernard Lewis discusses the history of the word *thawra*, 'revolution', remarking that in classical Arabic the root 'meant to rise up (e.g. of a camel), to be stirred or excited' (p. 314). Said comments: 'One wouldn't know from this slighting account of *thawra* that innumerable people have an active commitment to it' (p. 315). It agrees. I do not suppose that an Arabic-speaking revolutionary manning the barricades thinks of himself as a camel getting up, and I do not think that Lewis would claim that he did. To that extent the etymology is as irrelevant as the origin of the name Tory is to an understanding of contemporary British politics. But this is not enough for Said, as the following observations show: 'Lewis's association of *thawra* with a camel rising and generally with excitement (and not with a struggle on behalf of values) hints much more broadly than is usual for him that the Arab is scarcely more than a neurotic sexual being. Each of the words or phrases he uses to describe revolution is tinged with sexuality: *stirred*, *excited*, *rising up*. But for the most part it is a "bad" sexuality he ascribes to the Arab. In the end, since Arabs are not equipped for serious action, their sexual excitement is no more noble than a camel's rising up. Instead of revolution there is sedition, setting up a petty sovereignty, and more excitement, which is as much as saying that instead of copulation the Arab can only achieve foreplay, masturbation, coitus interruptus' (pp. 315-16). How sinister must we now consider the title of Muir's famous book, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*? It is odd, though, that Lewis did not notice that the Arabs have survived for over a millennium and that he did not infer that they must at least be capable of procreation.

C. F. BECKINGHAM

YASIN HAMID SAFADI: *Islamic calligraphy*. 144 pp. [London]: Thames and Hudson, 1978. £3.95.

The recent outstanding exhibitions of Islamic art in London and elsewhere have inspired several fine albums of Islamic calligraphy, each of which, however, represents a slightly different viewpoint, and treats distinct material, often in an individual way. In fact, the range of examples is so wide that we cannot have too many illustrations, and all these works play a complementary role. The great merit of the present contribution is that it illustrates many specimens on a scale not only large enough for legibility (which is essential), but also large enough to show clearly pointing and other refinements of the script. Excellent examples are fig. 45 (p. 60), the elegant early 'thuluth' of the minaret of Daulatabad in Afghanistan; and fig. 117 (p. 102), the characteristic detail from the Alhambra. Remarkable too is the colophon-signature of Yaqut al-Musta'imi, dated Baghdad 681/1282-83 (fig. 104, 93), in private possession, which

should now be compared with other examples dated 689/1270-71 (Isfahan), 685/1286-87 (Tehran, Iran Bastan), 636/287-88 (Mashhad) and 693/1293-94 (Istanbul).

The editor's introductory text is open to more debate, following too closely, perhaps, the confusing model of Nagma Abbott. It is based partly on the Arabic literary tradition on the evolution of calligraphy; partly on the editor's generally perceptive interpretation of the material evidence; and partly on the surviving tradition among present-day calligraphers. Yet these three sources are by no means always consistent, and the editor rarely defines his source, or resolves contradictions. Like other branches of Arabic technical literature (e.g. archery), calligraphy shows in certain periods traces of a divided tradition, the compiler and the practitioner being no longer the same. Thus writers, perplexed by the constantly changing fashions and terminology, lost touch with the practical meaning of the technicalities in their sources, understanding them only in hollow etymological terms. This is particularly evident in the case of designations applied to different scripts. *Kūfī*, *tūmār*, *thuluth*, *naṣṣī*, *ruḥaqqag*, *rayḥānī*, *taḥṣīl*, *riqā* and so on, give no precise indication of the forms intended, of what were the critical distinctions, or how far the same definition remained valid at different periods; in the cases of *kūfī* and *riqā*, it obviously did not. For example, the stubby characters of fig. 34, (p. 53), and the elongated forms of fig. 45 (p. 60), and fig. 47 (p. 81) are alike characterized as *thuluth*, but have little in common. The point emerges clearly in the discussion of an interesting specimen, the *Qur'ān* copied by the Timurid prince Baysanghur (fl. 817/1414-15 to 836/1432-33) of which pages survive in the Metropolitan Museum (Antony Welch, *Calligraphy in the arts of the Muslim world*, Houston, 1979, 128), in the Gulistan Library (Martin Lings, *The Qur'anic art of calligraphy and illumination*, London, 1976, 51), and at Mashhad, one being reproduced in fig. 70 (p. 76). The first two editors characterize the script as 'Jalil al-Muḥaqqaq', but Dr Safadi prefers to style it 'Rayḥānī', a choice for which he provides some justification on p. 20. None the less, where leading authorities apply specialist terms so inconsistently, we may ask whether these have any readily-grasped scientific meaning.

Traditional sources are followed in emphasizing the role of Ibn Muqlah, said to have introduced the principles of *al-khatt al-mansub* 'proportioned script' (?). Yet illustrations taken from a later manuscript (p. 17, margin) show the system applied to a rounded *naṣṣī*, which can hardly represent any possible script of Ibn Muqlah's day. In the absence of autographs, can any modern critic form a real idea of the nature of the pioneer's reform, or the shape of script which he inaugurated? Defects of the traditional teaching are shown again by the claim (p. 13) that diacritical points were introduced only under al-Ja'fari; this despite the evidence of the Tā'if dam inscription of A.H. 58 (illustrated on p. 15), which shows that the claim could only have been true in a limited context, perhaps of the Iraq chancery.

At the same time, Safadi has unequalled command of the literary sources for Arabic calligraphy, as his text and bibliography leave no doubt. We may look forward to his one day treating the theme in a broader context, allowing full documentation of the sources for traditional statements, and a critical comparison with surviving remains.

A. D. H. RIVAR

JACQUELINE PIRENNE: *La maîtrise de l'eau en Arabie du Sud antique: six types de monuments techniques*. (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Nouvelle Série, Tome II.) 239 pp., 27 plates. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale [and] Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1977.

This impressive and beautifully produced book is at once fascinating and exasperating. Mlle Pirenne has long indulged a particular interest in the study of irrigation in ancient South Arabia and has accorded to the control and utilization of water a special significance in the character of South Arabian society and religion. No one would deny the part played by irrigation in antiquity in the creation of the society peculiar to South Arabia, which shows every sign of having an agricultural origin, though one might feel some reservations at the importance assigned to water in Pirenne's understanding of the indigenous religion. In this book six types of ancient South Arabian irrigational construction and the associated technical terms are discussed and reinterpreted in the light of the author's understanding of certain archaeological remains to which they appear to be relevant. This understanding is sufficiently unorthodox against the background of conventional archaeological opinion to require lengthy supportive investigations of allegedly comparable irrigational systems and structures and water-collecting devices from several other parts of the ancient and medieval world. The terms under discussion are: *m'gl*, usually rendered 'cistern' but now interpreted by Pirenne as a reservoir for holding flood water from an irregular source prior to redistribution at fixed times; *imd*, a well for drawing off water from the *m'gl*; *rgf*, for long adequately held to be the name of a temple but now seen also as a retaining wall for water in a system of basins; *tr't*, also traditionally a proper name (and necessarily so grammatically), but now cisterns for collecting water draining down a slope; *mrbd*, traditionally 'cattle enclosure', now a collector of water draining down a slope on to a plain; and *mhfd*, usually but perhaps wrongly 'tower', but to Pirenne a construction like a casemate wall with a rubble infill designed to collect water from condensation. A number of other terms associated with *mhfd* in the texts are also assigned to the sphere of condensation. Interesting as these reinterpretations are, strong objections can be raised on several fronts.

To deal with her philological justifications

first, Pirenne is determined to relate each term to a comparable meaning of its Classical Arabic congener or, if that is not available, to related forms of the same root. If a connexion is not immediately apparent, as it rarely is, then Classical Arabic has lost the appropriate sense in favour of derived notions in new semantic areas, and a long process of etymological prestidigitation is indulged in to recover the desired sense from the 'couche archéologique' of the language. The result is totally unconvincing and leaves one with the impression that Pirenne's method, if pushed to the extreme, could demonstrate that virtually every Arabic root was basically connected with water. She is anxious that each inscription should be allowed to speak for itself and berates earlier scholars for not allowing them to do so, but her own philological method hardly grants them this liberty either. Then there is the problem of the archaeological comparisons. Pirenne's understanding of the Wādī Shīrjān irrigational complex, which she uses for her understanding of *m'gl* and *imd*, is based on sketch-maps and photographs made by D. B. Doe which are simply not adequate to indicate such specific refinements of meaning. Similarly, it requires such a radical reinterpretation of the remains at Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl and Ḥajar bin Ḥumayd to arrive at Pirenne's system of basins and collecting walls in what are to all appearances temples and domestic remains, that one cannot understand how the excavators could have made such a grotesque mistake in the first place. Finally, it is indeed strange that the temple of Awam at Mārib should be contained by a massive wall built on the casemate principle, open to the sky and with the rubble infill projecting at places above the top of the wall. But there are surely more mundane explanations for this phenomenon than to argue that water condensed and percolated down between the walls and collected in a subterranean channel running beneath the walls which might just possibly be revealed by further excavation. The discovery of such a channel would provide a starting-point for Pirenne's theory indeed, but one cannot help wondering if, were such a channel really to exist, the walls would still be standing today. In any case, the amount of water one could reasonably expect to accumulate from condensation in South Arabia, even with a more humid climate than today, would hardly justify the massive size of the constructions which she wishes to use for this purpose.

Thus far the exasperation. The fascination of the book lies in the enthusiasm and determination with which Pirenne argues for the theoretical possibility of each type of irrigational and water-collecting device. A wealth of comparative material is presented and all is described and analysed in painstaking detail. The material derives from such diverse localities as Banyalbufar in Majorca (for *m'gl* and *imd*), the Negev, the Sahara, the African coast of the Red Sea, Theodosia in the Crimea, and Céreste in Provence (for the principle and methods of water collection by condensation). One small point might be made about the latter method: there is no denying that it has been done (cf. the Negev and the Red Sea

examples, and it is indeed curious that of the thousands of cairn tombs in the Sahara, hardly any contain skeletal remains), but it is rather odd that a method with such an alleged potential should have almost completely been forgotten, even in regions where it seems eminently suitable. However, the book is certainly one which should be read closely by anyone with an interest in ancient irrigation methods. Unfortunately as a contribution to South Arabian studies it is contentious and disappointing.

A. K. IRVINE

G. R. SMITH: *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen* (567-694/1173-1295). ('E. J. W. Gibb Memorial', New Series, xxvi.) 2 vols.: [vi], 591; xi, 266 pp. London: Trustees of the 'E. J. W. Gibb Memorial', 1974, [1978].

Yemen has remained throughout its history a remote and mysterious country. Internal affairs have gone on with little reference to the outside world. Even the existence of the port of Aden and its strategic position on an important route of international trade seemed to leave the hinterland unaffected. Outsiders, like the Ayyūbids of Egypt, who interfere perhaps for commercial among other possible reasons, were sucked into the maelstrom of tribal politics and into a struggle against the ambitions of the Zaidī Imāms of the north. This text, a work entitled *al-Simt al-ghālī al-thaman* throws light on the Ayyūbid period in Yemen and on the first Rasūlids, and it does so in a lively and interesting way. Apart from any other consideration, this is a valuable addition to the corpus of Arabic historiography.

Volume 1 contains the text itself, which is edited with scrupulous care to give the most minute variations in the three manuscripts. A list of corrections is given at the end of the other volume, but inevitably in a work of this length and typographical complexity some misprints have passed unnoticed. None that I have seen produce any real difficulty. The index (of personal names only) gives references to the folio numbers of the British Library MS. I found this inconvenient in practice, because it is difficult to locate the numbers within the text, which is already heavily burdened with footnote references, and once they are located, it may still be necessary to scan three or four pages before finding what one is looking for.

Volume 2, which is described as 'a study' of the text, is rather disappointing. It consists of a number of sections. In the geographical and tribal indexes each entry contains further reference to primary and secondary literature, where available. The geographical index is useful for a text which is especially rich in topographical detail. One or two place-names are missing from the index, and the Map 1 at the end of the volume lacks several names which are said to be on it. I was also misled

initially by the fact that the map grid is incorrectly numbered on the right side.

The 'historical background' chapters deal first with 'The Ayyūbids prior to their conquest of the Yemen' in a somewhat superficial and, I feel, rather irrelevant manner. 'The Yemen prior to the Ayyūbid conquest' (chap. 3) will be of greater use to readers. It contains brief histories of the various ruling houses, complete with levishly produced genealogies. Chapter 4, 'The Rasūlids', discusses the rather uninteresting problem of the Rasūlids' origins (Turkoman or Arab? Incidentally, the Arab genealogy on p. 84 makes the great-great-grandfather of Muḥammad Rasūl the son of Jabalsh ibn al-Ayham! There are other little slips, such as calling Sayf al-Islām Tuḡhtakrīn 'Sayf al-Dīn'), and then the chapter briefly considers the early history of the Rasūlid family in the Yemen and the circumstances of their coming to power. What is missing, regrettably, is any study of the whole period covered by the text. A framework of historical analysis and a full evaluation of what this source contributes would have been most useful.

Chapter 1 is concerned with 'The author and his work'. What little is known about Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim is given and the sources for the *Simt*, its language and style, and the three known MSS are discussed. The question raised in my mind concerns the basis for attributing the work to Badr al-Dīn. I assume from the present study that no written source assigns the *Simt al-ghālī al-thaman* to him. Only the 'Iqd al-thamīn, extracts of which are preserved by al-Khazrajī, is connected with his name (p. 3). A different hypothesis can be constructed upon a reading of the text. An anonymous *jāmi' li-hādhihi al-sira al-sharīfa* (text, 490) or the *mu'allif hādhi al-kitāb* (text, 567) started writing in A.D. 1295 (text, 11 and Vol. 2, 1). He used the 'Iqd al-thamīn, which had been started earlier, by his contemporary, Badr al-Dīn. This would account for the similarities in wording and for the differences in scope (3-4), and perhaps for the echo of one title by the other. Badr al-Dīn was only one source, albeit the main one, among other sources. *Qāt al-Amīr Badr al-Dīn* is treated in the text exactly as 'qāla anyone else'. Most important, the anonymous compiler, whose existence I am postulating, appears in the first person alongside Badr al-Dīn. Introduced by a *qāt*, the two versions of an anecdote are referred to, one by Badr al-Dīn and the other by a certain al-Ṣulayḥī, a source for other information in the text. The 'first person' adds, 'I do not know which is the more correct. In my opinion the latter [i.e. the version of al-Ṣulayḥī] is more likely' (text, 498). Again, 'There is a strange anecdote connected with the story of the arrest of Fakhr al-Dīn, which I wish to give, namely that the Emir Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim told a tale which he attributed to our Lord, al-Malik al-Muzaḥfar etc...' (text, 258).

No doubt the MSS attribute this work to Badr al-Dīn (there are no facsimiles of title pages), but, as Smith comments, more than 350 years passed before the copying of the oldest of the three MSS, and *qāla Badr al-Dīn*

does appear frequently in the text, which would, plus his authorship of the *Iqd* perhaps, encourage attribution to him. Perhaps my hypothesis is mistaken, but surely the difficulties raised by the passages given above merited some annotation. I have doubts about Badr al-Din's authorship.

D. S. RICHARDS

GABRIEL WARBURG: *Islam, nationalism and communism in a traditional society: the case of Sudan*. xi, 253 pp. London: Frank Cass, 1978. £11.

This volume brings together studies written at different times. The introduction, a summary of Sudanese history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (in particular the Turco-Egyptian period), is based on a paper published in 1973. The first part of the book, on the subject of sectarian politics in the Sudan, consists of two chapters, 'From Anṣār to Umma, 1914-1945' and 'Ismā'il al-Azhari and the struggle for the Sudan's independence', which are the revised texts of papers which appeared in 1973 and 1975 respectively. The second part, dealing with Sudanese communism, consists of two chapters of text and a collection of documents, and is here published for the first time. Inevitably in a book so assembled there must be overlaps and weaknesses of structure that would not have appeared had its subject been conceived and treated as a planned whole from the outset. Although the specialist will not be troubled, there may be some difficulties for less well-informed readers. For example, the important proto-nationalist organization, the White Flag League, is first mentioned on p. 25, but an account of its origin and nature is held over to p. 94. On pp. 42 and 43 reference is made to 'an Egyptian *ma'had*', but the nature of this institution (an Islamic religious seminary) is nowhere explained. There is sometimes confusion over names: the founder of the Ismā'īliyya *tariqa* was Ismā'il al-Walī not Muḥammad Ismā'il (p. 10), while his son was Muḥammad al-Makki not Muḥammad Ismā'il al-Makki (p. 12).

Taken as a whole, the work provides a detailed and carefully documented study of the history of political parties in the Sudan during the Condominium and since independence. It traces the dominating and continuing influence of the two religious leaders, Sayyid 'Alī al-Mirghani and Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mahdi, under the latter of whom the Anṣār, the defeated and impotent adherents of the Mahdi's family, re-emerged into importance. The author sees the secular political parties, largely organs of the intelligentsia, as unsubstantial groupings, and he presents their kaleidoscopic history in the period of transition to independence and afterwards. The one exception was the Sudanese Communist Party, which maintained (at least down to 1970) a degree of discipline and efficiency in organization unknown to the others. Yet even the Sudanese Communist Party was *sui generis*, displaying 'flexibility, which at times bordered

on opportunism' (p. 186). Here we reach the point at which another kind of approach is needed. The author's data, almost entirely derived from published sources, do not adequately explain why these political groups were formed, why they coalesced and fragmented. He has given us the formal description of Sudanese politics: what should follow now is the Namierization of the political structure. An investigation of the background, links and aspirations of the politicians is required to give depth to a picture which is otherwise one of confusion and opportunism.

P. M. HOLT

MICHAEL MEINECKE, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*. Vol. I and II. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul Mitteilungen, Beiheft 13.) 220 pp., 54 plates, 560 pp. Tübingen: Verlag E. Wasmuth, 1976.

The study of 'fayence' decoration in pre-Ottoman architecture in Asia Minor is a field which has attracted scholarly attention only in the last two decades. The monuments are scattered over a vast area and for a long time were difficult of access. Whole portions of glazed decoration have fallen off and been transferred to museums in Turkey or Europe, and their role as art historical documents of more than local interest has only lately been understood.

Dr. Meinecke's first comprehensive study of this field comprises 118 (+4) religious monuments (built between 523/1128-29 and about 1500). He enlarges the list of examples known so far, and also interprets them in their art historical context. In order to provide the reader with the maximum information, the author has divided his study into three sections: a historical survey dealing with the development of this art in Asia Minor and in relation to other countries; an analysis of the major elements which the author regards as responsible for the unique character of this decoration (both in Vol. 1), and a comprehensive catalogue arranged alphabetically according to the location of the monuments (Vol. 2). Apart from the basic body of 118 + 4 religious monuments the catalogue comprises sites with glazed decoration of either uncertain or later date, and a list of glazed fragments which stem from religious buildings and which are kept at present in Turkish and European collections.

In the first volume the author analyses the development of glazed decoration down to Ottoman times. Starting with its first appearance in South-East Anatolia at the Ulū Camı of Siirt in 523/1128, he points to the early synthesis between the Islamic tradition of using glazed tiles in conjunction with stone architecture and the Turan-Iranian tradition of brick building. He draws attention to the appearance in the later thirteenth century of ceramic products of Kāshān in the architectural decoration of Asia Minor; to new contacts with Azerbaijan at Ilkhānid times,

and to the continuation and decline of thirteenth century techniques in the early Ottoman period. Similarly, he traces the development of the ornamental repertoire and the artistic function of the glazed decoration in relation to the entire surface of a building. Most of these facts, like the numerous technical questions relating to kilns, glazes, colours, or primary and secondary techniques (pp. 152-71) are based upon former studies and give only little basically new information. By contrast, his suggestions for a new interpretation of these facts (ch. 2) are of great consequence for an understanding of his special subject and of Islamic art 'industry' in general. His art historical analysis is based upon two assumptions. One is the existence of metropolitan and provincial workshops which comprised artisans of different professions, including specialists in the manufacture of tiles, who were free to move from place to place. The other is that the existence of comprehensive workshops, in which all the branches of the profession were represented, may be assumed for thirteenth century Konya only. These metropolitan workshops functioned in two directions. They attracted artisans from other places and trained young artisans who later went back to the provinces to set up their own workshops. This mobility of complete workshops, and in particular of individual artisans, moving to and from Konya, resulted not only in an elaboration of the technical and artistic repertoire in the metropolis, but also in its diffusion into the provinces (Vol. 1, 67-70; 177-78. For moving artisans or workshops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see 89, 97; for workshops from Turkestan active in Bursa in early Ottoman times see pp. 106, 111. For examples suggesting the use of architectural drawings and pattern books see pp. 137, 172, 174 and plates 33, 1, 49, 1).

In addition to Meinecke's attempt to identify certain workshops and to differentiate between the metropolitan and provincial centres, he raises the crucial, constantly recurring questions regarding the social status of the artist and the division of labour (pp. 172-76). In spite of the relatively rich documentation collected by the author, no satisfactory answers to these problems can be expected as yet. The complexity of the second problem is demonstrated in Appendix II (Vol. 1, 187), in which the author lists the names and professions of artists known from monuments with glazed decorations and shows to what an extent these occupations overlapped.

Art historians and architects often pay little attention to other than historical inscriptions, and quotations from the Qur'an are but cursorily mentioned if not completely neglected. Dr. Meinecke's lists of religious, historical and literary inscriptions is therefore particularly welcome (Vol. 1, 178-82, 189-91, Appendix III). One would wish, however, that these lists were complete and would include Qur'anic inscriptions which have not yet been published (see for instance panels above western arcades of the Ulu Cami in Malatya, plate 42, 3 and 4). It goes without saying that the short religious formulas like those wishing sovereignty, greatness or majesty to Allāh

read *al-mulk lillāh* or *al-'azmat lillāh* and not *al-mulk Allāh* or *al-'izmat Allāh* (Vol. 1, 179). Incidentally, the Ulu Cami in Malatya provides an example of the use of a figurative motif in conjunction with a religious inscription which seems to have escaped the author's notice (Vol. 1, plate 42, 4). A last technical remark may be made. In his chapter on the techniques applied with glazed decoration the author refers to *sggraffito* as one of the secondary techniques, pointing to the Şifaiye Medrese in Sivas (Vol. 1, 165, 21; Vol. 2, cat. no. 108) as the earliest example in Asia Minor. In the case of the Şifaiye Medrese, as in many other inscription panels of later date, the background of the glazed tile was scraped away and not incised, so that only the glazed letters remained. With ceramic objects one generally differentiates between these two methods, and refers to the first with the French term *champlevé*, which should perhaps be applied also to architectural ceramics.

These, however, are only minor shortcomings. Dr. Meinecke's thorough and intimate knowledge of the monuments and their decoration, as his familiarity with primary and secondary literary sources and the technical aspects of architectural ceramics will make these volumes an indispensable handbook and a basis for future research in a much wider sense than its title indicates.

EVA BAKER

MARY BOYCE: *A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. With a reverse index by Ronald Zwanziger.* (Acta Iranica, 9a. Troisième Série. Textes et Mémoires, Vol. II—Supplément.) [iv], 172 pp. Téhéran Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977. (Distributed by E. J. Brill, Leiden.)

This is a companion volume to M. Boyce's *Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, 1975, which was reviewed in *BSOAS*, XL, 3, 1977, 630 ff. The author's aim in publishing this word-list is to facilitate the use of the *Reader* while her planned 'Dictionary of Western Middle Iranian of the Turfan texts' is in process of completion. Each word is given in transliteration followed by its transcription in brackets and its meaning(s). The Middle Persian (Pe.), Parthian (Ptl.), and common words to both languages (c.) are clearly specified, but for the sake of simplicity textual references, details of restored forms and discussions of meanings, which will form part of the 'Dictionary', are not generally included in the word-list. Finally Ronald Zwanziger provides a reverse index to the *Reader*, the value of which particularly for grammatical studies and for editing the fragmentary Manichaean texts is self-evident.

A few corrections, suggestions and additions may be offered here:

'dg 'capable of': it is generally construed with the infinitive, as the author has rightly pointed out, but once (text 172) it is followed

by *kw* 'that' (subord. conj.) introducing a subordinate clause with the verb in the subjunctive mood.

'byst'wg: the plural form of this word occurs in *dh* 1 as *'byst'wg'n*. If the final *n* (defective writing for 'n') is not to be considered as a scribal error, the singular form must be *'byst'wg'n*. A Pth. form **'byst'wg* may, however, be postulated on the evidence of the Early New Persian form *bst'wh* [*bistāwah*] 'renegade, apostate' (*Tafsīr-e Tabārī*, ed. Yaghmaī, 814, n. 4, 1598, n. 8, see Ravaghi, *Simorgh* I, 30; *Tafsīr-e Sūrābādī*, facsimile edition of the India Office MS., 213, 278 etc.). For the suffix *-agān* instead of the expected *-ag* cf. Pth. *pār'st'g'n* (*dh* 2). Sundermann kindly drew my attention to the fact that *'byst'wg'n* in *dh* 2, 1. 3 (*Reader*, 178) is a lapsus for *'byst'g'n* as can be proved from the photograph of the fragment M 97 in Muller, *Eine Hermas-Stelle*. Likewise, instead of *'byst'g'n* in *dh* 2, 1. 2 read *hmw'g'n*.

'frs'gyft (Pth.), *'prs'gyh* (Pe.): although the exact reading and the etymology of this word remain uncertain (<*ā-fra-sak* ?), the proposed meaning 'contempt, scorn (?)' fits the contexts, and is confirmed by the following Pahlavi passage, where it occurs in its adjectival form *'pl's'k* [*āfrasāg*] 'contemptible': *abar zēstīh ud samganīh i mardōmān tan pas az marg, ud ān-iz i pad har abāyisnīg-zēstīh grāmīgar dāst ēstād āfrasāg andar zāk abgandagīh...* (*Dēnkard*, ed. Madan, 804. 1) 'and about the hideousness and frightfulness of the body of man after death and (about) even that which is considered the dearest of all deorable things (i.e. body) being contemptibly thrown to the ground...' The Parthian form *'frs'gyft* also occurs in M 457 /R/8/, the Chinese correspondent of which was translated by Chavannes and Pelliot (*JA*, 1911, 561) as 'le mépris pour autrui'. (I owe this piece of information to W. Sundermann). The word may be compared with *p'dys'gyh* (*dh* 5) 'contempt, scorn' (<*pat-sak* ?).

'gud- [*āgōd-*] Pth. 'defile': read *ā-gōd-*, cf. *'gustgyft*.

'myzs- [*āmīzs-*], *'myzt* [*āmīzt*]: on the pattern of *ryzt* [*rēst*] and *wryzs-* [*wirēzs-*] (derived from OIr. *raik*), and on the evidence of NPers. *āmēst*, it is preferable to transcribe *āmēzs-* and *āmēst* (from *maig*), see Henning, *Verbum*, 178.12, 198.1; Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 81. The same applies to *gumyzs-*, *gumyzt*, *wmyzt*, *wyzt* and *wyztg*.

'ny 'other': 'n also occurs with this meaning (*h* 7, p. 42, l. 1; *byb* 2, cu 37). See *Reader*, 41, n. 6.

b'r: in the phrase *zwo'r 'wōd b'r* 'food' is regarded as a rhyme-word. In the reviewer's opinion *bār* here is originally the same as *b'r* i.e. 'fruit, product, provision', cf. Pth. *b'r 'wōd wārdygg* (*ab* 1). Such hendiadyses composed of two synonymous words occasionally occur in Pe. and Pth., e.g. *bār ud mēw* 'fruits' (*y* 16), *tār ud lam* 'darkness, dark elements' (*y* 25), Pahl. *dār ud draxt* 'trees', *kas ud kār* 'relatives' (see *Acta Orient.*, XXXIII, 1971, 202) and express plurality.

d'wog: add 'cross' (*byb* 5).

dry'b [*daryāb*]: read *dryāb*.

frōud [*frašūd*] (s.v. *frōw-*): read *frašūd*

<**frašyuta-*, cf. *šud* < **šyuta-*. See Ghilain, *Essai*, 96 (d).

ghy [*gahē*]: on the analogy of *'hy* [*ahy*] read *gahy*.

hndym'n occurs also in Pth. (at 2, p. 105, l. 2). See Sundermann, *Mittelpers. und parth. kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, 124.

gyryh- [*kirēh-*] s.v. *kw-*: read *kirih-* in accordance with the other passive stems in *-ih*, e.g. *wyfr'yh-*, *wydyh-*.

gydyh- [*kēšēh-*]: read *kēših-*, cf. above.

mwhrg 'vertebra': this meaning does not suit the context of *hyd* 1, which requires 'a sealed letter'. See Sundermann in the article quoted in the *Reader*, 131 fn.

nbyn: add 'malice, evil' (subst.) in *hya* 1. *pxš'n* (*y* 27) is not a verbal noun, but a pres. part., cf. *gw'n*, *ncyh'n*, *phryz'n* and other pres. participles in *-n*.

s'r 'year' also occurs in Pth. (cē 4).

ššwm 'Pth. form in Pe.': this is surely a lapsus, Pth. *šwum* (s.v. *šwum*) in fact occurs once in a Pe. text (*w* 1).

wn'hr [*wināhgar*]: read *wn'hr* [*wināhgar*] (x 10 twice). I do not know any instance of the use of *wn'hr* (lapsus for *wn'hr'ryy*, which according to Salemann, *MSt.*, occurs in M 477 v, but is corrected to *wn'hr* in the *Reader* ?) (*z* 10).

wygr'd [*wygrād*] (s.v. *wygr's-*) occurs also in Pe. (*y* 51, bf 3), cf. Pe. *wygr'dyy* and Pahl. *wgl'i* [*wigrād*]. The use of the derivatives of *wygr's-* (*wygr's'g*, *wygr'syšn* etc.) in Pe. leads to the conclusion that the verb is common to both languages.

The word-list contains almost all the words that occur in the *Reader*. For the sake of completeness the following items may be added:

'z-pymwog [*āz-paymōg*] Pe. 'being a garment for greed, clothed in greed' (*r* 40, 53).

'bg'm [*apādm*] Pth. 'torment, toil' (*as* 6); the word is listed as second component of *burd-'bg'm* adj., 'having suffered pain', but it is hardly plausible to regard *burd-'bg'm* as a compound in the following verse (*Reader*, *as* 6): *rwšn'n hrwryn o 'rd'w'n o 'wōd ngwš'g'n o ky burd-'bg'm o 'd pydr gšyd* 'All the beings of Light, the Just and the Hearers who had suffered torment will be joyful with the Father' (Boyce's own translation in *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 440). *ky burd-'bg'm* is an ordinary adjectival clause with *burd* (trans. past part.) functioning as a past verb (lit. by whom torment was suffered). The same expression occurs in Pe. as *'w'm burdn* (*Reader*, s 4).

'byd'g-m'h [*abaydāg-māh*] Pe. 'invisible moon' (*y* 24, 25), cf. *mogm'h*, *nymm'h*.

'byst'w'd [*abistāwād*] Pth., p.p., 'renounced' (*by* 2).

'bystft [*abē-staft*] Pth. 'free from harshness' (*cv* 9).

'byzgyh [*abēzagihā*] Pe., adv., 'in purity' (*cs* 1).

'guxt [*āguxt*] Pth., p.p., 'hung up' (*hyd*).

**'hyzynydr* [*āhēzēnidār*] Pe., 'raiser' (*bt* 2).

'prydg-n'm [*dfrīdag-nām*] Pe., 'of praised name' (*ok* 1), cf. *'frydg*.

'pwn [*apwn*] Pth., 'lack of service, meritorious act' (*e* 7).

'šmohrpy [*ašnōhri*] Pe., 'gratitude' (*ed* 2), cf. *'šmohr*.

'st'y-: add 'st'yh- [istāyih-] Pe., pass., 'be praised' (c 1).

'stmbg [istambag] Pe., 'tyrant' (ca 35).

b'a: add b' ... 'n'y [ba ... *anē] Pe., except' (ad 7).

*ch'rom [chāhārom] Pe., 'fourth' (dh 4).

d'm'g [dāmāg] Pth., 'creation' (ca 18).

d'r [dār] Pth., 'cross' (hyd).

drw'xyz (?): the word occurs in p 6: 'w's'n n'fryn qvnd, 'wd 'w's' gwyd kw m' drw'xyz ...

'He (i.e. Jesus) curses them and says: you are not at all welcome!' (?). I would tentatively analyse the word as drw'x + the encl. -yz 'too', and identify drw'x [drwāx] with NPers. *durwāx* (**drwa-amhav-*) 'firm; sound' (cf. *Loyat-e Fors*, ed. Eqbal, 78), which still survives in a number of Khorāsānī dialects. A word such as 'wryd' 'come!' (pl.) may have followed drw'x, cf. *dryst* 'ur' 'welcome!'.

frm'ng [framānag] Pth., 'commander' (ca 2) ghr'y'd: the pres. stem ghr'y- is also attested in Pth. *ghr'y'ynā* (ca 21).

hmbud [hambūd] Pe., p.p., 'was together' (1) (y 15). This meaning is doubtful. One would expect a transitive verb, and NPers. *ambūdan* 'create; collect' does not fit the context well.

hsud [hasūd] Pe., p.p., 'whetted' (dr 3).

gyrzng [kīrzang] Pe., 'the zodiacal sign Cancer' (y 30).

m'n-: m'n'd [mānād] Pth., p.p., 'resembled, fitted' (byb 2).

murgy'rydyyn [muryārēden] Pth., adj., 'of pearls' (dk 1).

nyz'y [nizāy] Pe., subst., 'reverence' (ca 2), cf. *nyz'y-*.

*p'cyēn [pāziēn] Pe., 'purification' (o 1), cf. Pth. *pu'cyēn*.

phryz [pahriēz] Pe., subst., 'protection' (y 20), cf. *phryz*¹.

prwz- [pāwaz-] Pe., 'fly' (aa 3), cf. Pth. *frwz-*. The word is, therefore, common to both languages.

wyg'n [wigān] Pth., subst., 'destruction' (ac 8), cf. *wyg'n-*.

wzy- [wizay-] Pe., 'choose' (be 2), pp., *wydz*.

zrwz'n [zrāwān] Pe., 'preacher' (an 7), cf. *zrwz'n*, *zrwz'n*.

zwy* [zōy] Pe., 'left (of side, direction)' (z 6, 9), cf. *hwy*.

zydy'g [yūdyāg] Pth., adj., 'suffering' (ch 2).

z'wrygg'h [zūr-wigāh] Pth., 'false witness' (byb 2), cf. *z'wry*, *wyg'h*.

I have noticed a few minor *lapsus calami* or misprints:

p. 4: s.v. 'yusš read 'yusš (not 'yuz-).

p. 21: read *azih-*.

p. 31: cf'rds occurs in the *Reader*, by 1, as cf'rds.

p. 33: d'db'r [dādābār]: read d'dbr [dādābār], as correctly in the *Reader*, an 1, bj 1, bk 1, bm 1, and in the reverse index.

p. 43: read *guz'y* (= *guz'y*) (k 2).

p. 50: s.v. *hyrz-*: read *hyšt*.

p. 55: read *hwy'tyn* (ab 1).

p. 96: s.v. *wymyhyd*: for *wymyh-* read *wymyh-*.

p. 102: for *yehūd* read *yahūd*.

p. 111, col. 1, w. 20: for *zmgyc* read *zmyggyc* (ac 8).

p. 117, col. 2, w. 28: for *frmwsynd* read *frmwsynd* (bh 2).

p. 132, col. 2, w. 8: read *b's'h*.

p. 154, col. 2: for 'hwš'yn read 'hwš'yn (ch 3).

p. 162, col. 1, w. 35: for *hw'b'gft* read *hw'bs'gft* (= *hw'bs'gyft*) (bz -).

p. 172, col. 2, w. 3: read *gduz*, see p. 72.

A. TAFAZZOLI

CHRISTOPHER J. BRUNNER: *A syntax of Western Middle Iranian*. (Persian Studies Series, No. 3. xix, 291 pp. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1977. \$25.

It is a common experience that the study of syntax tends to lag far behind that of morphology. In this respect the field of Iranian philology has proved no exception. The work under review is in fact the first comprehensive study of the syntax of any Middle Iranian language, and its author has boldly attempted to cover both Middle Persian and Parthian. Since the morphological systems of these two languages are much reduced (in comparison with Old Iranian or Eastern Middle Iranian) the role of syntax plays a particularly important role in their grammar. One is therefore predisposed to welcome the appearance of a book such as this and to make the author some allowances on account of the vastness of the *terra incognita* which he has undertaken to survey.

Since I shall unfortunately be obliged to criticize certain aspects of this work, it is only fair to make it clear at the outset that it possesses positive merits also. One of these is the plan whereby each point of syntax is dealt with first for Middle Persian and then in the following paragraph for Parthian, an excellent arrangement which permits the two languages to be compared and contrasted without ever being confused. Another admirable feature is the abundant exemplification with which the author usually supports his assertions. Above all, of course, one is grateful to have many aspects of WMlr. syntax described for the first time, even where their treatment cannot be regarded as definitive.

An interesting feature of this book is that Dr Brunner has had and has made full use of the opportunity to cite passages from certain unpublished Parth. texts (see p. xvi, n. 3). It may be helpful to explain here that the unpublished text cited throughout as M 857' is in fact M 5880 ('II 857' is a 'J number', cf. Boyce, *Catalogue*, xxii). Some other persistent errors of the same kind are M 28 for M 28 I; M 99 for M 99 II; M 71 for M 171 I; M 470 for M 470a; M 475 for M 475a or M 475a I; and (very frequently) M 5294 for M 5794.

Isolated misprints and errors of detail are far too numerous to be listed. Amongst the more serious (as liable to cause confusion) one may mention: M 721 for M 741 (p. 13); 'conjunction' for 'adverb', referring to *hū* 'where' (pp. 134, 141); IB 4947 for IB 4874 (p. 139); and a passage from the Parth. text M 284b quoted as MPers. (p. 189). The synopsis of the moods of the present tense on p. 212 is disfigured by a series of misprints. The correct

forms are: of *kardan/kirdan*, Parth. subj. *karāh*, MPers. opt. *krnēh*; of *šudan* (not '*šūdn*'), MPers. indic. *šwēd*, Parth. subj. *šwāh*.

The most serious defect of this book may be summed up as incoherence. The headings of the paragraphs sometimes bear little relationship to their contents; technical terms are used incorrectly or inconsistently; rules of syntax are vaguely alluded to rather than formulated in precise terms; important points are omitted or left to be inferred from passing references, themselves sometimes mutually contradictory. It will be convenient to exemplify these criticisms of Brunner's work by annotating its first few pages.

Chapter I is entitled 'The Substantive'. The word 'substantive', it emerges, is here employed by Brunner in a different sense from the usual one, as a general term embracing both noun (i.e. what used to be called 'the noun substantive') and adjective. The first subsection is headed 'Number', but begins with several pages on the means of distinguishing between nouns and adjectives in WMLr.—a distinction in which number, or rather its concrete manifestation the pl. suffix, plays only a minor role. This section contains a number of vaguely-formulated statements (some of them hardly comprehensible even with the aid of prior knowledge of the features under discussion) such as: 'Factors helping to identify a noun function are (a) a substantive's obvious role in the textual context... (b) position, for instance, as prior element in a construction containing the relative particle: *'hyng 'y šh dys* ... "the primeval one of three faces" and (c) modification by numerical substantives, pronouns, or pronoun-adverbs: *h'n 'y tnygyrd* ... "the corporeal" ...'. According to the rule implied by (b), the demonstrative in the phrase *h'n 'y tnygyrd* must be considered to function as a pronoun rather than as an adjective, but I know of no evidence which would compel one to assume that *tnygyrd* is also substantival as Brunner appears to suggest: contrast the analysis by Boyce, 'The use of relative particles in Western Middle Iranian', *Indo-Iranica (Mélanges ... Morgensterne)*, 44, where a phrase such as *awē-z ī māyag* 'that female one also' is said to consist of pron. + rel. particle + descriptive adj. (like, for instance, *tō ī zšmēn* 'these, the wrathful'). In any case, the existence of such phrases as *h'n 'y tnygyrd* invalidates Brunner's later statement (64, n. 1) that in Man. MPers. 'i following *hān* is either a relative pronoun or an element of a construct phrase'.

On 2 Brunner writes: 'The plural suffix *-ān* may clarify a substantive phrase. Attached to a noun: ... *wlk'n lub'n* ... "the souls of the departed" ...'. Both the statement and the translation of the example are correct; but no hint is vouchsafed, here or elsewhere, as to how the pl. suffix performs this discriminatory function, nor as to why a translation 'departed souls' would be incorrect. The reason lies in 'the strictness of the rule that the pl. adj. follows without *i*' (Boyce, art. cit., 45, n. 31)—a rule which Brunner presumably accepts, though incidentally contradicting it by his assertion (5) that 'the phrase *pššnagān*

dēnān ... or *dēnān i pššnagān* would have been equivocal, possibly meaning "the ancient religions"'. The treatment in this book of the syntax of attributive adjectives is generally inadequate. Concord of noun and adj. is considered on pp. 7-9, but the construction noun + *i(g)* + adj. is only referred to in passing in the section on the rel. particle (pp. 10-17), and I have not been able to locate any discussion at all of the differences in treatment between determining and descriptive adjectives.

It would be tedious to continue in this vein. Enough has been said to substantiate the charge of incoherence, and one would not wish to denigrate what is, after all, a pioneering work. Most of its defects arise from a lack of thorough revision and from the author's rashness in taking on what is evidently too large a task: this would have been a more useful work had he restricted its scope to a single homogeneous and well-defined corpus (Manichaean Middle Persian, say, or Inscriptional Parthian).

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

NORAH M. TITLEY: *Miniatures from Persian manuscripts: a catalogue and subject index of paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum*. xii, 358 pp., 41 plates. London: British Museum Publications Ltd., for the British Library, [1978]. £45

Few scholarly activities can be more honourable than those which lighten the task of others, at the cost of devoted and sometimes grinding toil over many years in which the author sinks his or her own individuality rather than claim the prize of showy originality. Such works are invariably taken from the shelf with especial affection and it is with pleasure that one welcomes a new volume into this distinguished company. The work under review is undoubtedly one of these and like so many of its class it is quite unreadable, even though one can browse in it with much profit and enjoyment.

C. Rieu's four-volume *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum (1879-95)* also falls into this class but, despite the usefulness of his work, Rieu made no attempt to offer more than a passing mention of the illustrations which these manuscripts contain and which form one of the major sources for the study of Persian, Mughal and Turkish painting in the world. In Rieu's day the study of Islamic miniature painting was scarcely in its infancy and although the rich deposits of the former British Museum Library were subsequently mined by various leading art historians, Miss Titley's work has brought to light a number of valuable new finds, particularly among the provincial Indian schools. The most obviously important of these is Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn Muhammad ibn Mahamūd Shāhīyābādī's charmingly illustrated glossary, the *Miftāh al-Fuzalā*, which is one of the very few known documented books

containing paintings of the Indian Sultanate school and of which she had already published a brief account.

Titley's work is not however primarily concerned with art historical styles and its usefulness is by no means confined to students of art history. Students of nearly every aspect of Persian culture will find it a valuable work of reference and for that relatively new breed of publishers' assistant, the picture researcher, it will be an indispensable first recourse.

The main entries, arranged alphabetically by authors, comprise extremely concise descriptions of pictures with only bare details of the manuscript at the head of each list. Separate miniatures and album pages are arranged afterwards according to subject and these include relevant items which remain with the British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities. The entries themselves are followed by indexes and a bibliography which amount to as many pages as the catalogue entries themselves. Some of these such as authors, artists and titles of works, are no more than one would expect, though one of them, an index of running numbers, seems superfluous. However, the principal index, of subjects, amounting to 147 pages, is a masterpiece of comprehensiveness and careful cross-referencing. The bibliography, by contrast, is disappointing and the choice of plates veers so strongly between the extremes of much reproduced masterpiece and provincial 'horror' as to appear unbalanced. With only 41 illustrations available to her we can understand the author's dilemma and trust that a rumoured second volume will provide her with an opportunity of bringing more of the Library's extraordinary riches to light.

In a work of such outstanding value and conscientiousness it is a pity to report that the observant reader will note a number of small slips.

On p. 4, the date of MS 11 should read 'A.H. 1012' not 'A.H. 1206'; on p. 5, No. 35, the date should read 'forty-seventh' (in itself an error for 'forty-eighth' Ilāhi year) not 'fourth' Ilāhi year; p. 60 MS. 167 omits reference to part of the work in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, or to I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*, Paris, 1929, pl. XXI (the similar omission of Stchoukine's standard work on Mughal painting from the bibliography (p. 355) is inexplicable in view of the fact that he reproduces and discusses a number of important paintings described in the catalogue); p. 69, No. 207/2 read 'Hirānand' for 'Mirānand'; p. 153, No. 132 'galleh' or 'kalleh' (a pavilion for entertaining) is clearly shown as 'kulbah' for which Steingass gives a related definition; p. 175, no. 77, read 'Shiva Dās' for 'Meo Dās'; the reference to Shaikh 'Abbās in the artists index on p. 190 leads to a picture by 'Ali Kuli Jabbadar 396 (40); in the reference to Nizām on p. 299 read 'Humāyūn' for 'Bābur'.

In a work that is as condensed and highly informative as this such minor errors are hardly unexpected and doubtless they will be eradicated in any future edition.

B. W. SKELTON

DAVID STRONACH: *Pasargadae: a report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*. xiv, 326 pp., 192 pl. and 8 foldout diagrams. Oxford: Clarendon Press, [1975]. £25.

Capital of the first universal monarchy, that of the 'Medes and Persians' under Cyrus the Great, and set on its austere and elevated plain, Pasargadae is arguably the most moving of Middle East archaeological sites. So it seemed already to Claudius Rich by moonlight in 1821. In former times often inaccessible and mysterious, and therefore sketchily studied, with the appearance of the present work the site receives its first top-rate scientific description. Thanks to the support of the Hagop Kevorkian Foundation, the volume is produced with all the splendour of traditional pre-war archaeological reports from the Oxford Press. A tantalizing feature of the monuments is that they stood unfinished, interrupted by the founder's death in battle or a far-off north-east frontier. Teasing also is the fact that the greater part of the complex was mud-brick, once resplendent in white-wash, gilding or colours, but melted in the rainfall of 2,500 winters, to leave only the 'torso' of precious stonework seen in recent times. Whilst occupation deposit lay shallow on the floors of the palaces, several of which had been 'test-trenched' or partly excavated by earlier hands, the architectural results from this area were highly rewarding. Here the excavation was admirably served by its architects, who, when the floor levels had been cleared, prepared the definitive drawings of each structure, recording every block of stone and indication of the former presence of mud-brick and timber. Pride of place, however, goes to the monuments wholly of stone: the tomb of Cyrus, striking in its simplicity and grandeur; and the enigmatic tower known as the Zendan, of which the function—repository, fire temple or tomb—is the subject of a perennial discussion, here excellently surveyed. The investigations of C. Nylander (*Iranians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian architecture*, Uppsala, 1970) came opportunely for the author, calling attention to the chronological importance of technical details at Pasargadae: the use of 'swallow-tail' (as against later 'hook') clamps to secure the masonry; the dressing of stone with the punch, rather than the toothed chisel; the jointing of stonework by *anathyrosis*; and the employment of *cyma reversa* moulding at the tomb of Cyrus, of horizontally fluted tori at 'Palace P', and of rosettes with sepals on a presumed door fragment of the Zendan, all details with Ionian associations. By applying these tests to areas newly uncovered, Stronach (p. 22) could decisively reject older theories that works on the cōadel hill (Tall-i Takht) might be due to the father of Cyrus the Great, or be late Achaemenid construction. He could firmly place the major works in the years 546-530 B.C., i.e. the later lifetime of Cyrus after the capture of the Lydian capital at Sardis.

While major monuments naturally hold the

chief attention, and the author breaks new ground in reporting the rosette decoration on the gable of the tomb of Cyrus, and the true number of columns in the porticoes of Palace S, note must be taken of two briefer chapters of the report which are especially pleasing and instructive. The first is the plan of the Royal Garden which adjoins 'Palace P' (p. 108), a reconstruction based on the location of the two small pavilions, and the stone channels and basins that once conveyed irrigation water. Dare one hope that pollen analysis, fashionable on prehistoric sites, could enable restorers to replace the very trees and flowers that Cyrus knew? Close to one of these pavilions was found the jar containing the 'Pasargadae Treasure', of fourth century B.C. Achaemenid jewellery, with circular gold filigree earrings, and elegant silver spoons, besides numerous beads and pendants. Interesting too, for all its brevity, is the chapter which describes the ancient bridge uncovered between the gatehouse and the palaces. It consists of three rows, each of five columns, which once supported a superstructure of wooden beams and roadway. In a period before the advent of stone arches, a trabecate construction of bridges, strange to modern observers, is naturally to be expected.

Most satisfactory, in broad archaeological terms, were the excavations of the citadel hill (Tall-i Takht), already noted. Here, exceptionally, some depth of deposit was encountered, and four separate periods of building and occupation were distinguishable. That the monumental ashlar platform of Cyrus the Great was indeed unfinished is proved by the incomplete 'B' staircase, and, at the south side of the platform, the iron shoe of a lifting rig abandoned beneath courses of later mud-brick walling. Such utilitarian construction was the work of Darius and later rulers. Yet a notable destruction level rich in artefacts represented the 'post-Achaemenid' (i.e. Hellenistic-Seleucid) occupation, which terminated abruptly c. 280 B.C. That date is fixed by three hoards of silver coinage, of lifetime and posthumous issues of Alexander, and of Seleucus I bearing the types 'Bust with helmet covered with leopard-skin' and 'Victory crowning trophy'—all meticulously catalogued by G. K. Jenkins. (On p. 178 we should read for the author's 'Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian coins' rather 'Alexander-' or 'Alexandrian coins', since no specimen was actually minted at Alexandria). The informative repertoire of pottery types belonging to this Period II is thereby exactly dated. It contains Achaemenid Deep Bowls ('goblets'), the usual Carinated Bowls (even one lobed or 'gadronned' specimen, p. 242, no. 11). To the succeeding period belong hemispherical (quasi-Megarian) bowls, inturned-rim footring bowls, and everted-rim 'fish plates'. Outstanding among the pottery forms is the handsome amphora-rhyton, well placed, with its parallels in metal at Plovdiv (from Panagurište) from east Anatolia (E. Porada, *Ancient Iran*, Pl. 49), and in Tehran (Müze İran Bâstân), in the early third century. Close too, as the author notes, is the pottery specimen from his own excavation at Qumis. Yet to stretch the duration of so specialised a form to the terminal

horizon of that site, c. 78 B.C., is surely to strain the evidence. Amongst the finds of the Tall-i Takht, another important item was an identical copy of Xerxes' famous Daiva Inscription, re-used to provide the cover of a drain. Regrettably the find is rather briefly dismissed, in view of the famous controversy surrounding this text, and the fact that scholars have connected it with the suppression of a revolt, either in Media (E. Herzfeld, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* I, 1936, 34-37), at Babylon (Hans Hartmann, 'Zur neuen Inschrift des Xerxes von Persepolis', *OLZ*, XL, 1937, 145-160); or even with the occupation of Athens, as in the fascinating article of Isidore Lévi, 'L'inscription triomphale de Xerxès', *Revue Historique*, CLXXXV, 1939, 105-122 (when the subsequent defeat at Salamis could have been the occasion for the withdrawal of such a proclamation). The application of the author's balanced judgement to these questions, in the light of the new find, would surely have been illuminating. One further point of detail may be noticed here. On p. 153, describing the corridors of the Tall-i Takht, the author suggests that arches perhaps constituted one of the features. Again there is reference to arches in early Iranian architecture on p. 11. Since it is often assumed by historians of architecture that there was no general use of the architectural arch above ground in Iran before c. 331 B.C., the evidence for such inferences needs to be closely examined, and fuller discussion here would have been helpful. If substantiated, the claim is one of significance.

In a book of this scale and complexity, occasional discrepancies cannot be wholly avoided. Here they are mostly connected with the pull-out plans, of which there is no list. That facing p. 4 is numbered '3' and captioned 'Palace S. Plan'. The designation has strayed, however, from 'Fold-out 3', which faces p. 58. The earlier fold-out actually carries the site plan, but unfortunately the numbering of structures on the Key is out of step with the drawing from 5 onwards, each numeral in the Key apparently referring to the following item. There is no number 16 on the plan, and the outlying prehistoric mounds are not readily located. The numbers tally, however, with those of Fig. 4. On p. 17, l. 37 the reference to 'Area 2' should no doubt refer to 'Area Z', as in l. 44 below. On the pull-out '6' there is no indication of 'Court 16', discussed on p. 149 l. 28 (evidently it should be sought above 'Area 15'), nor incidentally does the enumeration of the various towers figure on that plan, although it is not hard to deduce that the numbering should commence immediately east of staircase 'B' and proceed clockwise, a supposition confirmed in respect of towers 2 and 3 in Fig. 78. On p. 1, it is stated that Pl. 19a is taken from Mandelstam, *Morgenländische Reize-Beschreibung*, but the caption ascribes it to Flandin and Coste. On p. 302, penultimate line, the reference to Pl. 182c should evidently read Pl. 186c. Though only the error of the site plan is of any consequence, that could be sufficiently perplexing to justify the issue of an erratum slip.

In summary, the work under review is probably the most substantial contribution to Achaemenian archaeology which has appeared during the present decade. While its impact on the subject may not be so dramatic as that of the author's subsequent work at Nūsh-i Jān in Media (which documents an epoch previously quite unknown), it has added vastly to the detail and precision of our knowledge, and will thus take its place as a fundamental reference for future scholarship.

A. D. H. BIVAR

RUDIGER SCHMITT: *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos. Iranica Graeca Vetusiora, I.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 337. Band. Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission, Bd. 6.) 87 pp. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978. DM 30.

MANFRED MAYRHOFFER: *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 338. Band. Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission, Bd. 7.) 51 pp. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978. DM 25.

In the first of these two short works Professor Schmitt examines the names of the commanders of the Persian army in Aeschylus's *Persae*. His detailed assessment of the textual and etymological evidence leads to the conclusion that rather more than half the names are certainly or probably of Iranian origin, but that the occurrence beside them of a minority of non-Iranian forms (Egyptian, Greek, etc.) should discourage rash attempts to provide hypothetical Iranian etymologies for the residue of unexplained or uncertain names.

This is an extremely thorough and careful study. I have noticed only one small oversight: Schmitt's doubt concerning the existence of an OIr. **arga-* = Ved. *arghá-* 'worth' (p. 51 s.v. *Apyrforms*) may be set to rest by a reference to Sogd. *ry*, Oss. *ary*, etc. (cf. Henning *apud* Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian*, 182b s.v. **argyfi*).

Professor Mayrhofer's book is intended as a supplement to the second edition of Kent's *Old Persian* (1953) and covers the OPers. inscriptions discovered since that date together with a few minor texts overlooked by Kent. Mayrhofer has cast his net widely and come up with a surprisingly large number of additional inscriptions. Most of them, it must be admitted, are extremely fragmentary and add little to our knowledge of the language. Nevertheless, it is convenient to have them all gathered together in a single volume and accompanied by a concise and pertinent com-

mentary, full bibliographical details, concordance, and indexes.

Amongst the more important texts included in this volume are the additional fragments of A¹Ša (first published by M.-J. Steve in *Studia Iranica*, iv, 1, 1973, 7 ff.), which contribute several new words to the OPers. lexicon. One of these is *a-θ-v-a*, convincingly explained by Steve as 3 sg. impf. of **θav-* 'to burn'. Mayrhofer's reservations (p. 30 with n. 1) seem to arise from the theory that this root (previously found only in Middle and New Iranian) has developed secondarily from *tap-*; but *θav-* is by now too widely attested for that theory to remain tenable.

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

ROBERT W. THOMSON (tr. and comm.): *Moses Khorenats'i: History of the Armenians.* (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 4. x, 411 pp., map. Cambridge, Mass and London: Harvard University Press, 1978. £15.75.

Moses Khorenats'i occupies a special place in Armenian national tradition, as the first author to attempt a connected account of the country's history from Urartian times up to his own purported life-time—namely the fifth century A.D. Since Moses was in fact a writer of the eighth century or thereabouts, he could easily have continued his narrative for another three hundred years, but this would have exposed his own literary deception, making nonsense of his claim to be a disciple of St Mesrop Mashtots, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet.

In spite of certain spurious elements, Moses Khorenats'i's work is a text of the first importance. Several translations have already appeared, into Latin (as early as 1736), Italian, French, Russian and German. Professor Thomson's is the first English version, and it has the added merit of being made from the critical edition published at Tbilisi in 1913.

The reassignment of Moses Khorenats'i from the fifth to the eighth century was mooted as early as the 1890's by A. Carrière; Professor C. Toumanoff summarizes the evidence in the journal *Handes Amsorya*, Vol. 75, 1961, cols. 467–76. Few if any scholars outside Soviet Armenia continue to defend the old fifth century dating, though in Erevan the venerable chronicler's discredited account of himself is still upheld with patriotic zeal.

Eighty years after Carrière, we ought to be able to sift the wheat from the chaff. While rejecting spurious elements, we can make proper use of the authentic facts and traditions embodied in Moses Khorenats'i's work. For the pre-Christian period, oral materials collected by Moses are of exceptional value. It is also worth noting that his account of the ancient city of Van with its cuneiform inscriptions (bk. 1, chap. 16) freed the Société Asiatique of Paris with the enthusiasm to finance the expedition of F. E. Schultz of Giessen University, who made excellent copies

of the Urartian inscriptions before his tragic murder in 1829.

Unlike the general run of Armenian historians, Moses Khorenats'i is also a myth-maker, a story teller of great talent. This is partly why he makes such an appeal to Armenian national pride. Obviously some of his tall stories have to be taken with the proverbial 'grain of salt'.

Thomson finds little to admire in the work of Moses Khorenats'i, whom he censures for his lapses in chronology, his attempts at mystification, and general failure to live up to the standards of a Harvard Ph.D. candidate. References by Moses to Josephus are 'distorted' and 'attended by suspicious circumstances' (p. 26). Moses' account of fourth century Armenia is 'tendentious' (p. 46); still worse—'Moses is an audacious and mendacious faker' (p. 58). Thomson could obviously have written a better history of Armenia himself.

At one point, Thomson formally accuses Moses of plagiarism (p. 33). Such a charge is rather anachronistic, since the practice of acknowledging one's sources and avoiding unauthorized borrowing from previous writers hardly existed before the era of Gibbon, in the eighteenth century. The most that Thomson will concede is that Moses Khorenats'i's history is 'an attempt to sum up the Armenian tradition, to present it in a coherent—albeit tendentious—fashion, and to provide the Armenians with a history as respectable as that of other nations' (p. 60).

Thomson's repeated denigration of Moses as 'tendentious' arises in part from the latter's attempts to glorify the powerful Bagratuni princely family, at the expense of other leading aristocratic houses, in particular the Mamikonians. But the historian's standpoint is made abundantly clear from the very outset. On the first page of his book, Moses apostrophizes Prince Sahak Bagratuni, clearly stating that Sahak himself had commissioned the work and given him, the author, every possible encouragement. There is no mystery about this. Even today, historical works commissioned by royal personages or government agencies normally have a readily detectable trend or bias, as do most biographies commissioned by the subject's widow or family circle.

Thomson's detailed commentary enhances the value of the translation. However, this commentary has certain weaknesses and omissions. Thomson says nothing about the importance for Urartian studies of Moses Khorenats'i's account of the building of Van (pp. 100-1), although there is an extensive literature about Van and its antiquities in English, French and German, including works by Sayce, Lehmann-Haupt, Piotrovsky, Barnett, Burney and others. It would have been helpful to mention the possible identification of the legendary Armenian hero kings Aram and Ara the Fair with the historical Urartian ruler, Aramé or Aramu (about 880-844 B.C.).

The bibliography has rather a large number of mistakes and misprints. The sole item given under 'Georgian Texts' is quite incorrect,

since Thomson has confused the seventeenth century Georgian History translated by M.-F. Brisset (Paris, 1830) with a quite different work, namely the Georgian national chronicle last edited by S. G. Qaukhchishvili in Tbilisi. This national chronicle was earlier edited by Brosset himself (St Petersburg, 1849-54) and also translated into French by him (St Petersburg, 1849-58). Under the entry 'Eusebius', 'Historian' should read 'Historia'. Elsewhere we find 'Glaubwürdigkeit' for 'Glaubwürdigkeit', and 'Hildersheim' for 'Hildesheim'.

In the introduction, 'absure' is printed for 'obscure', 'withness' for 'witness', and there are several other obvious slips.

DAVID M. LANG

KARL H. POTTER (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Indian philosophies. Indian metaphysics and epistemology: the tradition of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika up to Gaṅgeśa*. xv, 744 pp. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, [1977]. £22.40.

This compendious work is part of a boldly conceived plan to give a definitive account of current knowledge about Indian post-Upaniṣadic philosophical literature. It presupposes the editor's *Bibliography of Indian philosophies* (New Delhi, 1970) and offers systematic summaries of 51 texts, only some of which have hitherto been translated, belonging to the early literature of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika.

Two previous attempts at an exposition of early Nyāya by summarizing relevant texts were made by Vidyabhusana (1920) and Umesha Mishra (1966). Both, however, read rather like a catalogue of topics and tenets, while the work under review seems more largely to recognize that much of the value of an original text lies not in the conclusions but in the minute ramification of its arguments. The eleven contributors include experts of international repute. They are Usharbudh Arya (Minnesota), Gopikamohan Bhattacharya (Kuruksheṭra), Janakivallabha Bhattacharya (Jadavpur), Sibajiban Bhattacharya (Burdwan), Masaaki Hattori (Kyoto), B. K. Matilal (Oxford), Jitendranath Mohanty (Calcutta, Oklahoma), R. R. Sreekrishna Sarma (Sri Venkatesvara), S. Subrahmanya Sastri (Madras), and V. Varadachari (Sri Venkatesvara).

Potter's extended introduction (208 pages) is a meritorious composition. It contains an analytical exposition of themes, problems, and theories of the old syncretic school of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika under the headings 'logical theory', 'meaning and truth', 'relations', 'universals', etc. This, together with ample background information, certainly helps the uninitiated reader to understand the subsequent summaries: but it is going too far to suggest (xii) that the book is 'addressed to philosophers primarily, and Indologists secondarily'. The inescapable fact remains that Indian philosophy was thought out and expressed in Sanskrit and in the last analysis is embodied,

may trapped, in that language. Therefore the summaries in English of the original Sanskrit texts are at best no more than—as the editor himself appositely characterizes them (in the same paragraph)—‘guides and markers for further study on the part of the trained scholars’.

A degree of arbitrariness is an unavoidable hazard in this kind of enterprise, but the recurrent inexactitude and lack of consistency in the rendering of technical terms must detract fatally from its usefulness. Where logical terminology is concerned, precision of rendering is obviously of crucial importance. Yet the same term ‘example’ (see index) is used by Potter to render both *dr̥ṣṭānta* ‘the corroborative instances’ and *udāharana* ‘the exemplification (of the principle, i.e. of the universal concomitance under consideration)’. Cf. *Bhāṣya* on NS 1.1.25 *dr̥ṣṭāntah . . . udāharanāya kalpate*. In the standard illustration, the *udāharana* ‘Wherever there is smoke there is fire, as in the kitchen’ includes a reference to the *dr̥ṣṭānta* ‘the kitchen’. It would be worth making the point that the Nyāya term *udāharana* corresponds perfectly to the Vaiśeṣika term *nidarśana* ‘illustration’, as used in Praśastapāda’s *Padārthadharmasamgraha*. The difficulty that alone NS 1.1.36 seems misleadingly (*Nyāyavārttika*) or erroneously (Bhāṣarvajña, *Nyāyabhāṣana*, ed. Yogīdrānanda, Varanasi, 1968, 321: *śāstrāntareṇa dr̥ṣṭānta udāharanam ity abhedena vyavahārah prasiddhah*) to use the terms in question as synonyms disappears as soon as we accept an emendation of the text suggested by the *Vārttika*. Cf. footnote 82 in Ruben’s superb critical edition of the Nyāyasūtra, of which no use was made by the work under review.

The *dr̥ṣṭānta* is defined by NS 1.1.25 as a well established case admitted universally by common men and philosophers alike: hence the requirement that a universal proposition (*udāharana*) should include a reference to an instance (*dr̥ṣṭānta*) may be explained as a method for warranting that the reason (*hetu*, the middle term) and the inferable property (*sādhya*, the major term) involved in an inference are real entities. The term used to denote an unreal property is *asiddha*. Potter renders it not quite adequately as ‘unproven term’ (p. 183). Significantly, the term conveys the stronger sense ‘cannot be established, unexampled, unreal, fictitious’ and corresponds to the Vaiśeṣika term *asat* ‘unreal’ (VS 3.1.14).

As a ‘means of knowledge’, *upamāna* is illustrated by the procedure whereby one attains the knowledge ‘this is a rhinoceros’ when first seeing the animal, aided by a recollection of its description. To render it etymologically as ‘comparison’, as Potter and others do, may be likely to mislead by suggesting that reasoning by analogy is involved. The apposite rendering ‘identification’ was first introduced by A. Foucher in 1949.

Unsatisfied with the common rendering ‘pain, suffering’ for *duḥkha*, Potter unfortunately decided on ‘frustration’. Hence he considers it ‘accurate and more logical’ (p. 127) to translate *sukha* as ‘satisfaction’. This,

however, would make nonsense of e.g. *Buddhacarita* 7.18 *duḥkheṇa mārgena sukham hy upaśi* which would then be rendered ‘for satisfaction is obtained by the practice of frustration’ instead of ‘for bliss is obtained by the path of suffering’ (Johnston). If *duḥkha* had indeed basically denoted a psychic quality as distinct from a bodily one, *Praśastapāda* would not have had to go to such lengths to attempt to prove that *duḥkha* and *sukha* reside in the soul (see Faddegon, *The Vaiśeṣika system*, Amsterdam, 1918, 268 for a translation of the arguments). In the Pali canon, frustration is only one specific constituent of *duḥkha* (e.g. DN. XXII *yam pi iccham na labhati tam pi duḥkham* ‘to desire something yet not attain it is also painful’). The unsuccessful desire to avoid any given constituent of *duḥkha* constitutes frustration and involves further inimitable *duḥkha*. The finality of the English word ‘satisfaction’ would conflict with the widely held view that *sukha* is a cause of newly regenerated *duḥkha* (e.g. *Gītā* 5.22). The real problem with the common renderings ‘pain, sorrow’ and ‘pleasure, happiness’ lies not in their being too wide, but in their being too narrow. Words that refer equally to mental and physical states, ‘ease’, ‘discomfort’, ‘harmony’, ‘disharmony’ can be nearer the mark.

Another fundamental concept is *kleśa* ‘(psycho) affliction’ (cf. al-Bīrūnī’s Arabic rendering *athqāl* ‘weights, burdens’). The *kleśas* are ‘torments, defilements of the mind, by virtue of which actions (*karman*) accumulate (*upacayam gacchanīti*), that is, they gather force and fruitfulness and necessarily produce a retribution, notably a new existence in the world of painful rebirth’ (Lamotte, in *Buddhist studies in honour of I. B. Horner*, ed. Cousins, etc., Dordrecht, 1974, 91). Potter paraphrases with ‘wrong attitude’ (p. 33) and ‘passion, hate and delusion’ (p. 409, concerning *Nyāyasāra*); but Hestor trivializes Vaiśeṣikasūtra by rendering the term as ‘troubles’ (p. 235). Similarly, to render, as Potter does, the roughly synonymous term *dopa* by the literal translation ‘faults’ (e.g. p. 32) risks reducing a vitally significant idea to a trite string of words.

Over-literal translation characterizes some of the summaries and has a distorting effect, often yielding pedestrian propositions. An example is Potter’s translation (p. 645) of a sentence in Śivāditya’s *Saptavādārthī* as ‘a *śāstra* is that which teaches the means to a better (*bregas*)’. It is not the general reader who would glean from this the real force of the sense *bregasādhanābhīkāṣakam śāstram* *iti* ‘a doctrinal teaching is traditionally defined as that which conveys a method for attaining the bliss of final emancipation’ (cf. Śivāditya’s earlier statement *kathvajñānam + iśbregasaheturā*). Similarly, *sthūir vartamānatvam* is inadequately translated (p. 644) as ‘maintenance (*sthūir*) is the occurrence of a thing’. In fact, *vartamānatvam* refers to the duration of the existence of a thing between the moment of its origination and that of its destruction, a concept of which use is made notably by the Naiyāyikas in their analysis of the nature of cognitions.

A useful check-list of authors and works in chronological order is provided by the editor (pp. 9-12). Some of the information should be treated with caution, however. Thus the inclusion of Bhāvivikta is questionable: he is identified by Cakradhara in his *Nyāyamāñ-jarigranhibhāṅga* as a Lokāyata philosopher who wrote a commentary of the Lokāyata-sūtra (cf. Matilal in *A history of Indian literature*, ed. J. Gonda, Wiesbaden, 1977, vi, 2, 84 f.). Prāśastamati is described as author of a 'Tīkā on Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, Vākya', but Matilal has argued (op. cit., 61) that the work was a Tīkā on a *Bhāṣya* which in turn written on a commentary called *Vākya*.

A correction may be suggested with reference to the helpful information furnished at the end of the book in footnotes to the summaries. With reference to an idea occurring in *Vyomavati*, V. Varadachari writes (701, n. 31) 'It is easy to trace it to the influence of the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Yogasūtras* which preach the act of surrendering everything to God'. In fact, the *Yogasūtra* does not suggest anything of the sort, though Vyāsa on 2.1. indeed betrays a bias in favour of the Bhāgavata Bhakti and the influence of the *Bhagavadgītā* (cf. Vyāsa on 3.30, 5.10, 9.27, 12.6, 18.56-8).

There are a number of errors and omissions. For instance, *abhyudaya*, the goal of life of the non-mystic Hindu, is rendered by 'exaltation' (see index); 'exaltation' appears to have been intended, though the common rendering 'prosperity' (worldly as well as heavenly) would have sufficed. On p. 744 (l. 16) read 409 for 407; on p. 409 (l. 2) read *irṇā*. The criticisms offered here must be viewed in the right perspective. This is by and large a very useful undertaking whose success may be measured by the timely and profitable discussion to which it gives rise and which it will greatly facilitate.

TUVIA GELBLUM

WENDY DONIGER O'FLAHERTY and J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT (ed.). *The concept of duty in South Asia*. xxii, 240 pp. London: Vikas Publishing House Pvt [and] School of Oriental and African Studies, [1978]. £3.50.

In her introduction to this collection, Dr O'Flaherty says 'there are few academic pursuits more frivolous than the academic conference' but she records her surprise and pleasure as 'chairperson' that everyone attending the conference on which this book is based had 'something to say which was both relevant and original' and, still more, had even read each others' papers. The ebullience of her chosen style in this Introduction leads her on to the rather incautious further statement that 'most of the papers were radically modified on the basis of comments arising at their original presentation': this I find rather hard to square with the evidence of the cyclostyles that I received before the conference. However, the fact that everyone had something to say does not sur-

prise me for the same reason that I find the book difficult to review, and that is the very generality of its theme.

Part I, 'The ancient period: duty and *dharma*', is relatively cohesive. Here we have a stringent and cautionary piece by Arnold Kunst on the use and misuse of the concept *dharma*; this is followed by J. Duncan M. Derrett's account of the concept of duty in ancient Indian jurisprudence, Friedrich Wilhelm on *dharma* in *artha* and *kāma* literature, J. C. Heesterman writing under the title 'Veda and *dharma*' on the apparent paradox that the Vedas are both the source *dharma* and at the same time separate from its definition. Next Wendy O'Flaherty looks at the relation between relative and absolute duty by examining the *dharma* of demons and their priests. Richard Gombrich's contribution turns away from the word *dharma* to the notion of what is behovevly in Buddhism and Alex Gunasekara concludes Part I with a paper on the duty of the subject to the king in the Kandyan kingdom.

The contributions to Part II, 'The medieval and modern period: Muslim, British and nationalist concepts of duty', have almost inevitably less in common. Peter Hardy writes on the duty of the Sultan in the Sultanate period in regard to the material welfare of his subjects, and usefully sets the notion of duty in the context of western understanding, although I do think that Humpty Dumpty's magisterial pronouncement on the use of words should be banned from all scholarly works until the end of the century; Percival Spear has a very interesting piece on British concepts of duty at home and abroad, essentially in the nineteenth century but with a tail-piece leading up to 1947; Kenneth Ballhatchet contributes a very funny, and no less scholarly for that, account of Imperial perplexities in producing suitable educational material for Indian students; David Taylor writes on concepts of duty held by Indian nationalist thinkers, particularly Gandhi and Tilak, a theme which can be only scratched in a paper of this length; S. C. Dube concludes the book with a paper on changing norms in the Hindu joint family which also suffers by its extreme generality. I have not mentioned in order Simon Weightman and S. M. Pandey's 'The semantic fields of *dharma* and *kartavya* in Modern Hindi', which is analytically possibly the most stimulating contribution in the book and the one which I think should be read first to serve as a kind of critical guide.

The collection inevitably does not add up to a book: the student of ethics is a rare creature and the student of comparative ethics even more so, but there are things here for a wide range of interests which is not confined to South Asia.

DAVID F. POOCOKE

A. R. DISNEY: *Twilight of the pepper empire. Portuguese trade in southwest India in the early seventeenth century*. (Harvard Historical Studies, xciv.) ix, 220 pp., map. Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1978.
£12.95, \$18.50.

Two preliminary chapters, 'The Portuguese in Kanara and Malabar', and 'Goa and Portuguese trade', while perfectly sound and acceptable as a curtain-raiser, do not have anything new for those who are pretty well read in the history of the Portuguese in India. Chapter 3, 'The structure of the pepper trade', is a very valuable contribution to this topic, even for those who are familiar with the works of V. Magalhães Godinho and with Jan Kieniewicz's excellent article, 'The Portuguese Factory and Trade in Pepper in Malabar during the Sixteenth century' (*Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vi, 1969, 61-84).

Apparently, the cultivators of the pepper orchards in the Portuguese period were principally small tenant farmers similar to the *kanamkarans* and *pattamakarans* of the nineteenth century. Their economic subordination is also suggested by the fact that they were frequently forced to pledge their pepper in advance to middlemen. These traders who served as middlemen were evidently a heterogeneous group of Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. The Portuguese preferred, whenever possible, to deal with Christian middlemen. This they were able to do in Malabar through the local St Thomas Christians, who brought most of the pepper to the Portuguese Factory at Cochin. In Kanara, where there was no significant indigenous Christian community, the Portuguese originally contracted with individual merchants or syndicates, whether Portuguese, Eurasian, Indian, Christian, or Hindu. With the rise of the Nayaks of Ikkeri (1602-29), the Portuguese bought most of their Kanara pepper on contract from those rulers, though by force of circumstances rather than by preference. These various contractors acquired their stocks either through sending their own agents to buy in the producing areas, or indirectly from the lesser middlemen. The weighing, assessing, and handing-over of the pepper took place at regional weighing-houses with the participation of Portuguese trade officials, Hindu officials representing the local ruler, and the traders selling the pepper. The cooperation of the local Indian rulers and authorities was secured through pensions, presents, and customs duties or sums surrendered in place of these last. The friable quality of pepper made some wastage inevitable during the successive processes of sacking, loading, and transporting by sea, to say nothing of the sharp practices of dishonest middlemen and officials. All these and many other aspects are interestingly analysed and described by the author. He reminds us that only about 10 per cent of the pepper produced in southwest India was bought by the Portuguese, the remaining 90 per cent being consumed locally or exported elsewhere.

With the arrival of the Dutch and the English in Asian Seas, the viceregal government at Goa was faced with rapidly decreasing revenues and rising costs, which formed the two principal components of the prolonged economic crisis which afflicted the 'State of India' (*Estado da Índia*). The viceregal

treasury was usually empty, and viceroys increasingly resorted to forced loans from the Goa municipal council and from the charitable institution of the *Misericórdia*, and these loans were never repaid. Annual cash subsidies were sent from Lisbon to cover the purchase of pepper (*cabedal da pimenta*). The difficulty was that while the pepper had to be bought if possible between late February and early May, the Indiamen from Lisbon, which depended on the monsoon winds, did not normally reach Goa until September/October.

In the years 1619-1625, many suggestions were made for the establishment of a Portuguese East-India Company on the Dutch or English model; but when a Portuguese India Company was finally organized in 1628, it turned out to be something quite different. Whereas the Dutch (V.O.C.) and English (E.I.C.) companies were directly involved in the interport trade of Asia, the Portuguese Company, which was directed by a Board at Lisbon and a subordinate Board at Goa, was merely concerned with the trade between Lisbon and Goa organized in the annual round voyages of the *carreira da Índia*. Private investors were conspicuous by their absence, being limited to two individuals in Europe, there being no subscribers in 'Asia Portuguesa'. The Lisbon municipality furnished a considerable sum under government pressure, and several other Portuguese municipalities reluctantly produced more modest sums; but Chaul was the sole contributor in the State of India. The Crown had to furnish the bulk of the capital, and two-thirds of its actual contribution was in the form of material. The enterprise was hopelessly under-capitalized from the start. It was virtually foredoomed to failure, quite apart from the losses by shipwreck and other misfortunes which dogged its brief existence. Disney shows how the Company's structural weakness was compounded by its simultaneous failure to achieve a satisfactory working relationship with the bureaucracies and the merchant communities both at Lisbon and Goa. It was virtually bankrupt when it was liquidated by order of the Crown in April 1633, control of the Lisbon-Goa trade reverting to the Treasury Council (*Conselho da Fazenda*). The author's well-documented analysis of the Company's teething troubles and malfunctioning career could not be bettered. It is supported by much new statistical material from a wide range of archival sources at Lisbon, Goa, and London.

Twilight of the pepper empire is well printed and produced (save for the notes being clustered at the end). Factual errors seem to be virtually non-existent, the only one spotted by this reviewer being on p. 173, where the carrack *Conceição* (III) is listed as having been abandoned at Terceira, instead of at St Helena. The book forms a most satisfactory complement to Niels Steensgaard, *Carracks, caravans and companies. The structural crisis in the European-Asian trade in the early seventeenth century* (1973) and to Holden Furber, *Rival empires of trade in the Orient, 1600-1800* (1976). It is essential reading for anyone seriously interested in the history of the Indian Ocean.

O. R. BOXER

LEELANANDA PREMATILLEKE, KARTHIGESU INDRAPALA and J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW (ed.): *Senarat Paranavitana commemoration volume*. (Studies in South Asian Culture, Vol. VII.) xi, 300 pp. frontispiece and 13 pl. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. Guilders 180.

This substantial volume honours the memory and achievements of the outstanding Sri Lanka epigraphist, archaeologist and historian, editor of *Epigraphia Zeylanica* for many years from 1928, who died on 4th October 1972 at the age of 76. It contains the bibliography (compiled by H. A. I. Goonetilleke) of his 317 widely-ranging contributions to archaeological scholarship, together with the 35 papers contributed by leading scholars active in his numerous fields of interest. These cover topics in the history and archaeology not only of Sri Lanka and South India, but even extend to the northern parts of the sub-continent. Since the field is one of specialized interest and dispersed publication, the collection is particularly valuable as providing the scholarly inquirer with a range of entries into the literature of many branches of expertise. The contents extend from the Kharoṣṭhī epigraphy of the second century A.D. Kuṣāṇas (and even earlier topics) to the development of the Sinhalese printing press in the eighteenth century, so that any short selection must reflect the reviewer's predilections. My eye is caught in particular by Heinz Bechert's survey (pp. 45-7) of astrological Sanskrit literature preserved in Sri Lanka; and A. H. Dani's publication (pp. 48-50) of a short Kharoṣṭhī inscription from the Shertala plain in North Waziristan, dated year 39 (presumably of the Kanishka Era) and mentioning a Kuṣāṇa general named Bahasaṭi (Brhaspati) and a satrap Pahaka. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana provides a substantial treatment (pp. 61-74) of the remarkable eastern sluices associated with ancient irrigation systems in Sri Lanka, and the hydraulic principles which they exemplify—a key contribution to the history of irrigation-technology as a whole. K. Indrapala discusses with a wealth of historical detail (pp. 81-97) a Tamil inscription from Kantalai near Trincomalee, which mentions a ruler designated Sri Cōla Ilankeśvara, identified as the viceroy of Sri Lanka appointed by the Cōla emperor Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-54). Ahmad Nabi Khan provides an extremely helpful summary of the literature regarding attempted decipherments of the Indus Valley script. Merlin Peris discusses, with a wealth of detail, analogies between the Greek legends of Daedalus, and those of the sage Mahosada in the Ummagga Jātaka. The former, constructor of the Cretan labyrinth, after his escape was detected by Minos through his ingenuity in threading a shell with the assistance of an ant. The latter, also designer of a wondrous tunnel-system, was able to re-thread an 'eight-angled' gem with help from the same insects. A. Velupillai surveys the scripts and associated languages of South Indian epigraphy, account-

ing for their development and transmission in terms of cultural history, and citing extensive literature and epigraphic instances. The above then forms but a limited selection from a volume catering for a vast range of interests, which provides an invaluable means of reference, and attests the breadth of scholarship of its contributors no less than of the prodigy they have joined to commemorate.

A. D. H. B.

WALTHER HEISSIG (ed.): *Mongolische Ortsnamen. Teil II. Mongolische Manuskriptkarten in Faksimilia*. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 5, 2) xv, 132 pp. plates, 2 folding plates. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978. DM 68.

The oldest surviving maps of Mongolian provenance known to us at present seem to be the two Kalmuck maps brought back by the Swedish officer J. G. Ranat on his return from Russian captivity in 1734. The legends on both maps are in Kalmuck, though Nicholas Poppe, in *Imago Mundi*, xii, suggested that they go back to Chinese originals. From a slightly later date we know of a map of Ordos, datable to between 1740 and 1744, which was published, with a description, by A. Mostaert in his edition of *Erdem-yin tobi*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958. However, the bulk of maps of Mongolian territory known to us today, though similar in their representational technique to these early maps, are of very much later origin. The maps of which facsimiles are published in the present work date from between 1890 and 1920, the majority of them having been drawn in 1907. The maps in the considerably larger collection in the State Library of Mongolia also date, according to the 1937 catalogue of that Library, for the most part from the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the present century. That is to say, most of them were drawn during and after the Hsien Fang period, though some go back to Tao Kuang, and a very few to Chia Ch'ing and Ch'ien Lung. Another 44 maps, similar to the corresponding items in the collection described by Heissig, and hence also quite modern, belong to the library of Tenri University in Japan.

The German-owned maps were first described by Klaus Sagaster in Heissig's 1982 catalogue, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten* (reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxv, 2, 1982, 387-90), at which time they were kept in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Marburg. In 1966 the late Magadburin Halted published an index of the place names entered on these maps as a supplementary volume in the catalogue series (reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxx, 2, 1967, 432-5). This volume also contained facsimiles of 26 maps, two of them being reproduced in colour. The introduction to the present volume informs us that the maps are at present housed in the Staatsbibliothek ehem. preuss. Kulturbesitz in Berlin. All 182 maps of the

collection are represented, in black and white facsimiles, duplicates being omitted. The maps have been provided with a lettered and numbered grid, and it is planned to publish a final volume giving grid references to all place names. Ultimately, then, we shall have a full reference system to the only published collection of Mongol maps, a collection which comprises maps of very many, but not all, the banners and other districts of Inner and Outer Mongolia, and some outlying areas such as Tannu Tuva, as these were at the beginning of the present century. To Walther Heissig's scholarship and energy we owe yet one more pioneering step in the provision of essential source and reference material for the study of the Mongols, comparable in significance to his catalogues, his studies in Mongolian historiography, and his history of Mongolian literature.

These maps, with their indexes, have several uses. They contribute to our scanty knowledge of Mongol cartography, a subject which our Mongolian colleagues are beginning to investigate, and for which they have access to important unpublished documents. They serve as an essential first reference for the many place names mentioned, for example, in the administrative documents from the Ch'ing dynasty which are published from time to time in Mongolia. Finally, they illustrate developments in administration in Mongolia under the Manchus, being first hand evidence of the effects of the Manchu policy of dividing up the homelands of the traditionally nomadic Mongols into ever more and hence smaller, units, all of which, ideally at least, were intended to be isolated one from the other in terms of population movement and settlement.

At first sight a Mongol map pleases by its aesthetic impact. The little sketches of red-coloured temples, green hills all looking much alike, blue waters, and so on, look most decorative. One's next thought is that the maps appear to be schematic and formal. It would not be easy to find one's way using a Ch'ing dynasty Mongol map, and in this respect they contrast with the more or less contemporary Ordnance Survey maps of this country. However, when one reflects on the mere fact of the existence of so many maps and copies of maps in three libraries alone, all drawn to the same conventions, it is evident that they must have come into existence in response to the demands of a centralized administration, and that they must have been intended to perform a certain function. The main function seems to have been to provide a comprehensive official record, to be kept in copies at various offices, from the Li Fan Yuan in Peking downwards as far as the originating authority, of the contents, topographical and artificial (in the sense of temples and other structures) of each banner, and especially of its boundaries with their boundary cairns or obos, *obuya*, *obuya temdeg*. Practical evidence of this is provided, for example, in a recently published collection of Ch'ing dynasty documents concerning land use and disputes over rights to land, *Xue'egaiyn omnōn Mongol dax' gazryn zarillaag*, Ulaanbaatar, 1975. Thus, in document no. 41, a letter from the League

Head of Sečen Qan amag and others to the Office of the Ambans, or Residents, at Urga, we read: 'We submit herewith as an appendix to this letter the names of places which have been designated as the boundary and where obos have been erected; and, further, a map has been drawn at the Office of us, the League Heads, of the division and allotment of lands, and moreover the Office of the *zasag* Damirantseren has drawn a map with the obos which have been erected to act as a boundary to the divided lands and has sent it in confirmation, and these have been compared and examined and are kept at our Office for reference in future days'.

Maps may appear schematic to our modern eye, but in fact the terrain was competently surveyed, with the use at least of the compass. The compass-card was divided into 24 named points, with a further 24 intermediate points, *jabsar*. Some maps, for example no. 721 of the present volume, have the points of the compass entered on them, though the full effect of the use of the compass is only apparent when one considers the maps in conjunction with what one may term the survey, or explanatory survey, *čese*, *čaguld čese*, which accompanied it. To judge from a sample *čese* published by Ts. Čagdansurung in *Studia Mongolica* III (II) 1975, such a survey would list the mutual compass bearings of adjacent boundary posts all round the area concerned. A survey might also contain, or fail to contain although expected to, other information. Thus document no. 30 of the collection mentioned above displays a complicated case concerning the rights to pasture in certain places enjoyed by one unit (*otog*) of *shabi*, or retainers of the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu or Living Buddha of Urga. *Šabi* were usually ordinary banner subjects who had been presented to a high-ranking cleric as a pious donation by a banner prince. Ordinarily no specific pastures were allotted to them, but by agreement they were allowed to pasture commingled with the banner people. Such a convention inevitably led to disputes, and in this document, which tries to trace the history of one such *otog*, which was having difficulty in asserting its traditional rights, we read: 'This *otog* has been pasturing from of old commingled on the pastures of six named banners, but when in the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing (1805), the boundaries of the several banners were determined and reported, the name of Jamyang, then headman of the *otog*, was entered on the survey of only one banner... No entry was made by the other five banners. In fact, when banner princes draw up and report surveys of their banners, they do no more than enter the names of the headmen of those who have become *shabi* from their own banners, and do not enter the names of headmen of other *otogs* who pasture commingled on their pastures. Moreover, there are many headmen whose names are not entered on the surveys of any banner prince at all'.

This is only one type of situation which could be productive of boundary disputes. Banners might fail to agree though it was their duty to do so, for years on end as to what

their mutual boundary was; direct compass bearings might fail to account for groups of people living in remote localities; and the increase in the number and complexity of non-banner entities, which however pastured on banner territories, such as the relay service workers, could lead to disagreements of real significance in an extensive economy where pasturing rights were of vital importance. The imposition by the Manchus of territorial boundaries on a nomadic, horse-riding society not only gave rise to such disputes, but made necessary the recruitment of police or boundary patrols. These in their turn, acting sometimes unwisely, or without sufficient agreed topographical information, could themselves be responsible for further trouble when they expelled from their banner pastures those whom they considered interlopers, and seized some of their animals as pledges for removal. The existence of banner maps was an attempt to preclude such troubles, but in itself the map and survey system would seem to have been insufficiently developed to cover all disputes which might arise, even supposing that all concerned were inspired by altruistic motives, which they were not. Surviving maps and surveys seem, then, to present the formal or ideal situation, while the documents concerning land use offer differing aspects of reality.

Readers of this book will need sharp eyes if they are to make full and comfortable use of it, in spite of the excellence of the photographic work and the printing, for many of the legends are of minute size, and magnification, which also magnifies the screen, is of limited advantage. But when the grid index is available, reference will be made much more convenient. One can only congratulate all concerned in this splendid production, from the printers to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which, for many years a generous patron of Central Asian studies in Germany, provided a subsidy towards the production costs.

C. R. BAWDEN

EDWARD L. FARMER: *Early Ming government: the evolution of dual capitals*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 66.) xi, 271 pp. Cambridge, Massachusetts: East Asia Research Center, Harvard University, 1976. (Distributed by Harvard University Press.) \$15, £11.25.

LAWRENCE D. KESSLER: *K'ang-hsi and the consolidation of Ch'ing rule, 1661-1684*. xi, 251 pp. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976. \$22, £16.50.

Although it may not be immediately apparent from their titles, these two works have a great deal in common. Both are essentially concerned with political and insti-

tutional history, both specifically deal with the question of imperial leadership, and both devote considerable space to the 'second founding' or 'consolidation phase' of their respective dynasties. In fact, Professor Farmer's ch. IV ('Consolidation of Ming Power: The Yung-lo Era, 1403-1425') could serve as an introduction to the central theme of Professor Kessler's study.

Nevertheless, the two authors approach their subjects rather differently, with Farmer's book being broader in scope and covering a longer period of time (c. 1355-1440s). Farmer is interested in 'the mobilization of resources by the rulers of the early Ming' (p. 6) and investigates this through a consideration of the geographical placement, construction, and maintenance of the dynasty's two capitals at Nanking and Peking. Following a brief introduction to some of the theoretical considerations of his topic, Farmer turns to a three-stage chronological account of the first seventy-five years or so of Ming history. In ch. II ('The Founding, 1355-1379'), he discusses Chu Yuan-chang's (Ming T'ai-tsu) rise to power and explains how 'inadequate resources during the early years [of his reign] dictated a number of conservative policies' (p. 63). Among these were the abandonment of plans to establish a capital in the north and T'ai-tsu's decision to maintain only a defensive posture along the northern frontier. As the author shows, the early Ming state simply did not have the money for expensive military operations or public works projects.

As China gradually recovered from the devastation which had accompanied the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, however, T'ai-tsu's options broadened somewhat, and he began to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy, at least in the north. Chapter III ('Instability, 1380-1402') discusses, among other things, the strengthening of the Ming military establishment during this period and T'ai-tsu's controversial decision to place some of his sons in fiefs, most of which were strategically located 'in a protective crescent around the North China plain' (p. 74). These fiefs may have made T'ai-tsu feel more secure from barbarian attack, but Farmer notes that many officials were worried that they might also affect the political stability of the empire by becoming alternative power centres to the capital. These fears were justified. Despite the first emperor's efforts to ensure a smooth transition of authority to his rightful heir, civil war broke out soon after his death in 1398 and the throne was seized in 1402 by the most powerful of the sons he had enfeoffed in the north: the Prince of Yen, Chu Ti (1380-1424).

Chu Ti (Ming Ch'eng-tsu) is best known in the West as the Yung-lo Emperor and, as Farmer demonstrates, his reign (1403-24) marked an important turning point in Ming history. Gone were the conservatism and hesitancy of early Ming foreign policy to be replaced by a vigorous expansionism not seen in the Chinese world since Mongol times. Massive campaigns were launched far beyond the Great Wall, Chinese forces were ordered into Annam and modern Burma, and the famous maritime expeditions led by the

eunuch Cheng Ho were dispatched to South East Asia, India, and beyond. Nor was Ch'eng-tsu restrained in his domestic policies. Despite the enormous costs involved and the complaints of certain bold officials, a new capital was built in Peking and vast canal improvement projects were carried out to facilitate the transport of grain necessary for the city's survival. As Farmer notes, these moves were to have a significant impact on the subsequent development of Ming history.

How they did so is the underlying theme of ch. V ('The Dual Capital System'), VI ('The Transition to Peking: Control of Resources'), and VII ('The Capital as a Power Center'). Here Farmer leaves his chronological account to discuss some of the implications of the Ming state's having two capitals (Nanking never lost its imperial status) and of having one of them (Peking) far from the economic centre of the empire. He concludes that by placing the actual seat of imperial power in Peking, Ch'eng-tsu 'eliminated the source of instability that existed . . . when the emperor was in the south and large military forces were . . . in the north under the control of generals and princes who could threaten the throne' (p. 191). At the same time, by holding on to Nanking as an imperial city, he ensured that whoever was on the throne would retain 'a dominant presence in the rich heartland' (p. 192). Thus Ch'eng-tsu did much to foster the political and economic unity of the Ming state, and perhaps deserves more credit than he is sometimes given for enabling that state to last another 220 years after his death.

On this score, but few others, the K'ang-hsi Emperor (r. 1661-1722) did not do quite as well; his dynasty survived him for only 189 years. Nevertheless, readers of Professor Kessler's informative study will discover why he is often compared to Ming Ch'eng-tsu and other great rulers in Chinese history. He was bold and energetic, a talented military strategist, and a clever psychologist who worked hard and largely successfully to allay the fears and suspicions of the Chinese scholar-officials upon whom he had to rely for help in running the greatest empire on earth.

Kessler's first two chapters provide a general survey of Manchu and Ch'ing history up to about 1667, two years before K'ang-hsi took over actual control of the government at the age of fifteen. Those familiar with Robert B. Oxnam's *Ruling from Horseback: Manchu Politics in the Obai Regency, 1661-1669* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975) will perhaps find little that is new here, but the author does an effective job in setting the stage for the main portion of his book. Chapter III ('K'ang-hsi's Apprenticeship') backtracks briefly to explore the future emperor's childhood and early education before moving on to discuss his emergence onto the political stage. Only seven when he ascended the throne, K'ang-hsi had virtually no influence on governmental policy until June 1669. Then in a stunning and decisive move which was a harbinger of things to come, he had the regent Oboi arrested and carried out a lightning purge of his administration. Clearly this was no ordinary teenager at work.

Nor was his work done, however, and for the next fifteen years K'ang-hsi was busy trying to consolidate his power and his dynasty's position. He succeeded brilliantly. Chapter IV ('War and the Fruits of Victory') deals with his defeat of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, his conquest of Taiwan, and his successful campaigns against the Russians and the Mongols in the north. As Kessler notes, these victories were important not only militarily but also politically and psychologically, for they proved once and for all to the war-weary Chinese that the Manchu government was willing and able to cope with threats to its authority.

K'ang-hsi was shrewd enough to realize that China could not be ruled by military force alone, however, and in ch. V ('Mastering the Bureaucracy') and VI ('Imperial Scholarship and Chinese Scholars') Kessler discusses his extraordinary administrative skill, his agile mind and thirst for knowledge, and, finally, his ability to project an imperial image acceptable to his Manchu and Chinese subjects alike. The author concludes that K'ang-hsi's 'strong interest in learning, competence in the basic Confucian classics, open-minded attitude toward new knowledge, and patronage and dominance of scholars and the scholarly world assuredly won for him and the dynasty the support of the Chinese; but so did his purposeful and energetic response to military challenges, thorough personal attention to details of governing, and mature judgment in political crises' (p. 171).

Both *Early Ming Government and K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule* have been criticized elsewhere, not without some justification, for failing to break significant new ground. I personally would have liked the authors to have spent a little more time on the economic aspects of consolidation. For example, Farmer does not really explain how Ming Ch'eng-tsu was able to afford such expensive foreign and domestic policies so soon after the devastating civil war of 1390-1402. Similarly, Kessler mentions the famous incident in 1675 when Mi Shien (1632-75) assured K'ang-hsi that the treasury had sufficient funds to pay for a ten-year war, but he does not explore how Mi shan had been able to build up such reserves in less than four years as President of the Board of Revenue. This question seems to me to be of fundamental importance in understanding how K'ang-hsi was able to do what he did when he did it.

Having said this, however, I must hasten to add that I have found both books very useful in introducing undergraduate students to the important issues, events, and personalities of the periods under consideration.

W. S. ATWELL

JOSÉ VAN DEN BROECK (tr.): *La saveur de l'immortel (A-p'ien kan lu wei lun): la version chinoise de l'Amṛtasa de Ghosaka* (T. 1552). (Publications

de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 15.) xii, 260 pp. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1977.

In the midst of controversy over the relationships between various Abhidharma masters in India, this is welcomed as an important contribution toward clarifying some of them. The text, of which this is the first translation in a Western language, is known to exist only in the Chinese version produced in the third century. Although this is a relatively small work, it has attracted scholars' attention recently, especially after the publication in 1953 of a Sanskrit rendition of the text by Shantā Bhikṣu Shastri (*Abhidharmā of Ghoṣaka*, Visvabharati Studies 17, Santiniketan). As the present author notes (p. 4), the work of reconstructing a Sanskrit text was well carried out under unfavourable conditions, since the Sanskrit text of the *Abhidharmakośa* was not available then.

Van Den Broeck first discusses various problems relating to the text and the author of the original work (pp. 1-83), and then presents a French translation of it. Translations of technical terms are often accompanied by Sanskrit equivalents in brackets, which certainly offer a useful guide for many readers. A comparison of the translation and annotation with Shastri's Sanskrit rendition reveals different readings of the text here and there, and one naturally assumes that the present translation is more reliable.

We notice on p. 87, ll. 24-28, that 福 is rendered as 'jouissances (bhoga)' or 'bonheur (sukha)'. I am inclined to equate it with 'punya', which is given by Shastri (29, l. 5). The passage in question is translated here as: 'Les dons faits au Buddha entraînent tous, instantanément, des jouissances (ou le bonheur)'. It will make more sense if we translate 福 as 'mérite' (punya).

The first few lines of p. 88 appear to be inadequate. The second line which is indented to introduce a new paragraph should carry on from the first line, because the subject discussed is still on 'l'hommage rendu à la Loi' 供養法. 'L'hommage, rendu au nom de la Loi... constitue proprement l'hommage' (ll. 2-4) and the beginning of the next paragraph 'Le don de la Loi assure...' (l. 5) should read 'L'hommage, ... constitue l'hommage rendu à la Loi' and 'Le don assure...' In the *Taisho Tripiṭaka* edition of the Chinese text we have '...供養法布施...' (T., xxviii, 966 b). Here the period is misplaced and should in fact be moved after 法. From the context, too, 'Le don de la Loi assure des jouissances' does not make much sense. To support this emendation, we may refer to a similar passage of the *Abhidharmakośa*: '捨名施...此招大富果' (T., xxix, 95 c). Shastri, too, followed the reading of the *Taisho Tripiṭaka* edition and translated this part erroneously as 'dharmaṇena sampradhiśabhaḥ' (29, l. 7).

Still on the same page, immediately after

the passage discussed above, 'Le bénéficiaire obtient la joie, la force et la longévité etc. (Le don fait par) une personne vertueuse à une personne qui a éliminé les entraves est suprême et entraîne une grande rétribution' should read as one sentence like, 'Charity eventually brings about such merits as bliss, power and longevity, is effective in removing bonds and invites a great reward'. From the context, it is more reasonable to think that 'le don' (or charity) 施, and not 受施 'bénéficiaire' (?), is the subject of this sentence. In this case, we take 受 to belong to the previous sentence, which now reads, '布施得富受'. The compound 富受 appears to be peculiar, but since 受 can represent 'bhoga' (cf. *Bonwa daijiten*, p. 977), this compound can be safely taken as a translation of the Sanskrit 'bhoga'.

As the above observation shows, the text has still unsolved linguistic problems. However, the contribution made by the author in the field of Abhidharma literature cannot be overestimated.

H. INAGAKI

JŌJI OKAZAKI: *Pure Land Buddhist Painting. Translated and adapted by Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis*. (Japanese Arts Library, 4.) 201 pp. Tokyo: Kodansha International and Shibundo 1977. \$12.95. (Distributed in G.B. by Phaidon, £8.50.)

This is a fine presentation of the art of Pure Land Buddhism and the first on this subject ever published in a Western language. Containing nearly 200 illustrations relating to Amitabha worship, the book is recommended as a good introduction to Japanese Pure Land art.

General readers will appreciate the translator's efforts to explain, wherever possible, the history and thought of this form of Buddhism which lie behind the paintings and mandalas. First of all, she has provided an introduction, 'The Pure Land Tradition' (pp. 13-27), for those readers who may not be familiar with Pure Land Buddhism, and re-arranged and expanded the content of the original book to make this a readable and informative publication. Specialists will not disapprove of the translator's licence in adapting the original quite freely and often adding fuller explanations to the illustrations, which are no doubt useful to most readers. It is noticeable, however, that there are many omissions in the translation. It is presumed that the translator deliberately omitted heavily impregnated terms and complicated ideas and expressions so far as they do not affect the general understanding of the context. A good example of this is found in the third paragraph, page 65, where we read, 'The Amida Jōdo *hensō* painted on the rear wall behind the altar...' The explanation of the architectural composition

of the wall in the original has been omitted in the translation; if supplied, it would be as follows: '... painted on the broad wall panels joined together in the style of *'yahazu'* (notch of an arrow)'.

In spite of her great efforts, however, it is regretted that the translator often betrays a lack of adequate knowledge of Pure Land Buddhism. In giving the descriptions of the Pure Land, Amida Buddha, etc., she sometimes refers to the Sanskrit text (translated into English by Max Muller) as well as the Chinese translation. On page 94, the Nineteenth Vow, which is not in the original, is supplied to explain the *raigō* idea based on the Chinese text (traditionally ascribed to Saṃghavarman's translation) but Amida's teacher, Lokēśvarārāja Buddha, is described as 'the 81st Buddha of the past' (p. 14, line 3 from the bottom) in accordance with the Sanskrit text. Since we are dealing with the Sino-Japanese tradition of Pure Land Buddhism which was formed on the basis of the above-mentioned Chinese translation, we should consistently refer to it and say with reference to Lokēśvarārāja Buddha that he was the fifty-fourth Buddha of the past. For the same reason, in the sentence, 'Sākyamuni sends a ray of light from the palm of his hand' (16, l. 13), we should omit 'from the palm of his hand'; this phrase is absent in the Chinese translation. What puzzles me is the reference to Dharmākara's visit to all the Buddha lands to explore the best features of each (14, line 4 from the bottom). None of the *Muryōju-kyō* texts has this description. They all agree in stating that Lokēśvarārāja explained to Dharmākara the glorious features and causes of the Pure Lands; some texts add that Dharmākara saw these Buddha lands with his heavenly eye.

We further notice mistakes and distortions of various aspects of the Pure Land doctrine. The statement that Genshin 'emphasized the efficacy of *nembutsu* recitation without meditation' (19, lines 5-4 from the bottom) should be taken with reservations. It contradicts what is stated later, 'The *Ōjō yōshū* stresses various contemplative exercises, such as meditating on the countenance of Amida while reciting the *nembutsu*' (102, ll. 4-5). The correct statement regarding this point is that the *Ōjō yōshū* presents both contemplative and recitative practices as the effective methods for attaining birth in the Pure Land. On the surface of his work, Genshin considered the contemplative practice to be superior to the *nembutsu* recitation but Hōnen interpreted that Genshin's real intention was to present the *nembutsu* as the essential practice.

We note that '... the beautiful lapis lazuli earth, which supports seven jewelled banners' (p. 47, third contemplation) should read '... the beautiful lapis lazuli earth which is supported by a seven-jewelled banner-pole.' Next, '... the remaining three contemplations, as interpreted by Shan-tao, who based himself on the *Kammuryōju-kyō*' (52, ll. 9-11) should read '... the remaining three contemplations, which, according to Shan-tao's unique interpretation, were expounded by the Tathāgata on his own initiative'. Further down in the same

page, in describing the manner of birth in the Pure Land of the aspirant of the lower birth of the lower degree, the translator added 'after a period of six kalpas the lotus throne will open and release him'; here, 'six kalpas' is a mistake for 'twelve great kalpas'. A numerical unit '*oku*' (億 in Chinese) is sometimes rendered as '10 million' (p. 47, the fifth contemplation) and sometimes as 'million' (p. 52). Even though the term, used in China as a translation of the Sanskrit '*koṭi*', represents different units of number, from 100 000 to 100 million, one system should be used throughout the work.

When it comes to more complicated doctrinal parts, gross mistakes become more noticeable. In the *Hymn to the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas*, 'The banner of the Bodhisattva Fugen points out the path to perpetually obedient humanity' (114) should read 'The canopy (here '*bangai*') is used in the sense of '*tenjōji*') of the Bodhisattva Fugen hangs overhead in perpetual accord with the sentient beings'. Further, '... the ranks of rebirth in that distant land' (114, lines 4-3 from the bottom) should read '... the ranks of (ten) dwellings, (ten) practices, (ten) merit-transferences and (ten) stages'. '*Yuishin hokkai*' means 'the whole universe as the embodiment of mind' and not 'the whole universe as the object of mind' (115, ll. 19-20). Also, '*shido jakujō*' does not mean 'the four realms embraced in Eternally Tranquil Land' (115, ll. 2-5), but 'the four kinds of Buddha-lands, including the Land of Tranquil Light (which is the supreme one of the four)'.

As we read on, we are astonished to find the best-known phrase of the *Kammuryōju-kyō*—almost the motto of Pure Land Buddhism—is rendered into a preposterous sentence: 'Mankind must adopt [and pronounce] the *nembutsu*, never abandoning it' (171, ll. 7-8). Should it be necessary to give the correct reading, it is: '[Amida's light] embraces and never forsakes the followers of the *nembutsu*'. As we turn pages back, we come across a passage: 'Some of the texts that describe the Tūṣita heaven stress that men and women are segregated in the palaces of this Paradise and that women are forbidden entrance into the Pure Temple—the inner sanctum [*gokurakujōsetsu*]' (p. 78). Nothing is more absurd than this. '*Gokuraku jōsetsu*', needless to say, refers to Amida's Pure Land, so the sentence should read 'Some texts describe that men and women dwell together in the palace of the Tūṣita heaven but in the Pure Land of Utmost Bliss [of Amida Buddha] there are no women'.

In sum, I regrettably note that this fine publication which cannot help captivating the reader's heart with exquisite art reproductions may, in the doctrinal sense too, sometimes carry them away from the world of fact to the world of fantasy. The reader, therefore, should be advised to seek a specialist's guidance for correct information on doctrine. I sincerely hope that the translator's contribution in the field of Buddhist art, in which I am not a specialist, counterbalances or even outweighs the demerits of the work.

M. B. HOOKER: *A concise legal history of south-east Asia*. xvi, 289 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. £12.

Mr. Hooker is undoubtedly concise. In 238 pages of text (followed by bibliography and index), he conducts a whirlwind tour of oriental laws (Indian, Islamic and Chinese) and occidental laws (English, French, Dutch, Spanish and American) in Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, the East Indies and the Philippines. In the course of the tour, a great range of reading and learning is displayed to the traveller. The results of Hooker's research are often presented in very compressed form. In consequence, his argument (for example about the nature of laws) can sometimes be assessed only by someone already knowledgeable about the ancient and modern laws of the region. In consequence, too, the subject-matter of particular legal systems is handled (as in ch. 2, on the Islamic legal world) as a mixture of generalizations about sources and examples of very specific rules. Both are required, interesting and well documented, but the sudden transitions are a bit of a shock. It should not therefore be concluded that all is heavy going. Within less print than it takes to fill a page, Hooker is able to write of the general status of the fifteenth-century maritime code of Malacca and to get down to: '(ii) Formation aboard ship. The punishment for adultery is death, but if the offenders are unmarried the punishment is flogging (100 lashes) and the offenders are obliged to marry (presumably if they were still able)'.

In his preface, Hooker acknowledges that his compression may have gone so far as oversimplification, and occasionally it has. That is scarcely a grievous fault; indeed it may amount to emphasis rather than misleading. A distinction is drawn between European laws which, by claiming an absolute validity, made necessary administrative systems capable of enforcing the reality of the new legal system, and oriental laws which did not claim a monopoly of source sufficient to warrant regulation. In fact, modern European law sometimes opts out of regulating potential disputes (as witness the contraction of the English laws on divorce and on trade unions), and even apparently absolute proscriptions can be tempered by a discretion not to prosecute. Yet the distinction makes a valid proposition about the general differences in scope of different corpora of law. At times, the choice of a word can be an oversimplification. While outlining the Chinese world, Hooker records that in Vietnam daughters as well as sons could act as trustees of ancestral cult moneys. A request for a full statement of the Vietnamese law of trusts would meet with the answer it deserves, yet the description of someone who is administering funds on behalf of a family or clan as a 'trustee' is fair enough. The ground is less firm when Hooker discusses English and Islamic law in respect of charities. The concepts of *wakaf* and charity may be closely related, but they have obvious differences and the distinction between observing religion and its advancement has been made as sharply

with regard to Christian purposes as it has with regard to Islamic. It is not correct to state (p. 136) that a decision in 1871 that *kandoories* were not charitable was overruled in 1948. A *kandoorie* for the family is not charitable but a *kandoorie* restricted to poor people is, and that is what the two cases cited decide.

After he has expounded the nature of the ancient oriental law of a place and the nature of the occidental system imposed or adopted there, Hooker frequently has to turn to questions of internal conflict of laws. Problems are thrown up when, within the same country, there are several legal systems which might apply to different classes of people (as to colonists, assimilated natives and non-assimilated natives) and the parties to a transaction come from different classes. Those problems can relate to both choice of law and choice of forum. It cannot be assumed that the solution lies in the application of principles of private international law. In Malaya and Thailand such problems have generally been avoided, but the Dutch brought them to the East Indies and the French brought them to Indo-China. Sometimes the attempt to cope was ill-conceived. Hooker provides (p. 177) a possible interpretation of a French decree of 1921 that, if there was a case in Cambodia between a Cambodian and a Laotian, the court would be required to apply Annamite law, not the personal law of either party. His discussion of internal conflict of laws and the plurality of legal systems is illuminating. Even in Malaya a modern court can be faced with the conundrum: is a Christian polygamist not a Christian because of his polygamy, or not a polygamist because his religion allows him only one wife? (*Re Loh Toh Met*, 1961, 27, M.L.J. 234.)

This is not a book on legal history in usually accepted senses. It is not confined to what is old. It does not start with events of long ago and narrate what happened in sequence afterwards. For lack of sources, such a narrative might be impossible. What Hooker has done is to encapsulate the spirit of the varying legal systems of south-east Asia, with illustrative material and some stimulating ideas.

L. A. SHERIDAN

STEFAN SEITZ: *Die zentralafrikanischen Wildbeutekulturen*. (Studien zur Kulturkunde, Bd. 45.) viii, 241 pp., 11 maps. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977. DM 32.

There are today some 20,000 pygmies and 'pygmoids' living in central Africa, although exact figures do not exist. Although Schebesta, the doyen of pygmy studies, claimed that the pygmies are among the best studied peoples in the world, this is by no means so: the bibliography of works given in this book may number over 600 items, but few of them are up to modern anthropological and other standards or refer to the more important questions that need to be asked about pygmy societies. One

difficulty is that a disproportionate amount of the available information about them refers to the Mbuti of the Ituri, who have been taken as the archetypes of all pygmies despite their unique forest economy. The author (whose doctoral dissertation was on the Twa of Rwanda) wishes to correct this view and to present an account of these societies not as isolated forest dwellers (the traditional ethnological view) but as set within their full social and historical contexts, and to ask and answer some of the questions about them that are of such theoretical and comparative importance. These are essentially to do with their relationships with the non-pygmy societies on whom pygmies are dependent, a dependency which under certain conditions becomes an interdependency.

Seitz has written an impressively thorough survey, based on a study of the available literature. It covers virtually every aspect of the economy and social organization of the various groups known as pygmy and pygmoid, and of their relationships with their neighbours, with the emphasis on relations of complementary and hierarchical differentiation. The book begins with an account of former studies of pygmies and the problems raised by them, and this is followed by a classification of the various pygmy and pygmoid groups, those of northern Zaïre, of Congo and Gabon, of southern Zaïre, Rwanda and Urundi. Full references are given to the many published accounts, and there are excellent maps.

There follow the central chapters of the book. The first is on the ecology and economy of these groups, in which the author shows the significant variations between the forest and the savanna communities, most of the latter being sedentary and often 'domesticated' hunters. This leads to a chapter on the process of the adaptation of a more productive economy and of agriculture, the participation of the pygmies in the farming systems of non-pygmy societies and the growth of exchange networks between them, the formation of more stable communities of pygmies, and the development in some areas of fishing and craft specialization. This in turn leads to a chapter on social as well as economic interdependence between pygmies and non-pygmies, including ties of mythology and intermarriage. These chapters open a new dimension on studies of pygmies. The sixth chapter is concerned with their political roles in the sacred kingdoms of the southern savanna areas, especially among the Banyarwanda, Bakuba and Bashi. The pygmies here play a crucial part as the holders of certain forms of ritual power with which the sacred non-pygmy rulers must be invested. This role as mediators between kingship, 'nature' and 'history' is related to their origins: as autochthonous peoples of this region they are credited with control of local and ancestral mystical forces, a control which is sanctioned by myths of the aboriginal hunters assisting the first incoming kings of these sacred states. If this sacredness declines, for various reasons, so do the ritual power and social position of the pygmies also decline, until they become outcasts.

This book does not break much new ground

as regards the position or origins of the pygmy and pygmoid peoples. But it does bring together a vast range of material, much of which is difficult of access and the mastery of all of which is not easy. The comparative problems of social and political interdependence of culturally and mythologically differentiated peoples (e.g., in the Sahel zone of western Africa, where hunters play similar roles) are not considered; but this valuable survey is to be welcomed for its implications in that regard as well as for its intrinsic interest to pygmy studies.

JOHN MIDDLETON

GRACE GREDYS HARRIS: *Casting out anger: religion among the Taita of Kenya*. (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 21) xiii, 193 pp. 8 plates. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978. £7.95.

The Taita are a society in which the emphasis in their daily existence is on cooperation and conformity. This monograph focuses on the mystically dangerous sentiments that can stem from family conflicts, and on the rites that seek to avert misfortune and restore good feeling. These beliefs draw attention to the pattern of authority and of moral obligation within the family, and to the need for harmony within the wider community. The Taita see misfortune as stemming from the anger in the hearts of living people, from the anger among ancestral shades at the discord among their descendants, and from the anger of the Creator when a whole neighbourhood is infected with misfortune. This is an interesting topic that corresponds broadly with the traditional religious beliefs of many other peoples in East Africa, and it deserves the serious consideration given in this book.

Clearly, the particular form that these beliefs take can only be fully appreciated in the context of the structure of Taita family and community. The Taita are concentrated on three neighbouring hilly areas 100 miles inland from the Kenya coast. Historically, there has been extensive population movement within this broad area and many clans have traditions of immigration from elsewhere. However, the Taita as a whole regard themselves as essentially stable. They are the 'People of the Hills' in contrast to those surrounding them on the plains. Their neighbourhood rites emphasize their unity and harmony, seeking to turn destructive mystical forces away from the hills and towards the plains. In 1950-52 when the study was undertaken, land for cultivation was still in plentiful supply. Each married son moved out from his father's homestead to take up separate residence before his next brother could marry, but tended at the same time to remain within the same locality, farming patrilineal land. Local marriages accounted for 80 per cent of all marriages, and this created a concentrated network of kinship ties through descent and intermarriage, augmenting the intensity and exclusiveness of community life. During his

career, a man ideally climbed up through a series of ritual statuses, starting with his marriage and independence from his father, continuing with the death of the father when he could claim direct contact with the ancestors, and culminating with the successive acquisition of three shrines. The pace at which younger men reached elderhood in its most mature sense was severely controlled by the senior elders of a neighbourhood, and it was they who bequeathed the right to these privileged shrines. Only a very few men survived to acquire all three shrines.

Basically, it was held that a person's anger could only bring misfortune to a direct descendant of a junior generation. However, there were certain anomalies. A wife's anger against her husband could affect his possessions, which included his cattle as well as his (and her) children. A husband's anger against his wife would not affect her, but could rebound on him. Similarly a child's anger against a parent for over-harsh treatment could rebound on the child and indirectly punish the parent.

It is anomalies of these kinds that raise some of the most important questions concerning the nuances of Taita family life, and while the author is aware of the need to offer explanations and to demonstrate these as parts of a wider pattern, her attempts to do so emphasize the basic weakness of the whole book, which fails to pursue any problem in depth. The entire work lacks a coherent structure. On the one hand, there is no outline of a single Taita family, lineage or community and only brief, very limited case examples. On the other hand, the attempts at theorizing are inconclusive and obscure. Why should the taboo on touching a mother's brother's head indicate a displaced incest avoidance between brother and sister (p. 118), when we are given no further details on the sexual avoidances between these two, or for that matter between mother and son? Would not this have been an opportunity to consider the Taita view of 'the head' bearing in mind that it is the mother's brother's skull that will eventually be added to his lineage skull shrine which the sister's son is required to attend on certain occasions (p. 20)? Which occasions? In what sense was a husband whose anger rebounded on himself attacking his wife indirectly by defining himself as the affine whom she was obliged to feed (p. 106)? All we are told of Taita marriage could apply to almost any East African Bantu group, and hence we can gauge no possible explanation for this particular anomaly. How does one reconcile statements that affirm the nearly universal notion that a child becomes the object of its mother's greatest care and devotion (p. 108), with her withdrawal of this love stemming from her anger at the husband (p. 107), or with the statement that adult sons found it hard to be on terms of easy relaxed friendliness with their mothers (p. 117)?

In a work of this length, one cannot expect full elaboration of every facet of Taita religion and family life, yet it is padded with extended and flat descriptions of ceremonial detail and with repetition: space that could have been used with more purpose. Even in the penulti-

mate chapter where a deliberate attempt has been made to instil some theoretical insight in to the study, this amounts to little more than reiterating points previously made with no sustained argument. The awkwardness of the text is made worse by frequent use of over 60 Taita terms. There is no glossary, and attempts to remind oneself of earlier definitions by resort to the index is frequently a lengthy and frustrating diversion.

The book is about an important topic. The Taita were clearly an interesting people. The study was undertaken during a vintage era for anthropological field work on African indigenous religions. However, the 25-year incubation period since this research was completed does not appear to have enhanced its value.

PAUL SPENCER

ROY WILLIS (ed. and tr.): *There was a certain man: spoken art of the Fipa*. [ix], 150 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. £6.50.

The Fipa, we are told in the introduction, number about 134 000 and live near the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. They distinguish four categories of spoken art, as well as song, which is not included in this book. 'Spoken art' is a term which Willis claims as being of his own devising, apparently unaware that it had been used in 1964 by Jack Berry in his *Spoken art in West Africa*.

The four categories are: greetings, stories, proverbs, and authoritative communications. The bulk of the book consists of stories and proverbs; there are 53 stories, most of them concerned with various aspects of proper behaviour, but there are also several just-so stories. Though the longest story extends to four pages, they are mostly much shorter, many of them being less than half a page. They read well, but I am left wondering if so many extremely brief stories constitute a representative example of a competent narrator's performance.

The section on proverbs comprises 202 proverbs, each given in Fipa, with a close English translation and a brief explanation. The explanations are in fact exceedingly brief—mostly one and a half lines—and I would have preferred fewer proverbs, but some account of the circumstances in which each can be used. It is a common experience to find that the interpretation of a proverb often depends to a considerable extent on the context in which it is used, and I would suspect that the extremely brief interpretations given by the editor, without context, are often an inadequate indication of the range of meanings which some proverbs carry.

The inclusion in a book of this kind of a selection of greetings (and responses) for use in a variety of social situations is unusual and calls for comment. It is obviously important for anyone learning the language to acquire a repertoire of greetings and to know how to use them, but to regard such formulae as *Mposu, tu!* 'You are well, sir!' and *Mwakata*

uli? 'How have you slept?' as art seems to be stretching even that highly elastic term rather too far.

The fourth category, authoritative communications, also poses the question of what is to be included and what excluded. This category seems to include any coherent account of anything within the speaker's experience; examples given include a proposal of marriage, a description of a wedding ceremony and a brief autobiography. Not all such accounts belong to this category, for only an account which exhibits 'a symmetrical structure and has its parts logically connected' is to be included. Here, then, the evaluation of a performance is clearly crucial. All that is spoken is not spoken art. The question of the distinction between art and not art is in fact one on which editors generally find it discreet to remain silent. Having confronted this question in regard to authoritative communications (and implicitly in greetings), it would have been interesting to find some discussion of it here. It is one which most of us have evaded for too long.

G. INNES

LAWRENCE RICHARDSON: *Selected correspondence (1902-1903)*. Edited by Arthur M. Davey. (Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series, No. 8.) [vii], 219 pp., 8 plates. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1977. Rand 9.

Since its foundation in 1918 the Van Riebeeck Society has published 68 volumes of rare and valuable documents relating to the history of South Africa. Its latest publication contains extracts from the letters of a man who had no claim to distinction as an explorer, early settler or statesman. He visited South Africa only twice and on neither occasion for more than 2 months. Lawrence Richardson (1869-1953) was a Quaker, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who had given up his preparation for a career in science to enter the family's leather business. Both visits were made on behalf of the South African Relief Fund Committee of the Society of Friends. On the first, immediately after the Anglo-Boer War, he was accompanied by its secretary; and on the second, a year later, by the Quaker editor of a local independent newspaper in the Cape Colony. Richardson was in his early thirties, and his letters from South Africa to relatives and friends in England are personal and unpretentious.

The late W. J. de Kock, however, saw potential, historical importance in the Richardson material which had been deposited in the South African Library in 1966. This has since been enlarged and includes seven duplicate letter books together with journals, indexed newspaper clippings and photographs, all of which cover an exceptionally wide range of places and people visited not only in the Cape Colony but also in the two ex-republics of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Professor Davey believes it has particular signifi-

cance in view of the comparative scarcity of literature relating to the post Anglo-Boer War reconstruction period and that Richardson's painstaking verification of information and insistence on the qualification of general statements make him a highly credible source. The principle underlying his selection from the letters has been to throw light on the conditions in South Africa at the time and the humanitarian relief administered by the Society of Friends.

In respect of the former the letters cannot be compared with the weightier published papers of Milner, Merriman, Rose-Innes and Smuts, or with the unpublished papers (housed and catalogued by the University of Witwatersrand) of another Quaker, Howard Pim, the chief auditor for the mining companies on the Rand and a contemporary expert on native affairs and labour conditions; but they contain much detailed information concerning and no little insight into many of the questions discussed in all these, and the considered reflections of a visitor who checked and rechecked evidence, revised his own impressions, compared and evaluated the opinions of others, eschewed unsupported generalizations, made conscientious appraisal of needs and exercised a refreshing independence of judgement. There is accuracy of visual observation—Richardson was later to receive an honorary degree from the University of Durham for his original work in astronomy—but also a compassion allied to understanding both of others and of himself.

He comments on what he saw as the inadequacy of the Government's relief measures and on the particular problems arising from small groups such as those which, during the war, had been National Scouts, 'hand-suppers', 'bitterenders', or Cape Rebels. In spite of what he describes as her unfortunate attitude to the authorities he became convinced of the basic rightness of Emily Hobhouse's stand. He records much local apprehension regarding the importation of Chinese labour to the Rand mines and the considered opinion of many that the 'natives' were not in immediate or special need of help as a result of the war. He reveals varying white attitudes towards the future of the 'natives' and expresses his own belief that the 'native question' was the biggest problem in that unhappily divided land. Impressive as were the members of Milner's kindergarten and other English officials, he saw them at grave disadvantage in their ignorance of the country. His own first favourable reaction to Milner himself was later modified on seeing in him the lack of that warmth and adaptability which might have made his schemes more acceptable at the time and more enduringly successful.

The letters also reveal some of the experiences and thinking underlying the official reports of the two visits published by the Society of Friends in the London Yearly Meeting Proceedings of 1903 and 1904 and printed as annexures in this volume. The germination of post-war Quaker relief measures can be traced, intentionally supplementing what was being done by government and local charitable organizations, and in-

cluding such imaginative undertakings as the return of looted Boer family bibles and the restocking of the preachers' libraries.

In his introduction Professor Davey refers to the difficulties and divisions afflicting Quakers during the war itself and the fear of some lest partisanship in relief work might hinder their ultimate objectives. There were other reasons why the work of the Committee had earlier been hampered, notably the fears of some lest aid might reach the combatants, and the restrictions imposed in South Africa by the authorities who, after Emily Hobhouse's prompt exposure of conditions in the camps of concentration, were defensively sensitive about what had not yet been put right.

Quaker efforts, moreover, towards relief and reconciliation were by 1900 more than traditionally humanitarian. Lawrence Richardson himself was one of the younger members of an influential group, including his friend John Wilhelm Rowntree and the older Joshua Rowntree (to both of whom many of the letters are addressed), which had successfully been steering the Society of Friends away from the rigid attitudes of the century they were leaving behind. A new corporate conscience was emerging, a new awareness of man and his world related to acceptance of the implications

of contemporary scientific and biblical discovery. There was a new, less condescending approach to people in need, a new emphasis on potential and interdependence.

Particularly significant in the light of this and of later events in South Africa is Richardson's persistent attention to and concerned apprehension about the effects of Milner's anglicization policy, especially in education. The Boer resistance which this provoked and the determination to retain identity led, in fact, to the setting up of the Christelike Nasionale Onderwys, a separate Dutch educational system, to the development of the Afrikaans language and the conscious growth of Afrikaner culture, and this, embodied in later political movements, was to survive its own incorporation in the Union of South Africa and eventually to lead the country out of the Commonwealth.

The insights as well as the facts disclosed in these letters may indeed be seen as significant in relation to South African history. Still more are they of value as evidence of the new movement in Quakerism exemplified in Lawrence Richardson's own attitudes and his sense of personal responsibility towards post-war South Africa.

HOPE HAY

SHORT NOTICES

P. R. S. MOOREY: *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Kish excavations 1923-1933, with a microfiche catalogue of the objects in Oxford excavated by the Oxford-Field Museum, Chicago expedition to Kish in Iraq, 1923-1933*. xxi, 213 pp. 20 maps and 308 plates on microfiches. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. £15.

This volume presents in an economical form such results of the large-scale Oxford-Field Museum, Chicago expedition to Kish, about 12 m. east of Babylon, Iraq, as can now be recovered from notes, plans and photographs following the death of the last of the excavators in 1937. Apart from one large palace (A) and the neo-Babylonian temple complex on Tell Ingharra, one of the series of mounds which comprise this ancient site, and several inscriptions, little had been definitively published before P. R. S. Moorey of Oxford and MacGuire Gibson of Chicago (author of *The city and area of Kish*, 1972) took up the challenge to re-examine the evidence after 1963. This book brings together data from the early surveys, excavation records, objects and inscriptions now long divided between Baghdad, Chicago and Oxford. Moorey's aim is to discharge the 50-year-old debt to scholarship by making available the Ashmolean Museum catalogues together with carefully checked, and often reconstructed, plans,

drawings of the sites together with selected typical objects, especially pottery, flints, and inscriptions on stone (by J. P. Grégoire) and some photographs in microfiche film which would, if printed out, have required a whole series of volumes.

The course of the excavations is methodically retraced in a series of essays which have the advantage of comparison with other materials subsequently recovered from other places. Since it is not the primary purpose of this journal to review early Near Eastern archaeological publications in detail it may serve best here to draw attention to the important concluding essay (164-186) which outlines the history of this city from its foundation c. 3000 B.C. down to the periods of Achaemenian and Sasanian occupation, somewhat poorly preserved. He interprets the 'cart-burials' of the Early Dynastic levels, the best attested, as indicative, with other evidence, of secular Semitic kings who had contacts with the far north and west (Proto-Amorites?). Throughout much of its later history Kish appears to have been virtually a suburb of Babylon. There is a full bibliography of all publications referring to Kish.

Moorey has not merely repaid Oxford's debt to archaeology with interest, he has pointed the way forward to a new form of final publication well suited to this type of material. Its only drawback is the need to have a microfiche reader constantly at hand when making comparisons with the closely argued text.

D. J. W.

RYKLE BORGER: *Assyrische-babylonische Zeichenliste*. (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Bd. 33.) ix, 413 pp. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon und Bercker [and] Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978.

Professor Borger's *Akkadische Zeichenliste*, 1971, reviewed in *BSOAS* xxxvi, 3, 1973, 638-9 rightly became an indispensable reference work. Suggestions made in that and other reviews and long experience and use have now led to this even more valuable and sharper tool for all engaged in reading and researching the scores of thousands of extant texts written in the cuneiform script. The change of title emphasizes the inclusion here of the Sumerian sign readings prepared by F. Ellermeier. The heart of this book is the list of 503 signs with their syllabic, logographic and ideographic uses (pp. 55-208) together with an alphabetic list of all Sumerian and Akkadian sign readings (pp. 218-300) and a Glossary (pp. 301-75) which enables any transliterated word to be traced back to the sign(s) used for it. The latter refers to the translations of words in the main list and makes no claim to be a substitute, however abbreviated, for the current major dictionaries in these two language groups.

Compared with the earlier volume changes in sign readings or translation are few and are dwarfed by the addition of 574 entries including further names of deities and professions. Technical terms for extispicy are now more fully incorporated into the List. This is preferable to the previous partial appendix, and further terms in this class of literature, together with fauna, flora and a wide range of utensils, grammatical and number designations have been added. Thus the new List is admirable for the reading of the many difficult technical texts (except for mathematics and astronomy apart from star names). In such a mass of data there will be minor points of difference among specialists over the translation of some Akkadian words or the description of the morphological or grammatical use of some signs or sign-groups in Sumerian. However, the whole book bears the stamp of the methodical care associated with Professor Borger's writing which is essential here. This will now become the standard sign list for reference and as such must find a place in the library of any individual or institution professing to cover the writings of the most ancient Near East.

Since future editions will ultimately ensue the reviewer would add a few suggestions. There appears to be an omission of *zu* = *lamādu*, 'to become aware, know, study' (No. 128). Some of the rarer and more complex signs might well have a reference added to Fossey's *Manuel d'Assyriologie; Évolution des cunéiformes*, 1926 (e.g. Nos. 537, 568). Since Fossey's work covers more than 35 000 excerpted sign-forms and reference is made to his work by numbers in the last column of the Palaeography List (1-35), such additions would need be selective only, and preferably in the cuneiform script. The

Palaeography List—hitherto a distinguishing feature of R. Labat, *Mamel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, 1963—is now much enhanced by the inclusion of columns separating the Assyrian script into its old, middle and late phases and old Babylonian into its cursive and formal (monumental) scripts.

I. J. WISEMAN

I. HAHN, L. KAKOSY, E. MARÓTI and J. SARKADY (ed.): *Oikemene (Studia ad historiam antiquam classicam et orientalem. Spectantia 2 Yearbook of the economic and social history of the ancient world.)* 263 pp. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1978. \$23.

This second volume of the Annual of the Economic and Social History of the Ancient World (the first appeared in 1976) is primarily devoted to papers read at a conference on 'Social Relations of the Developing Countries' at Budapest in 1974. All but two of the contributors are Hungarian scholars. Effectively they mark the end of the now outmoded application of Marxist theories of historiography to the field of ancient history which classify the ancient Near East as 'large-scale slave holdings'. They further refute the formation theory which is the basis of the so-called '(ancient) Asiatic mode of production' (abbreviated throughout as AMP!).

The historical summary of the debate, made by G. Komoróczy, stresses the lack of a 'history of landed property' [sic] and shows how unsuitable the theory of AMP is for describing early forms of land-tenure which were a combination of state, temple, village (community) and private holdings. In this he is supported, though by tortuous reasoning, by I. Hahn in his 'Representation of Society in the Old Testament and the Asiatic Mode of Production' (pp. 27-41). The argument is weakened here by a failure to survey related material which has led him to judge divine (Yahweh) land tenure as merely a late fictitious and theological concept which is, like the Jubilee provisions (*yobel*), 'a late Utopian attempt to restore an ancient legal custom'. This view is somehow made to lead to the divine origin of legislation! Hahn is right in concluding that the Old Testament theory and practice do not correspond to AMP even when he interprets the Egyptian New Kingdom (Joseph) narratives of Genesis 47: 13-26 as a classic example of the theory and proceeds from that to interpret it as an aetiology for the same theory. Why would the Hebrews want any such for a theory they themselves did not espouse? I. Puskás regards the evidence of ancient Indian society as insufficient to regard it as a typical example of AMP (pp. 65-67). B. Sarkady on Greek economics, I. Eszady on 'Archaic Markets in Ancient China' and R. Simon on questions of ownership and statehood in Arab history are not so clear cut in their conclusions.

The second part of the volume contains articles on other themes of interest to a wide

variety of disciplines. M. Powell on gods, kings and 'capitalists' in third millennium Mesopotamia is now to be supplemented by his later article in J. D. Hawkins (ed.), *Trade in the Ancient Near East*, 1977, 23-29. E. Gaál well interprets the *pûrum* property in the Alalah lists as distribution by lot to archers in return for military service. L. N. Biagov sees the Urartian god Haldi and goddess 'Arubani-Bagbartu as fertility (vegetation) deities. The remaining essays cover aspects of Egyptian and Greek studies, Meroitic (L. Torok), problems of labour relations in Roman law (P. Caillag), the social aspects of Graeco-Egyptian religious syncretism (L. Castiglione) and the history of Syrian cults in the time of Septimius Severus (I. Tôth).

D. J. W.

JACOB M. LANDAU: *Abdul-Hamid's Palestine: rare century-old photographs from the private collection of the Ottoman sultan now published for the first time*. 144 pp. Jerusalem: Carta, 1979.

It was a felicitous idea of Landau's to disinter these fascinating photographs from Istanbul University Library, whither they had been transported from the Yıldız Palace after 'Abd al-Hamid's abdication in 1909. As the editor records in a perceptive introduction on Palestine in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the morbidly suspicious sultan feared to travel through his dominions, but kept *au courant* with conditions there by means of an army of spies and informers and by commissioning photographs of scenes and of life in the outlying provinces. It is from the resultant albums that the present collection has been compiled. Buildings and views of towns naturally loom large amongst them, but a good proportion are scenes of daily life of the population of Palestine, those of Bedouins and of urban trades-people being especially attractive. The sultan obviously employed skilled photographers—doubtless including many representatives of the Armenians who still dominate the profession in many parts of the Middle East today—and Landau's coadjutor in Istanbul has done an excellent job copying 143 of the original photographs for reproduction here; little print quality or definition seems to have been lost. All in all, an aesthetically pleasing collection and one of considerable documentary value for an age now past. One only wonders what further valuable documents, for example, of the Ottoman Balkans or Eastern Anatolia, remain unexploited in this Istanbul collection.

C. E. BOSWORTH

ROBERT H. EISENMAN: *Islamic law in Palestine and Israel: a history of the survival of tanzimat and shari'a in the British mandate and the Jewish state*. (Social, Economic and Political

Studies of the Middle East, Vol. xxvi.) xiv, 291 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. Guilders 96.

There have been a number of recently published books and articles dealing with the survival of Islamic law in Israel. The most important of these works is Layish, *Women and Islamic law in a non-Muslim state*, Jerusalem, 1976. Layish analysed the decisions of the Shari'a Courts in Israel in order to provide concrete evidence of the way the Qadis in Israel have been interpreting recent Israeli legislation, especially the Women's Equal Rights Law (1951).

This new book by Eisenman is divisible into three parts. The third part, dealing with the Israeli legislation and the social changes amongst the Muslims in Israel, relies extensively on Layish's research. The other two parts, concerned with the military administration (1917-20) and the civil administration (1920-1948) document the major enactments of the Ottoman modernism—the Ottoman Law of Family Rights (1917), the Land Code (1858), and the Mejlle (1869-76)—and illustrate why the conservative traditions of British colonial policy retained intact the personal regimes of the particular communities.

The book is not a pioneering work, relying as it does so very heavily on Layish.

It is however, a concise and extremely well documented account. It contains a very useful bibliography, and glossary.

DAVID PEARL

ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT: *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee 2: die Handschriften von Dabra Maryām und von Remā*. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. xx, 2.) 207 pp., map. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977. DM 94.

The first part of this catalogue, dealing with MSS. from Kēbran, was reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxxviii, 1, 1975, 214-5. The present volume lists the MSS. belonging to the churches on Dabra Maryām, a long, narrow islet at the mouth of the Abbay, and Rema, a tiny coastal island about 14 miles north-north-east of Dabra Maryām. Both churches are reputedly of ancient foundation, the former dating to the reign of 'Amda Šayon (1314-44), and the latter, now deserted except on holy days, to the reign of Yāshaq (1413-30). Their MS. holdings, though relatively meagre—Dabra Maryām with 31 and Rema with 22—include some choice items, notably a splendid illustrated Gospels of the early fifteenth century (No. 59, from Dabra Maryām). Dabra Maryām also boasts an important *Life and Miracles* of its founder, Abuna Tadewos, in two early-twentieth-century copies (Nos. 60 and 71). Rema in its turn possesses a fine *Miracles* of the Virgin Mary of the seventeenth-eighteenth century (No. 105), a general chronicle of

Ethiopian history from Aksumite times to the reign of Bakaiffa (No. 106), and a seventeenth-eighteenth-century Life and Miracles of Wälattä Petros (No. 97). Otherwise the MSS. of both churches are generally of eighteenth-century date and include fine specimens of the usual Biblical works, lectionaries, theological tracts, and hagiographies. A number of the MSS. contain illustrations and it is perhaps unfortunate that no provision has been made for plates with this volume, though we are assured that the first volume of the new series *Codices Aethiopi* (Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, Graz) is to contain miniatures from this collection. As one might expect of Professor Hammerschmidt the work of cataloguing has been thoroughly and meticulously done. The descriptions are full and informative and the work generally is in the very highest tradition of MS. cataloguing. It will certainly fulfil the compiler's desire that his catalogue should serve as a *Baustein* for further research into Ethiopian literary history. Our gratitude to Professor Hammerschmidt is all the more profound in the case of Rema, where the MSS. are now dispersed amongst the various families who left the island, and face a grave risk of disappearing.

A. K. IRVINE

BAIRU TAFLA (ed. and tr.): *A chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV (1872-89)*. (Äthiopistische Forschungen, Bd. 1.) 199 pp., 5 tables. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977. DM 88.

The role of Yohannes IV in the process of the reunification of the Ethiopian empire during the late nineteenth century attracted little attention from scholars until the pioneering study of Zewde Gabre-Sellassie (*Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a political biography*, Oxford, 1975) revealed the extent to which Yohannes fostered the ideal of imperial unity in defending the independence of his country against divisive tendencies, both within and outside Ethiopia. Native documentation of his achievements is not too plentiful—only two short chronicles had been published prior to the present work—and is for the most part sketchy and unsatisfactory. Ato Bairu has done well to choose this chronicle out of the seven or so MS. histories of Yohannes's reign known at present. Written in good quality Ge'ez, the chronicle, of which only a photocopy is known, is attached to a general royal chronicle in Amharic which has demonstrable associations with the household of Ras Seyum Māngāša, Yohannes's grandson, and is probably the same as Zewde's 'Fisessa' MS. Bairu's edition and translation forms an admirable complement to Zewde's earlier study in so far as it plays down the pious, uncritical adulation and apologetic justification characteristic of most Ethiopian annalistic writing and faithfully brings out, without exaggeration or an excess of religious sentiment, the various facets of the aristocratic emperor's character—warrior, monk, nationalist, moralist, fanatical Christian—within an accurate chronicle of

the events of his reign. As a bonus, 26 letters of Yohannes (one to Queen Victoria, 25 to the Ethiopian convent in Jerusalem) and one of his son Māngāša are appended to the narrative. Bairu's translation, which is printed to face photographs of the original MS., is basically sound and fluent and one may pardon the occasional lapse of English (e.g. 'lauditory' on p. 18, 'thrust' on p. 53) on the part of an Ethiopian scholar, blind from childhood, publishing with a German press. The translation is furnished with helpful notes and there are useful genealogical tables; but there is no index, and this is perhaps the only major flaw in this otherwise excellent book. For the chronicler exhibits a welcome concern for the correct identification of individuals and places involved in the various episodes, so that a detailed index would have been most desirable. However, Ato Bairu has rendered a signal service to Ethiopian scholarship with this fine book, which worthily initiates Ernst Hammerschmidt's new series, *Äthiopistische Forschungen*. It is much to be hoped that the author will feel moved to turn his attention to the other MS. histories of Yohannes's reign which yet remain unpublished.

A. K. IRVINE

M. B. PIOTROVSKIY: *Prelanie o khim-yaritskom tsare As'ad al-Kamil*. (Institut Iztokovedeniya.) 159 pp. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1977. Rbls. 0.95.

In this interesting study various themes and motifs of the South Arabian Saga are analysed in order to identify their origins and assess their significance in the early political history of Islam. The portion of the Saga covering the life and exploits of Abū Karīb As'ad al-Kāmil has been selected for investigation since the hero is an historical figure who features in a number of Sabaeic inscriptions of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Several facets of his epigraphically attested career are reflected in the Saga, notably his expansionist activities, the decline of royal power and concomitant spread of nomadism, and the gradual establishment of monotheism and foreign religions in the Yemen. Abū Karīb As'ad's political importance awarded him a place in tradition which made of him the focal focus for the political aspirations and rivalries of the Qahtānid tribal groupings in Syria during the first and second centuries of Islam when the Saga seems to have been elaborated, first in Medina, then in Hims and Fustāt. These tribal groupings, though essentially political, had ethnic pretensions and relied heavily on the glories of their 'Yemen' past in the struggle for leadership in the Caliphate. Piotrovskiy's researches reveal that the prevalent motifs of fatalism and destiny in the Saga are couched in early Muslim vocabulary and should be dated to the late seventh-early eighth centuries. The tribal composition of the Yemeni army reflects the conditions of the same period, rather than the fifth century, while there is only a superficial acquaintance

with the personal and place names of the Yemen. As to Abū Karīb As'ad's campaigns, those to Central Arabia and Iraq are based on genuine events supported by the inscriptions, while the Hijāz campaign and the introduction of Judaism to the Yemen probably reflect traditions of the Yemeni Jews. The more fanciful campaigns to Soghd, China and India are clearly accretions deriving from the *Romance of Alexander*. Finally, the author sets the work in the milieu of Yemeni Bedouin tradition rather than that of the settled population. All in all this is a perceptive and illuminating study and makes a useful contribution to the history of early Islamic tribalism. The English summary on pp. 141-5 will repay reading but hardly does justice to the mass of documentation, literary and inscriptional, which is presented and analysed in the course of the book.

A. K. IRVINE

TERENCE WALZ: *Trade between Egypt and bilād al-Sūdān 1700-1820*. xvii, 297 pp. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1978.

This study is a revised draft of a doctoral dissertation. It is of interest in two respects. First, it opens up a new field of historical investigation, the economic relations between Egypt and *bilād al-Sūdān* (principally the Nilotic Sudan and Darfur) in the century before the Turco-Egyptian conquest. Secondly it draws largely upon a hitherto untapped source of information, the archives of the Shari'a courts in Cairo, which provide precise personal and statistical data such as have previously been lacking. Several important aspects of the subject are covered: the routes used, the organization of the trading-caravans, the goods exchanged. The mercantile structure and its institutions in Cairo, the functions of the middlemen, and the trade in slaves imported from *bilād al-Sūdān* receive particularly detailed treatment. Although it is based mainly upon Egyptian materials, and centres upon trade at the Cairo end, it makes a contribution of some significance to Sudanese history, and one hopes that it will offer a starting-point for further research.

There are a number of infelicities which could have been eliminated during revision. Transliteration from Arabic is slipshod, especially in vocalization, e.g. (using the author's conventions) Muḡārība for Maḡārība, Mahās for Mahas, hagg for hagg (i.e. pilgrimage). The phrase *bi bar* [author's transliteration] *al-Sūdān Fazāra* (p. 8) is rendered 'in distant Sudan [in the land of the] Fazāra'. While one would like to see the context, the phrase seems to mean simply 'in the country of the Fazāra Blacks'. Map 2 (p. 73) shows the wrong Dunqula (Dongola), i.e. New Dongola (al-'Urḡī), which developed in the nineteenth century from the camp of Mamluk fugitives from Muḡammad 'Alī Pasha. Old Dongola (Dunqula al-'ajūz), on the site of the

ancient Nubian Christian capital, is further south and on the right bank of the Nile. Finally, why render *jabaqa* by the inelegant 'chamberroom' (p. 252 and elsewhere)? Either 'chamber' or 'room' would be sufficient.

P. M. HOLT

W. NORMAN BROWN: *India and Indology: selected articles*. Edited by Rosane Rocher. xxxvii, 305 pp., front., 54 plates. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (for American Institute of Indian Studies), 1978. Rs. 190.

This congratulatory, and eventually commemorative volume contains the essential part of the contribution to Indological journals and Festschriften made by William Norman Brown (1892-1975), 'the dean of American Indologists'. The editor was able to compile, on the basis of interviews, a biographical note which amounts to a history of the development of Indic studies in the United States. Brown held the Chair of Sanskrit at Pennsylvania during 1926-66, was chief editor of *JASOS* until the war, and was also curator of Indian art at Philadelphia Museum of Art until 1954. He was the first president of the newly organized Association for Asian Studies in 1960-61 and of the American Institute of Indian Studies, which was so very largely his own creation, during 1961-71. The volume includes tributes from R. N. Dandekar, V. Raghavan, Moti Chandra, and S. K. Chatterji.

The 35 articles reproduced span over half a century, from the piece with (adopting Dandekar's emendation) the title 'Proselytising the Asuras: a note on Rg Veda 10.124' (1919) to 'Early philosophical speculation in the Rg Veda' which was to appear posthumously. The section 'Veda and religion' includes Brown's translations of RV 1.164; 2.12; 4.18, 42; 7.101-4; 10.34, 72, 90 (twice), 104, 121, 124-5 and 129 (twice); and the study of the act of truth entitled 'Duty and truth in Ancient India' (1972). Under 'Fiction and folklore', 'The Pañcatantra in modern Indian folklore' (1919) is still a valuable reminder 'that over a half of the stories contained in the published collections of Hindu oral tales can be shown to be derived from literary sources'. The section on art includes 'Early Vajrayana miniature paintings from Western India' (1930) with black and white reproductions of 40 illustrations from an early MS. of the *Bhūvamangala Bālagopālastuti*. 'A Jaina manuscript from Gujarat...' (1937) has eight plates depicting 'the clash between indigenous and Persian styles of painting' in sixteenth-century India. The useful 'A painting of a Jaina pilgrimage' (1947) is also illustrated. A final section, oddly entitled Philology, contains material relating to Jain Mahārāṣṭri and Old Gujarati as well as the description of 'The Indian games of pachisi, chaupar, and chausar' (1968). The omission of any form of index, apart from the table of contents and the bibliography of Norman Brown's writings, is

remarkable in this otherwise very worthy publication.

J. C. WRIGHT

SUZANNE SIAUVE (ed. and tr.): *Aṣṭā-daśabhedanirṇaya: explication des dix-huit différences (entre les deux branches de l'École de Rāmānuja) de Śrī Vātsya Raṅganātha*. (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 58.) [ii], viii, 113 pp. Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1978.

'Cet ouvrage est le dernier que nous ait laissé Suzanne Siauue. Elle l'a achevé se sachant déjà condamnée par la maladie qui l'a enlevée, en pleine maturité de compétence et d'activité, à nos études et à notre amitié' (Jean Filliozat). Suzanne Siauue (1919-75) took charge of the Indology section of the French Institute at Pondicherry from its inception in 1955 until 1966, and she went on to complete the first serious exposition of the philosophy and religion of the Madhva sect in *La doctrine de Madhva: dvaita-vedānta and Les hiérarchies spirituelles selon l'Anuśāhikhyāna de Madhva* (reviewed in *BSOAS*, xxxiii, 2, 1970, 449 and xxxv, 1, 1972, 200 f.). She is understood to have prepared materials for the study of other major Vaiṣṇava sects, and it is a basic contribution to the study of the structure of the Rāmānuja sect which she was trying to complete during the last weeks before her death. Its incomplete manuscript was edited for publication by her invaluable colleague N. R. Bhatt, who has also supplied a biographical note.

The *Aṣṭādaśabhedanirṇaya*, of which an eclectic edition, French translation, and study is offered, summarizes the doctrines of two schools of thought within the Rāmānuja sect. One is a doctrine of human self-help ascribed to Vedāntadeśika, and the other is a doctrine of divine grace associated with the earlier Sanskrit Ālvārs, more vaguely with the Tamil Ālvārs, and more specifically with Pīḷai Lokācārya, a contemporary of Vedāntadeśika (c. A.D. 1300). Siauue saw reason to associate this and allied works with a flurry of sectarian activity in the middle of last century. Interpretation of the muddled data is not easy, but the author has proposed the theory that the dispute owes more to the impact of Pāncarātra upon Rāmānuja tradition than to any seeds of schism within the latter. This, however, may involve making some as yet unwarranted assumptions about the homogeneity of the Rāmānuja sect. The Tēṅkalai can rest assured that they are indeed more faithful to the views of Kūrēśa and the early Ālvārs. The Vaṭakalai may yet prove to be less unfaithful to the doctrine of the Rāmānuja texts themselves. With N. R. Bhatt, we must hope that the 'plusieurs traductions de textes importants qu'elle avait préparées avec des pandits' will indeed find an editor, and that the vital work of Suzanne Siauue will find a continuation.

J. C. WRIGHT

R. K. SHRINGY and PREM LATA SHARMA (ed.): *Saṅgita-ramākara of Śārṅga-deva: Sanskrit text and English translation with comments and notes. Vol. I. Treatment of svara*. [r], 1, 450 pp. Delhi: Motilal Barnasidass, 1978. Rs. 100.

This promises to be the long awaited first complete translation of *Saṅgitarāmākara* and the first adequate translation of any Indian musicological work. The translator and his mentor Premlata Sharma must be commended for their decision to include the Sanskrit text, especially as they have incorporated, eclectically, readings from the Poona edition. It is to be hoped that the endeavour will lead to a renewed examination of the manuscripts and a critical edition.

The annotation gives ample reference to the two main commentaries and some reference to other relevant literature. The decision to eschew the division into stanzas gives the translation more elegance and lucidity than is usual in such cases. An apparently random use of Tamilizing -m (*saṅgita*, *gīta*, *bahutva*, *nāda*, *gātravarnam*) has been dropped from the glossary and may not persist. It is worth commending the very sparing use of the superfluous hyphen that otherwise infests works of this nature (and produces contaminations like 'śihāyi-varna', p. 238). Where a proper bibliography has been supplied (some laconic 'references' appear unindexed on p. xxxii), this will be a monumental work. Volume II is understood to be ready for publication.

J. C. WRIGHT

W. A. SMALLEY (ed.): *Phonemes and orthography: language planning in ten minority languages of Thailand* (Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No. 43.) xiii, 347 pp. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1976. A\$13.

Most readers will already be familiar with Dr Smalley's previous work on the problems of devising writing systems for previously unwritten languages of Africa and Asia. Unlike many of his missionary colleagues, Smalley has consistently questioned whether a roman-based writing system is necessarily always the best for such languages and has shown a liberal interest in non-roman writing systems of all kinds. In the first part of the present volume Smalley gives a comprehensive account of the history and policy behind the various writing systems developed for the minority languages of Thailand and makes out a strong case for the adaptation to these languages of an orthography based upon the Thai writing system as being 'maximally useful' to the people themselves. The problems involved in adapting the Thai system to languages of very different phonological structure are discussed in some detail, as for example the especial difficulty of

representing in Thai script the rich vocalic system and complex syllable structure of Northern Khmer, or the elaborate initial consonant system of Hmong. The second part of the book contains accounts of twelve minority languages, each written by a linguist with special knowledge of the language concerned. Each account gives a clear and comprehensive description of the phonology of the language, its consonant and vowel phonemes, tones, and their phonetic realizations. Alongside the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions are recommendations for the representation of the language in the Thai script, and a short sample text. The whole of this part comprises a concise and invaluable source of information on the phonologies of the twelve languages selected, namely: Lisu, Akha, Phlong (Karen), Mien (Yao), Mal (Thin), Kuy, Lavua' (Lawa), and Urak Lawoi' (Orang Laut). As a bonus, there is in an appendix a useful summary for the beginner of the conventions and rules of the Thai writing system, as applied to Standard Thai.

EUGÉNIE J. A. HENDERSON

A. B. LAPIAN, and ANTHONY DAY (ed.)
Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference held at Noordwijker-

hout, the Netherlands, 19 to 22 May 1976. [iv], 253 pp. Leiden and Jakarta: Bureau of Indonesian Studies under the auspices of the Dutch and Indonesian Steering Committees of the Indonesian Studies Program, 1978.

This volume contains seventeen scholarly papers (nine by Indonesian, eight by Dutch scholars) plus four papers containing opening and concluding remarks to the conference, etc. All are in English. The topics are mainly restricted to the nineteenth century. There is a clear division between the Dutch scholars, most of whom consider topics in colonial history, and the Indonesian scholars, who look at local Indonesian history, in most cases concerning the Outer Islands. The volume contains some very significant papers, and represents an important contribution to historical scholarship. This reviewer hopes that further conferences will have similar success. Being neither a Dutch nor an Indonesian citizen, this reviewer feels obliged to ask, however, whether the policy of excluding non-Dutch or non-Indonesian scholars from even listening to the papers is necessary to the furtherance of scholarship.

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OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

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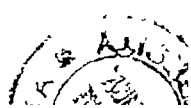
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